THE INDIAN
QUARTERLY REGISTER

BEING A QUARTERLY DIGEST OF INDIAN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

In matters Political, Social and Economic, Etc.

[Volume I. April–June 1924. Number I]

EDITED BY
H. N. MITRA M.A. B. L.
Editor, The Indian Annual Register.

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PREFACE.

THIS QUARTERLY DIGEST of the Public Affairs of India, merely an expansion and extension of our ANNUAL REGISTER issued since 1919, is not intended to be a Political chronicle alone, though in this, its first issue, it appears to be so. Economic, Industrial, Educational Social, and other public affairs of India which are fast devoloping are also proposed to be incorporated into it. Even as a political chronicle, however this issue is not complete for the last quarter ending in March, for owing to the great space taken up by the momentous proceedings of the last Assembly room could not be found for the proceedings of the Provincial Councils, of the Economic Conference, of the Science Congress, and other matters relating to Trade and Industry and Labour. These are consequently reserved for the next issue. Excepting these omissions, the subjects covered in this volume have been treated rather exhaustively, as far as informations are available.

This Volume is divided into 4 parts as follows :—

1 INDIA IN HOME POLITY, of which—

A.—The Introduction gives a general survey followed by a summary of events,

B.—Pages 17 to 112p give details of the great happenings of the period, viz :—

(i) Congress activities—pp. 17—32,

(ii) Mahatma Gandhi's Release—pp. 33—56,

(iii) The Swarajist Movement—pp. 56—73,

(iv) The National Convention—pp. 74—84,

(v) The Khilafat Movement—pp. 85—96, and

(vi) The Akali Sikh Campaign—pp. 97—112p.

2. DIGEST OF PROCEEDINGS of the—

A.—Legislative Assembly—pp. 113—224,

B.—Council of State—pp. 225—245.

C.—The C. P. Legislative Council—pp. 246—264.

3. INDIA IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT & Press—

A.—Advent of the Labour Party and its attitude towards India—pp. 265—270,

B.—Parliamentary Proceedings on Indian Affairs—pp. 270—296.

4. INDIANS OVERSEAS—pp. 297—372—

A.—In East Africa—pp. 305—336,

B.—In South Africa—pp. 337—352,

C.—The British Guiana Snare—pp. 353—372.

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PREFACE

IN this, the SECOND ISSUE of the QUARTERLY REGISTER, a digest of the Public Affairs of India for the 2nd. quarter of the year, namely April to June, has been given. The portion of the Proceedings of the Provincial Councils which could not be completed in the last issue has also found place. These Proceedings have been given in greatly condensed form, partly because most of them are of only local interest and so, in such an All-India Digest, a greater detail would seem to be out of place, and partly because there are other publications which deal with these matters more fully. An exception, however, is made in the case of the Bengal and C. P. Councils for the reason that the things that have happened there have been epoch-making and altogether new in India and, further, they promise to be the beginning of a new history.

Like the last issue, this issue too has become wholly political, and though important educational and economic affairs have happened during the period, space could not be found for them in this volume too. Experience shows that Political matters alone occupy so much space that it is not possible to incorporate other matters in the quarterly issues of this Register. It is proposed, therefore, to issue a special Annual Supplement on Industrial, Economic and Educational Affairs at the end of the year.

This Volume is divided into the following parts :—

1. PROCEEDINGS OF COUNCILS, of which—
   - A.—The Bengal Council occupies pages 377—432,
   - B.—The Other Provincial Councils occupy pages 433—512, and
   - C.—The Central Legislature, May Session, with the Tariff Report and the Lee Recommendations occupy pages 513—592.
2. NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA—pp. 593—696.
   - A.—The Gandhi—Swarajist *cum* Congress Movement, pp. 593—640.
   - B.—The Moslem Movement, including the Muslim League, pp. 641—664.
   - C.—Other Local or Communal affairs, pp. 664—696.
3. INDIA IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT & Britain, of which—
   - A.—The Work of the Indian Deputation occupies pp. 697—704.
   - B.—Parliamentary Proceedings on India occupy pp. 705—785,
   - C.—The famous O'Dwyer-Sankaran Nair case comes last on pp. 786—794.

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Jan.–March 1924.

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INDIA IN HOME POLITY

Jan.–March 1924

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INTRODUCTION

The trend of affairs in India in the current year stands in strange contrast to the year that has gone by. In 1923 public life was at its lowest ebb. That year opened with an unseemly squabble amongst the National leaders which soon led to a total disorganisation of the great National Congress with its unprecedented fund of "men, money and munition" which Gandhi had built up in 1921. The leaders quarrelled, their followers quarrelled, and the masses followed suit. Hindu-Moslem riots again became the order of the day, much to the delectation of enemies of the country. The history of the Congress of this period will be found in the introduction to the *I. A. R. 1923 Supplement*, and the best pen-picture of this period in Moulana Mahomed Ali's Presidential Address at Cocanada (*ibid*, p. 61).

Advantage was taken of this discord in the rank of the nationals by the Government striking at the growing power and prestige of the Moderates. First a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the grievances of the Service-men but really to nullify the Reforms and when the Assembly refused to vote supply for it, the Viceroy certified the grant. Next the Salt tax was doubled and wilfully flung at the very face of the Assembly. On refusal, the Viceroy again certified it. The Assembly that was thus treated was full of loyalist and moderate co-operators, and it was the same that had backed the Govt. in suppressing the N-C-O in 1921, and had even refused to release Gandhi and political prisoners. This throwing into the lurch by the Govt. virtually meant a death to the party which had so long hung on the lappels of the Govt. The whole system of administration, again, was so tuned from the India Office down to the petty Govt. departments that Diarchy was made defunct, and the humiliation and constant pin-pricks were so exasperating that several Ministers resigned in disgust. Throughout the year the action of the Government lent more and more colour to the view that the Reforms were a sham, that there was no bona-fide intention of giving self-government to India even in the future, and the demands of the Moderates for Indianising the services were met by the reply: "time, not yet." And, to cap all, Messrs. Sastri and Sapru's equality in the Empire campaign was met promptly by the Kenya White Paper of July last and Genl. Smuts' open denouncement of the equality pretensions of Indians.

In the Punjab, during the year, serious developments took place in connection with the Sikh revivalist movement. Always suspicious of coming retribution for their sins, the authorities, foiled at Guru-ka-bagh, tried to strike a mighty blow at the Sikh movement. The Maharaja of Nabha, a very independent-minded prince connected with the Gurudwara movement, was forced to abdicate, the S. G. P. Committee was declared an unlawful organisation, the annual session of the Sikh League was arbitrarily prohibited, and all the 72 members of the Sikh Committee arrested. Since then a mighty struggle is going on in the Punjab and no torture is spared so as to provoke the Sikhs to such acts of violence as would justify a second Jallianwalla.

Such in short are the main land-marks in the history of India in 1923. The following is a rather detailed summary.

Summary of Chief Events 1923.

1	Jan.	'23	Mr. Das, President, Gaya Congress, submits resignation of Presidentship—Manifesto of the New Swarajya party issued.
4	Jan.	'23	Mou'ana Abul Kalam Azad released from Jail.
26	Jan.	'23	Bombay Meeting of the new Swarajya Party under Mr. Das—Mou'ana Azad's efforts at compromise within Congress fails.
29	Jan.	'23	Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Devdas Gandhi released from jail—Release of other U. P. Politica's.
1	Feb.	'23	Congress Working Committee meets at Bombay—Mou'ana Azad's terms for compromise with the Swarajya Party proposed.
12	Feb.	'23	National Convention movement started by Dr. Annie Besant—A Conference for same opened at Delhi.
14	Feb.	'23	Swarjya Party meeting at Allahabad—Their Policy outlined.
26	Feb.	'23	Working Committee and A. I. C. C. meet at Allahabad and consider terms of compromise with the Swarajya Party.
1	Mar.	'23	Govt of India Budget—Statement issued—Proposal for doub'ing Sa't Tax. Sj Kouda Venkatappaya released from Jail—Prov. Congress Committees accept the Allahabad compromise of the Swarajya Party and reso've to fu.fil the Gaya Programme with vigour.
18	Mar.	'23	Gandhi Day—All India Hartal—Beginnings of the Flag campaign in Jubbulpore.
20	Mar.	'23	Salt Tax thrown out in the Assemb'y—but certified by the Viceroy on 29th.
1	April	'23	Further developments in the Flag movement in Nagpur—Hindu-Mos'em riots in Amritsar begin.
16	April	'23	Sj Sunder'al sentenced on the Flag movement—Flag processions in Nagpur declared illegal—Meeting of All India Leaders at Lahore to restore Hindu—Mus'im unity ended in a fiasco.
19	April	'23	Hon. Mr. Chintamani of U. P. Govt. resigned in protest of Governor's action in re. De'a Fosse—Gurtu case. He was followed by the Hon. Mr. Jagat Narain on the 22nd.
1	May	'23	Satyagraha declared in Nagpur in connection with the flag movement—Sj Syam Sunder Chakravarti released from Jail in Bengal.—Further Hindu-Mos'em riots in the Punjab.
23	May	'23	Congress Working Committee meet at Bombay and accept the proposal for Special Session of the Congress.
25	May	'23	A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay throw out motion for Special Session—Working Committee resigns and the New Centre Party takes office—No-changers allowed extension of time for the fulfilment of the Gaya Programme till the end of July.
1	June	'23	Mr. Das's Tour in Madras Presidency to clear mis-understandings as to the Swarajya Party—Sj Rajagopa'chari starts propaganda against A. I. C. C. decision—during the month Prov. Congress Committees meet to decide on the compromise—Bombay, Sind, Andhra, Bengal and Kera'a accept it, while Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu reject it.
17	June	'23	Sj Jamnalal Bajaj and leaders of Nagpur Flag Satyagraha arrested.
5	July	'23	Debate in Parliament on the Salt Tax Certification.
8	July	'23	Congress Working Committee and A. I. C. C. meet at Nagpur to support Flag Satyagraha and proposal for Special Session of Congress. Maharaja Nabha forced to abdicate after great humiliation.
9	July	'23	Special Session resolution carried—Working Committee resigns and new members appointed.
10	July	'23	The Nabha Agitation begins. Debate on Mahatma Gandhi's release in the Assemb'y defeated.
18	July	'23	All-India Flag Day—Volunteers from Provinces flock to Nagpur to court arrest—Total arrests up to July 1000.
24	July	'23	Kenya White Paper published. Lausanne Treaty signed.
3	Aug.	'23	A. I. C. C. meeting at Vizag. confirm Nagpur Resolutions—Delhi offers to arrange for special Congress which was accepted on the final meeting on the 6th.
6	Aug.	'23	Moulana Yakub Hassan released.
8	Aug.	'23	Nagpur arrests total 1500—C. P. Council votes for their peremptory release.
16	Aug.	'23	Lala Lajpat Rai released from Jail.

18 Aug. '23 Dr. Kitchlew released from Jail.—Arrests cease at Nagpur, Satyagrahis released.

24 Aug. '23 Hindu-Moslem riots at Saharanpur.

29 Aug. '23 Moulana Mahomed Ali released from Jail.

3 Sept. '23 Akali Campaign started at Nabha.

11 Sept. '23 All India Leader's meeting at Delhi in informal conferences for negotiations for Congress compromise and Hindu-Moslem Unity.
Monster meeting of all shades of Public in Bombay under Sir Chimanlal Setalvad to protest against the Kenya decision,—Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas said: "If we cannot get equality within British Empire, we have no use of the Empire."

15 Sept. '23 Special Session of Congress opens at Delhi with Moulana Abul Kalam Azad as the President.

16 Sept. '23 Compromise resolution lifting ban on Council-Entry moved by Maulana Mahomed Ali passed by Congress.
Resolutions on boycott of British Goods, on a Committee to organise Civil Disobedience, on Nabha, etc. passed by Congress in next 2 days.

21 Sept. '23 Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Messrs. Gidwani and Santhanam who went to Nabha on enquiry were arrested.

1 Oct. '23 Swarajya Party's Election Campaign started.—Imperial Conference meets in London—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru preparing for a big fight.

4 Oct. '23 Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Messrs. Gidwani and Santhanam released.

14 Oct. '23 Swaraj Party Manifesto issued.

16 Oct. '23 Sikh Leaders Arrested at Amritsar.

17 Oct. '23 Sikh League Annual Session at Jullundur prohibited and stopped by force.

18 Oct. '23 S. G. P. C. declared unlawful in the Punjab.

25 Oct. '23 Sikh Leaders' Trial begins at Amritsar.
The famous Smuts—Sapru duel at the Imperial Conference, London.

26 Oct. '23 Moul. Shaukat Ali released.

1 Nov. '23 Election Campaign in the provinces started—Swarajist developments.

6 Nov. '23 Lee Commission sittings begin.

14 Nov. '23 Congress Working Committee meeting at Amritsar. Leaders discuss the Sikh situation.

19 Nov. '23 Akali Sahayak Bureau formed at Amritsar to lead the Jaito Campaign.

25 Nov. '23 Congress Working Committee met at Ahmedabad—Big Swarajist victory at the Calcutta polls, Hon. S. R. Das, Advocate-General, defeated.

26 Nov. '23 Madras Council first meeting—Censure Motion defeated.

30 Nov. '23 Hon. Sir Surendranath Bannerji defeated at the Calcutta polls—great Swarajist enthusiasm.

5 Dec. '23 Pundit Vajpaye's death in Trichinopoly after release as a result of treatment in Jail.

13 Dec. '23 Lord Lytton offers to Mr. C. R. Das to form Ministry.

18 Dec. '23 Mr. Das refuses Lord Lytton's offer.

25 Dec. '23 Congress Week at Cocanada.
All India Khadi Exhibition opened at Cocanada by Dr. Sir P. C. Roy—also the All India Volunteer's Conference with Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru as President—Resolutions passed for organising Congress Volunteer Corps.

26 Dec. '23 National Liberal Federation opened at Poona with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as President.

27 Dec. '23 All-India Khilafat Conference with Maulana Shaukat Ali as President opened at Cocanada—Mr. Sastri's resolution on demand of Self-Government and Mr. Kamat's resolution on Indians Overseas passed by the Liberals at Poona—All India Christian Conference with Mr. K. T. Paul as President opened at Bangalore.

28 Dec. '23 National Congress opened at Cocanada with Mr. Mahomed Ali as President—New Party organisation of the Liberals started at Poona at the National Liberal Federation. Resolution against certification of Salt Tax and one favouring rapid Indianisation of services passed by the Liberals.

29 Dec. '23 Resolution to consider the National Pact with the deletion of Bengal Pact passed in the Congress—Jamait-ul-Ulema Conference with Moulavi Syed Hossain as President opened at Cocanada.

30 Dec. '23 Independence Resolution defeated in the Congress—Jazirat-ul-Arab resolution passed at the Khilafat Conference.
All India Students' Conference opened at Cocanada with Mr. C. R. Das as President.

31 Dec. '23 The Das-Achariyar N. C. O. Compromise resolution passed in the Congress. In opening Kenya Council, Governor referring to White Paper of July said that it was unalterable, and that the Immigration bill was being considered by Lord Reading who would make representation to India Office.

January—March 1924

The course of events in the current year has taken certain unexpected turns. The year opened with all eyes turned to the Swarajists. The Congress-wreckers were now out to wreck the Councils, and such great friends and well-wishers of India as Lords Reading and Lytton, Sir Malcolm Hailey and the Provincial Governors, the London *Times*, down to Anglo-Indian well-wishers like the *Englishman* and the *Times of India* at once came forward with grave warnings of the probable consequence of the Swarajist action. The reason for such solicitous care was clear. After the elections, the Swarajists were the only organised party in the field. Of the older parties, the Moderates, re-named the Liberals, were fast melting away. Some of their stalwarts, like Sir Surendranath Mr. S. R. Das, and Mr. Chintamoni retired from public life. Stragglers that were returned to the Councils mostly became Independents. Only two of their tallest remained: Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri. But both were talking loudly and vehemently against Empire policy, especially in Kenya and the "Boer Empire" (see p. 292). Sir P. C. Mitter in Bengal, Lala Harkisenlal of the Punjab, Dr. Paranjpye of Bombay, Mr. Chintamoni of the U. P., and other ex-Ministers were uttering anathemas against Diarchy and the Reforms. With the Liberals thoroughly put out of action, and the no-changers rendered too insignificant to be taken into account, Government prepared to face the new Swarajist menace, and called its European and Anglo-Indian reserves to join in the fray. Mr. C. R. Das's dictum that his party-men would enter Councils to "wreck these monsters of Reforms which were drinking the life-blood of the Nation and make Govt. by Council impossible" roused the greatest confusion. Both in England and India, all sorts of stupid talk about the Swarajists filled the press and the platform, and they got into the brain of the officials and Anglo-Indians.

The first opportunity that the Viceroy took to express himself was on October 17th last, when at a dinner at the Simla Chelmsford club, speaking about the Reforms, His Excellency emphasised that they depended upon the impressions which India would produce upon the British Parliament when the reforms would again come up for consideration. This meant that unless the new members in the Councils behaved like good boys there would be no reforms. But there had of late been some proposals made by moderate legislators like the Rt. Hon. Sastri and others for boycott of the Empire Exhibition, which had created bad impression. Moreover, the Swarajists who would enter the Councils had declared that they would wreck the Constitution. Lord Reading affected not to believe in the efficacy of these declarations but at the same time he warned them that, if ever they should succeed, there would be a paralysis of Reformed Constitution. Of course, he said, Government

were resourceful and they would meet the situation. The administration would not be in abeyance. This meant that Government would revert to the pre-reform era and the blessings of the Montford scheme would be withdrawn and, His Excellency added, as if by way of reply to Mr. Sastri and his friends, that the cause of Indians Overseas would not gain in strength by the boycott of the Empire Exhibition. "I know my countrymen and have no hesitation in asserting that the boycott proposal will completely fail. A better course for Indians is to believe in the sense of fairplay and justice which is so strongly a marked characteristic of the British people"! And again, at the opening of the Assembly on 31 January 1924, His Excellency turned deliberately on Pt. Motilal Nehru and the Swarajist seats and solemnly said:—

"I repeat the warning I gave in October last in all gravity that there is a possibility of check in the onward progress of the Reforms by the ugly scene enacted by the Swarajists in the Central Provinces Legislative Council. I trust it will not happen in this Indian Legislature. The British people would refuse to be coerced into giving India reforms contrary to their own desire and better judgment. The eyes of all friends of Reform are fixed upon the harvest this Legislature will sow and reap. Make wise choice as regards the course you pursue, otherwise you know what will happen. If the position in the provinces become more acute, local Governments can rely on my fullest support."

All so threats however did not prove to be deterrent enough. The C. P. Council was thrown into a dead-lock. In the Assembly itself Govt. suffered defeat upon defeat. The Imperial Budget was thrown out *in toto*, and the recommended Finance bill was flung at the very face of the Viceroy. In Bengal the success of the Swarajists, if not as complete as in Nagpur, dislocated the transferred departments, the Ministers were left hanging without pay, and the whole Govt. machinery was thoroughly discredited.

Two unexpected things happened in January 1924: the sudden illness of Mahatma Gandhi leading eventually to his release, and the coming into office of the Labour Party in England. Both upset the calculation of all parties in India and the full effect of each has yet to be seen.

The emergence of Gandhi from prison brought in a new ray of hope amongst people at large, though for over a couple of weeks in January while his life hung on the balance, a gloom rested over the country. His unconditional release on February 5th was providential, and has brought with it a sigh of all-round relief, for the Swarajist threat on one side and the Govt. threat on the other had well-nigh brought in a state of despair.

The advent of the Labour Party in power also helped to release the great tension in political feeling. For though the majority of the nationals put no hope on the party still the feeling is there that at least Labour would not do any positive harm to India.

Such has been the main drift of affairs during the first three months of the year. Some of the other minor affairs are summarised below, while the ch[illegible] that follows summarises the chief events in somewhat greater [illegible]ul. The only beneficent attitude in the whole of India was that of the Governor of Bombay, Sir Leslie Wilson. To him, if to any one individual, India owes the release of Gandhi.

Mr. Savarkar.

On Jan. 6th, Mr. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was released after an incarceration of 14 years. Govt. imposed upon him the condition that he was to eschew politics for 5 years—this restriction to be renewed at the discretion of Govt. if thought necessary after 5 years, and that he was to live privately virtually interned in the Ratnagiri Dist; and on these terms Govt. remitted the unexpired portion of the sentence of transportation. Mr. Savarkar accepted the conditions and agreed to uphold and work the Reforms. The release came as an agreeable surprise to the people, but the graceless-ness of the conditions imposed was a matter of bitter comment in the press and the platform.

Borsad.

This was quickly followed by another act of statesmanship by Sir Leslie Wilson. On Jan. 7th, the Borsad punitive tax unjustly imposed to cover the inefficiency of the administration was suspended and the Satyagraha [see p. 32] was soon raised.

Ardh Kumbha Mela.

In contrast to this may be mentioned an episode in the Ardh Kumbha Mela held early in January last at Allahabad, which gave rise to a short Satyagraha by Pt. Madan Mahon Malaviya. 14th. January was a sacred day with the Hindus who had collected in lakhs at Allahabad to have their religious bath at the sangam or confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges. There appeared to be some danger for people to bathe in the river. So Mr. Knox [of the 1921 fame], the district authority, issued a stupid order prohibiting people to approach the river, and posted police to mount guard. The local Hindu leaders under the lead of Pandit Malaviya appealed to the Governor who sanctioned Rs. 30,000 for suitable arrangements but this sum was spent by the officials not for the object for which it was granted but to putting up huge barriers of planking, increased police guard, additional Sowars and the Military, and all this in the face of 500,000 pilgrims! Mr. Knox held on to his prestige, flouted the "superstition" of a religious bath and said that he was responsible for the life of the people! Pt. Malaviya's rejoinder that Hindus would rather die in their thousands than leave the place without observing religious rites made no impression. At last the Lundir, unable to move Mr. declared Satyagraha, sat before the barricade with Mr. Jawahirlal Nehru, ex- nicipal Chairman, Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon, an ex-Municipal Chairman, and other followers for the whole day, and in the afternoon disobeyed the order, asked to be arrested, and, in the teeth of the armed police and cavalry ready to preserve "law and order", broke down the barrier and made way for the pilgrims to follow him into the river. Needless to say, all had their bath and no lives were lost and Mr. Knox and his officials left the place fortunately without using the police and the military as British officials are too wont to do under such circumstances. This event scandalised the whole province and the shame of British officers misbehaving in this way even with the greatest and the most responsible of Indians in their own affairs, nay, even in their religious observances, sent rancour writhing within. the insulting arrogance of Mr. Knox would have been awarded in any other country with disgrace and dismissal. Here however he was congratulated for his moderation!

The Day Murder.

On January 12th a dastardly shooting affray took place in Calcutta in which one Mr. Earnest Day was killed and riddled with bullets and three Indian chauffeurs pursuing the murderer, one Gopinath Saha, were wounded. This wanton murder of an European in broad day-light sent a thrill of horror throughout Calcutta and the European community were thrown into a fever-heat of excitement. Later investigations proved that the murder was the result of a mistaken identity for Gopinath really wanted to kill Mr. Tegart, the Police Commissioner of Calcutta, who, owing to his alleged cruelty and high-handedness towards Bengal political prisoners was a marked man of the Bengal anarchists. Universal detestation was expressed of the crime both by Indians and Europeans, in the press and platform, but the European community made a huge political capital out of it and at a mass meeting of Europeans and Anglo-Indians on January 14th held at the Empire Theatre, Calcutta, the leaders of the community made it all but a racial question. A resolution was passed: "That this meeting of Europeans of calcuttre strongly urges the Govt. of India and the Govt. of Bengal not to yield to agitation which might embarrass the Police and others responsible for the maintanince of order and the proper execution of their duty, and assures the Government concerned that they can rely upon the whole-hearted and unanimous support of the European community."

A cable was also sent to Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, and Mr. Asquith and to the Governments of India and Bengal along with this resolution that: "The European Association, as a representative body of the European community in India, trust you will exert your influence to strengthen the hands of those responsible for the maintenance of law and order in this country!"

In his trial Gopinath stood up boldly confessing the objective of his action and called upon Young Bengal to follow in his steps, saying: "I fail to complete the work (murder of Tegart), I leave the unfinished work for others." His last words were: "May every drop of my blood sow the seeds of freedom in every home of India." The European and Anglo-Indian community was greatly alarmed and during the next month or so there was hardly any meeting of that community in which the Day murder was not mentioned. In the Bengal Govt. all the old repressive armoury like the famous Regulation III, etc. was set into motion and indiscriminate arrests and detentions followed. In Lord Lytton's and the Viceroy's speeches it was mentioned with a threatening gesture, but fortunately there has not since been a recrudescence of anarchist activity in Bengal as was feared by the authorities. Gopinath was eventually sentenced to death and hanged on March 1st.

Bombay Mill-strike.

A serious Mill-strike broke out in Bombay about the middle of January. In 1920 there was a general strike of the mill-operatives of Bombay lasting for over a month, and the current year saw another very serious strike. The quarrel arose over the demand of bonus which the operatives had been getting for the last 4 years but which, owing to bad financial conditions, the mill-owner now refused to pay. The strike commenced on the 17th January in the Standard Mills when a portion of the operatives in the Spinning Department left without notice and made a demand for the payment of bonus. This was immediately followed by other operatives in other departments. Within a fortnight the number of strikers rose nearly to a lakh and a half and that of affected mills also exceeded seventy. The strikers were calm, except of course in some small disturbances which were inevitable when such a large concourse of labourers go on strike. Mill-owners were adamant and notices of "bonus under no circumstances" were put on boards in certain mills. Labourers decided not to yield to their employers unless the bonus was paid to them. On February 2nd at a mass meeting the mill-hands made their demands clear. They explained their monthly budget with an earning of Rs. 45/- p. m. out of which about Rs. 20/- went as house rent. They said: The Millowner and his wife have 4 bungalows and 3 motor cars. Why can not they do with one bungalow and one car and give a living wages to the mill-hands? Mr. N. M. Joshi said in one of his interviews on the strike-question, 'the mill-owners in fairness ought to have paid the bonus or at least a part of it this year.' Mr. Baptista, the great champion of labour in Bombay, suggested the appointment of an arbitration board by H. E. the Governor and the suggestion was accepted by the strikers. It was agreed that the strike should end when that board was appointed.

The strike continued till March. Eight weeks of starvation could not upset the strikers and they were rightly given tributes of praise all round. Already the mill-hands had lost 80 lacs of rupees in wages on a simple calculation. At last on March 7th they broke out in riot, on the alleged provocation from the Mill-owners who blackmailed them and asked them to join under police protection. This exasperated a few men who attacked one or two mill-buildings in their fury. Quiet was restored very soon after the police had opened fire.

A Committee with the Chief-justice of Bombay as the president was then appointed by the Governor to enquire into the question of bonus to be paid to mill-workers. It decided against the mill-hands and in favour of the mill-owners. The Committee did not consider the mill-hands to be entitled to bonus as a right. By this time, by the middle of March, the strikers reduced to the last extremes had their back-bone broken. People began to die of starvation. Many left the town and went to their villages. The Government pressed the mill-owners to pay off the wages due and death from starvation and disease having broken out it was suggested that the mill hands should be repatriated. On 17 March the mills were first opened to pay the January wages to the operatives who soon came, resumed work and in the next few days the strike was at an end. But in the last few days a large number of the workers had departed for their native places and not more than a third of the total mill population was present in Bombay. The proposal of a Round Table Conference between mill-hand leaders and the mill-owners was now scotched as most of the men resuming work disowned their leaders.

Lee Commission.

When the Reforms were introduced, there was what was called "a White Mutiny." The majority of the Civil Service men were in arms against any introduction of Reforms because they considered it derogatory to their dignity to serve under Indian Ministers. The Government both in England and here got alarmed. They however know the weak points of the I.C.S., and at once increased their salaries and pensions!

From a reply given by Mr. Montagu to Mr. Lunn in Parliament the following are the increases :—

Indian Civil Service	£ 360,000
Indian Police Service	£ 130,000
Indian Educational Service	£ 100,000
British Officers of Indian Army and of British Troops in India	£ 1,700,000
Indian Medical Service	£ 250,000
	£ 2540,000

For some time, the I.C.S. kept silent and then they continued the clamour and in 1922 Earl Winterton in an answer circulated in the House of Commons stated that the main improvements in the conditions of service in the Indian Civil Service were as follows :—

PAY—below the higher selection appointments.

(a) The initial pay has been raised to 50 per cent.

(b) Under the time-scale officers receive yearly increments.

(c) A substantial increase has been made in the pay of officers in the ordinary line.

PENSION.—The £ 1,000 annuity is from 1919 being usually assumed by the State, the 4 per cent. contribution previously enforced being funded for the benefit of officers on retirement.

LEAVE RULES :—These have been liberalised; greater facilities are given for leave on higher pay and furlough pay is based on 12 month's salary instead of the average of 3 years' as formerly.

Travelling allowances and allowances on transfer have also been increased.

The improvement in pay is to a large extent represented by the Overseas allowance. It is stated that this is entirely upset by the abolition of Exchange Compensation Allowance. But that is not true. The following table gives the Exchange Compensation Allowance admissible with 1s. 4d. rupee on various salaries, and the Overseas allowance for the same salaries.

Salary	E. C. A.	Overseas Pay.
Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs.
600	37 8 0	105
700	43 12 0	150
800	50 0 0	200
900	56 0 0	200
1,000	62 8 0	200
2,000	125 0 0	250
Maximum admissible	138 14 3	250

The Overseas allowance thus greatly exceeds the Exchange Compensation Allowance previously admissible. In reply to a question in 1922, Earl Winterton stated that Exchange Compensation allowance had been withdrawn from the Indian Civil Service in common with other Service in India in pursuance of the general policy of the Indian Government that the allowance should cease to be admissible on the occasion of a revision of pay of a service previously entitled to the concession. In any case in which the effect of such withdrawal would have been to cause an actual reduction in the emoluments of an officer, a personal allowance sufficient to make up any deficiency had been granted.

But these decided improvements have not satisfied the claims of the I.C.S. And in April 1923 the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association of European Government servants sent a memorial to the Secretary of State in which they clamoured for more. We quote below a paragraph from the memorial :

"We are to suggest to your Lordship that a revision of the service is necessary, which should definitely recognise that the European servant is here as the Secretary of State's agent, to do work of a special kind during a period, while Indianisation of the

Services is in progress and the number of Europeans is being reduced to a minimum, the conditions of pay and service of Europeans should be wholly regulated by the Secretary of State. The rates of pay for Indians should be entirely distinct, and their pay and conditions of service should be regulated by the Indian Government."

The reactionary Conservative Govt. of England with Lords Peel and Winterton in the India Office readily appointed a Royal Commission for the further improvement of the condition of the services in India. This Royal Commission was presided over by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Lee and opened its proceedings at Delhi on Nov. 6th last. This year early in January the Commission came over to Madras and quite a sensation was created by the divergent evidences tendered. The European officers made a queer plea that "the standard of living in Asia is high. In his home the European will have from 3 servants or more in Japan, to 5 or more in China, and not improbably 17 in India!"

Not content with making such claims, the Madras European officers declared that as a result of the Reforms and the attempt of Lord Willingdon to give effect to them both in letter and spirit, their position had become intolerable not only in the transferred but also in the reserved departments, and that they had failed to get sufficient protection even at the hands of the Governor himself. The Indian officers, on the other hand, hotly denied this charge and maintained that the Ministers had loyally supported the services whenever they were attacked on the Legislative Councils, and that there was not a single case of a European being deprived of his rights. In their opinion Madras was quite ripe for complete autonomy, there was sufficient talent and experience in Indian officers for running efficiently every civil department without European officers; the P. C. S. men were in no way inferior to the I. C. S.; no recruitment outside India for general administration was at all necessary: the services should be all provincialised, their all-India name (for there is really no all-India character) being abolished; the scale of pay for Indians and Europeans alike should be Indian, without overseas or other allowances; there was no justification for increasing the pay, pensions or allowances of Europeans, and so on. On the question of reserving a certain number of posts for Europeans they said emphatically:

"We deny that from the stand-point of efficiency or character an essential European element is necessary in any of the civil services and we do not except from this category even the so-called 'security services'. Knowing as we do the work of the European officer at close quarters and possessing thus exceptional opportunities for comparing his work with our own, it has been a matter of painful surprise to us that even in quarters where one should have expected better knowledge it should sometimes be taken for granted that we lack certain administrative qualities which the European is supposed to possess.

"We can understand the candid argument that India is politically subordinate to England and that therefore she must submit to a number of lucrative posts being reserved for Englishmen. But it is adding insult to injury if such reservation is accompanied by the assertion that Indians are unfit for such posts."

A frank expression of such views was naturally unpalatable to the Commission, and the President, Lord Lee told the representatives of the Indian Officers Association that their statement was needlessly combative and provocative.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer giving evidence made out a strong case against the increase of salaries to the European Services. He observed that, in spite of declarations of Parliament, a deep-rooted distrust of the BONA FIDES of the British Government and of its unwillingness to grant Responsible Government in the near future is universally prevalent in India. He also pointed out that "the energies of the British Services have been rather devoted to making the country a safe and comfortable place to live in than towards the preparation of the Indian for self-reliance and self-realisation." Again:—

"Unfortunately the speech of Mr. Lloyd George about the "steel-frame" work of the administration in India has had the effect of shaking the faith of the Indian Public even in intentions of the Parliament as embodied in the Reforms statute. Is it unnatural for India to feel that the time has come for her to manufacture her own steel and obtain protection for it? The Indianisation of the Services is believed to be necessary not merely for the purpose of providing full and adequate opportunities for the development and employment of Indian administrative talent, but also for preparing the people for the attainment of Responsible Government; and effecting some retrenchment in public expenditure. The Indianisation of the services is sooner or later as inevitable as the grant of Responsible Government. Any opposition on the part of the Services to a policy of Indianisation is likely to have the effect of antagonising the people towards the Services."

The Depressed classes of Madras in their evidence made it an occasion to launch a strong attack on Brahmins and caste-men. Two of their representatives, Messrs. R. Srinivasan and M. C. Rajah amused the commission by their attack on caste-men although reminded of the fact that the men who had agitated to raise the depressed classes, like Ranade, Gokhale, and others were all caste-men. A similar view was put forward by Mr. Nirode B. Mallick, the representative of the depressed classes in Bengal when the Commission took evidence in Calcutta. They all wanted a predominance of the European element in the services as they said their interest was safer in the hands of Europeans than Indians.

At Calcutta the most important evidence was that of the Indian Association of which Sir S. N. Banerji was the president. In the opinion of the Association, the financial result of the Reforms has been that the provinces were seriously handicapped in their finances. Demanding provincial control of services the memorandum that they submitted goes on to say: "We want power to regulate our own public services. We do not want that the services, whose functions and terms of employment cannot be regulated by us, should be imposed on us by an outside authority. Apart from the financial aspect of having super-imposed services, such services are an administrative anomaly." The memorandum opined that recruitment for all services should in future be made in India on a competitive basis and according to the requirements of each province by the province itself.

The European officers, as elsewhere, made a strong claim for further emoluments. One of the new points raised was as queer as it was presumptuous. They told the Commission that the collection of land revenue in Bengal was still 99·9 per cent. but that it would not continue for as the Reforms are undermining the authority of the District Magistrate, a time would soon come when the collections would fall off. Here also they had a fling at the Indians, as if Indian Magistrates could not collect even rents. But the funniest part of the affair is that after condemning the Government of India Act at every turn and painting in horrible light how everything would be topsy-turvied by further constitutional changes, they proceeded to declare their whole-hearted allegiance to the policy of the Reforms!

But the most interesting evidence was that of the Hon. S. K. Sinha of Chandpur fame who complained that the Indian officers were called "brown-bureaucrats" and placed between the cross-fires of public criticism and official frowns.

Another striking evidence was that tendered by Mr. Hasan Imam at Patna. Mr. Hasan Imam in reply to Sir Reginald Craddock, in the course of an oral examination on the attitude of Muhammadans towards the Indianisation of the Services which he strongly urged, said that the tendency has been very much noticeable on the part of certain members of the Commission to attach an exaggerated importance to stray opposition to Indianisation on communal grounds, and Sir Reginald Craddock's question directly concerned this. Sir Reginald enquired whether Mr. Hasan Imam's views were expressed in his capacity as an Indian Muhammadan. Mr. Imam's reply was—"that he had expressed his views as an Indian, irrespective of his being a member of any religious community. But he was prepared to speak as a Muhammadan also, and, as such, he saw no reason to change his views". Again:

"If some Muhammadans had expressed a desire for the presence of a third party to settle the differences between the two communities, he could only ascribe such a view to weakness induced by foreign domination, and he said that, if left to themselves, the community would see the necessity of adjusting the differences amongst themselves."

After concluding its work in Patna the Commission proceeded to Lahore and held sittings there from the 11th to the 16th February, and from thence to Delhi on the 20th. The evidences recorded at these places do not seem to be of much interest and most of them were taken in camera. The final sitting was held on the 22nd February at Delhi and the report was expected to be presented in England by the end of March. The matter will be discussed in greater detail in the next issue of this Register.

Economic conference

On January 22 was opened the Seventh Indian Economic Conference at Bombay. The Conference lasted for 4 days and a large number of papers on economic subjects were read. Sir M. Visveswarayya delivered a striking address, as President, which has since become almost classic. He joined issue with Sir George Lloyd on the latter's unwarranted statement about India's growing wealth and pointed out the proper perspective from which the question had to be viewed. He strongly criticised the statement of Sir George that India was growing richer and exposed the falsity of the Government statistics. The wealth of India before the War was estimated at £3,600 millions or Rs. 5,400 crores. This meant an average property or wealth amounting to Rs. 180 per head of population. The corresponding figure for Canada was a little over Rs. 4,400; that for the United Kingdom Rs. 6,000. Again the annual income per head in India at the present reduced value of money varies from Rs. 45 and Rs. 60. Even assuming the maximum figure of Rs. 60, it would mean an average income of Rs. 5 per head per month. The corresponding yearly income given for Canada is Rs. 550 and for the United Kingdom Rs. 720. The trade for the whole of India comes to about Rupees 20 to Rupees 25 per head. For Canada and the United Kingdom, the figures are Rs. 510 and Rs. 640 respectively. On account of the general low level of occupations and low standard of living the death rate in India is very high, being over 30 per 1,000 while the same is less than 14 per 1,000 in the two countries named. The average expectation of life is about 24 years in India while it is about 45 in European countries. Education is extremely meagre, less than 6 per cent of the population being literate. Every other primary test that you may apply will show the same low standing, the same low level of efficiency. The average monthly income of Indians was estimated at Rs. 5 per head. Six per cent only of the population was literate. The masses were steeped in poverty bordering on destitution, poverty to which there is no parallel in western countries. People with such a low record could not, in his opinion, be said to be equipped for the struggle for existence. He deplored the fact that the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission still remained a dead letter and suggested several ways in which economic development could be secured. A Statutory Board of Industries, he suggested, should be appointed to work methodically and provincial Ministers should undertake to develop industries by loans. He also advocated placing of orders for Railway materials and rolling-stock within the country itself as they always did in other countries, further extension of cotton mills, reasonable protective tariff, extension of indigenous shipping and banking facilities, gold currency, and rapid extension of technical and industrial education. Referring, in conclusion, to the attempts made by America to abolish poverty, Sir M. Visveswarayya made an earnest appeal for the adoption of similar measures in India. Given reasonable facilities, he said, India was sure to proceed towards material progress at a pace that would astonish the world.

After dealing with the Bombay housing problem, the President referred to Professor Hamilton's paper on the growth of population in India and said that India was getting over-populated from the point of food supply and productive power of the country. In his opinion the solution to this difficulty lay in two ways, namely, increasing production, multiplying occupations, spreading education and by reducing the number of births.

He then referred to the able paper contributed by Professor Joshi on Agricultural and Industrial Development and pointed out that increase in production both from industries and agriculture was possible till income from former and trade was about fifty per cent of the whole. On the question of balance of trade, he thought that the question should again be brought before the Conference for correctness of Judgment.

Concluding, Sir Visveswarayya eloquently pleaded for more freedom being given to Professors, so as to enable the public to benefit by their researches and considered opinions and cited the case of Japan where Professors were not restricted as they were here.

Below is given a detailed chronicle of events during Jan.—March 1924.

Chronicle of Events—Jan.—March 1924

1 Jan' 24 National Pact and Bengal Pact accepted by the Khilafat Conference.—5th day of the Congress in Session at Cocanada.

2 Jan. '24 Punjab Council opened by Governor. Sensation was created by majority of Hindu and Sikh members walking out as soon as His Excellency opened his address as a protest against constitution of new Ministry—Bhai Pheru Akali Campaign started, 32 Akalis arrested, followed by arrests every day of 25 Akalis.
Akalis of the S. G. P. C., declared unlawful, marched through important thoroughfares of Lahore drawing attention of the Govt. and of the Governor who was then opening the new Council to arrest them. Hitherto this sort of procession was confined to Amritsar alone.

3 Jan. '24 Bar Committee—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru giving evidence before the Bar Committee strongly repudiated the pretensions of the English Bar and the idea that unless a man went to England he could not imbibe the traditions of the English Bar. The system of wakalatnamas, he said, was a huge fraud in the name of law.

4 Jan. '24 Mass meeting at Madras to welcome Moul. Shaukat Ali and other Congress leaders who in their speeches strenuously pleaded for Khaddar. Kenya Constitution Bill passed. Indian Members resigned.

7 Jan. '24 Lucknow University Convocation opened by the Late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee who delivered a spirited address on National Education in India. Govt. of Bombay suspend punitive operations at Borsad.

8 Jan. '24 Class Areas Bill of 1924 published in the Union Govt. Gazette.
Natal Provincial Council passed the Hulett Ordinance.

9 Jan. '24 Before the Lee Commission at Madras quite a sensation was created by Messrs R. Srinivasan and M. C. Rajah, representing Depressed classes, strongly pleading against further Indianisation and urging predominance of European element.
U. P. Council opened by the Governor in a speech in which he optimistically wanted the members to realise that the path to self-government lay along constitutional lines.
Swarajist Conference held at Lucknow under Mr. C. R. Das. (see p. 68).
Sir Malcolm Hailey appointed Governor of Punjab in place of Sir Edward Maclagan.

10 Jan. '24 Executive Committee meeting of Swarajya party held at Lucknow. Borsad Satyagraha suspended (see p 32(c).)

11 Jan. '24 Moulana Shaukat Ali and party reached Colombo and carried on Khilafat propaganda collecting funds therefor for the next seven days.

12 Jan. '24 MAHATMA GANDHI operated upon for Appendicites (See p. 33).
The Day murder at Calcutta.

13 Jan. '24 Bengal Prov. Congress Committee searched and ransacked by the Police for the Day murder—Asst. Secretary and others arrested—Other house-searches and arrests in Calcutta followed.

14 Jan. '24 Mass meeting of Europeans and Anglo-Indians at the Empire Theatre, Calcutta, on the Day murder (see p. 8).
Eleventh Session of the Indian Science Congress opened at Bangalore with Dr. N. Annandale as President.
Governor of Bombay went up to Delhi to confer with Viceroy on release of of Gandhi.

15 Jan. '24 Lee Commission in Calcutta recorded evidence of the Indian and European service men. The Hon'ble S. N. Sinha wanted protection for the so-called brown bureaucrats like him who found themselves between the cross-fire. He wanted at least 20% increment in the present pay.—B and O. Council opened by the Governor.—C. P. Legislate Council opened by the Governor. (see p. 246).
Parliament opened by H. M. the King-Emperor.

16 Jan. '24 C. P. Council first met for Official business. Official Bills defeated.
Mahomed Ali's reply to Sastri RE. Gandhi's message issued (see p. 37).

18 Jan. '24 Gandhi Day observed all over India.—Before the Royal Commission at Calcutta Indian Association giving evidence said that the Indian Civil Service should cease.
C. P. Council—The great "No-confidence" debate and Govt. defeat.

19 Jan. '24 East Africa Indian Congress with Mrs. Naidu as President.

20 Jan. '24 Report of the British Guiana Deputation published.
Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's famous message to India broad-casted.

21 Jan. '24 Andhra P. C. C. meeting at Bezwada resolved to borrow seven lakhs from the All-India Khadi Board for organising Khadi work.

22 Jan. '24 Lord Olivier made Secretary of State for India; Prof. Richards the Under Secretary.
Mr. Ramsay Macdonald becomes Premier. Labour Party comes to office.
Seventh Indian Economic Conference at Bombay opened by Governor with Sir M. Visveswarayya as President.

24 Jan. '24 Mr. Sen Gupta's resolution in Bengal Council asking for release of political prisoners passed after heated debate.

29 Jan. '24 Colonial Secretary, Mr. Thomas, at the reception of Empire Journalists at the Colonial office said that the policy of the Kenya White Papers would be followed by the Labour Govt.

31 Jan. '24 Assembly—opened by the Viceroy.
All-India Khadi Board meeting at Bombay passed resolutions (see p. 27).

3 Feb. '24 Joint Conference of Swarajists and other members of Council's held at Delhi with Mr. C. R. Das in the chair—continued on the next following days (see p. 70).

4 Feb. '24 Meetings against class areas bill held throughout Natal.
Numan-Lukhoo Memorandum on Guiana Colonization Scheme published.

5 Feb. '24 Assembly—Mr. Rangachariar's resolution on further Reforms formally moved. MAHATMA GANDHI RELEASED unconditionally.

6 Feb. '24 Sir B. N. Sarma announced in Council of State that Kenya Bill will not be passed without hearing Govt. of India.
Official explanation of the Mill-owners Association, Bombay on the great Bombay strike issued.

7 Feb. '24 Assembly—Mr. Neogy's resolution on duty on South African coal passed.
Mahatma Gandhi issues message to the people through Mahomed Ali. (see p. 42).
Before the Lee Commission, Mr. Hasan Imam of Patna strongly urged Indianisation and stoppage of recruitment in England on both Political and economic grounds.
Mr. Sen Gupt's motion on "No-Confidence" on Ministers disallowed by President—Sir J. C. Bose's lecture at the India Office with Sir Sydney Olivier as President attended by the Premier who eulogising Sir J. C. Bose's efforts paid a tribute to Indians.

8 Feb. '24 British Auxilliary of Indian National Conference sent a Memo. to the Prime Minister on grant of further Reforms. (See p. 81.)
Assembly—The SWARAJYA DEBATE on Mr. Rangachariar's resolution.
Sir Joseph Numan expounds his Colonisation Scheme to forty members of the Indian Legislature at Delhi.

9 Feb. '24 First Shahidi Jatha of 500 Akalis started from Amritsar to Nabha (see p. 100)

10 Feb. '24 All India thanks-giving day for the release of Mahatma Gandhi.

11 Feb. '24 Annual general meeting of the European Association, Bombay strongly criticised Swarajist policy and passed resolutions insisting on the organisations of Europeans actively taking part in Indian politics.

13 Feb. '24 Assembly—Debate on Constitutional Advance resumed.—Dr. Gour's amendment defeated.
Council of State—The Reciprocity Bill, the Immigration into India Bill to reciprocate treatment to Indians in S. Africa passed.

16 Feb. '24 At the Calcutta Motor Trades Association strong European sentiment was expressed on the release of Mr. Gandhi by Mr. Villiers who said, "Do you release upon the world a homicidal maniac because he suffers from appendicites?"
Nationalist Coalition party of Swarajists and Councillors of Delhi finally met and adopted rules for their future conduct.

18 Feb. '24 Assembly—Last day of the debate on Constitutional advance—Pt. Motilal Nehru's amendment for a Round Table Conference passed by 76 votes to 48.

19 Feb. '24 In B. & O. Council motion on charka-spinning in schools carried.
20 Feb. '24 In Bengal Council motion on demand for Provincial autonomy carried.
21 Feb. '24 The Jaito Massacre—Sahidi Jatha fired upon by Nabha Administration. (see p. 104)
22 Feb. '24 National Conference of Liberals opened at Delhi under Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as President and Mrs. Besant as Convener. (See pp. 74.)
24 Feb. '24 Mr. Sastri's lecture at the Criterion Club, Delhi, on Indians Overseas.
25 Feb. '24 M. Gandhi's letter to the Akalis for stopping Jathas issued.
26 Feb. '24 Assembly—S. Golab Singh's reso'. on Sikh grievances, S. Kartar Singh's reso'. on release of S. Kharak Singh, and Mr. Sadiq Hossain's resol. on release of Hasrat Mohani passed.
Lord Olivier's statement in the Lords.
28 Feb. '24 Second Sahidi Jatha marched from Amritsar for Jaito.
29 Feb. '24 Assembly—BUDGET PRESENTED.
1 Mar. '24 Finance Bill presented in the Assembly—Bombay Council adjourned as a protest against Lord Olivier's strictures on them.
3 Mar. '24 Questions in the Commons on Round Table Conference etc.
Khalifa deposed at Angora and next day banished from Constantinople.
4 Mar. '24 C. P. Council—Budget presented. Govt. Bills all thrown out.
5 Mar. '24 Cabinet Committee appointed to deal with Indian questions—B. & O. Council passed resolution for release of Political prisoners against Govt.
6 Mar. '24 Bombay Council carried resolution boycotting Empire Exhibition—Supplementary grants refused in the C. P. Council.
7 Mar. '24 King Hussain of Mecca proclaimed Khalifa of Mesopotamia, etc.
Police firing on Bombay Mill-hand strikers who had started a bon-fire outside the Elphinston Mill which was set on fire.
Delhi University Convocation opened by the Viceroy.
Moulana Mahomed Ali addressing a congregation at the Juma Masjid, Aligarh on the deposition of Khalifa made an important statement on the position of the Indian Khilafatists. He spoke sympathetically of the deposed Khalifa.
8 Mar. '24 In the C. P. Council the whole Budget was thrown with the exception of Rs. 2/—as salary for Ministers.
Governor of Bombay made definite proposals to the Mill-owners Assoc. to settle the strike.—In Bombay Council Govt. defeated on the casting vote of the President on a demand for conveyance allowance to Police officers.
9 Mar. '24 National Muslim University Convocation opened with Hakim Ajmal Khan, the Chancellor, presiding. Mr. M. Pickthall delivered a weighty address urging young Moslems to be nationalists first.
10 Mar. '24 Council of State—The Kenya Debate—Mr. Sastri withdrew his resolution.
Assembly—REFUSAL OF SUPPLIES of the first four main budget demands on Customs, Salt, Income & Opium.
Central Khilafat Committee and Jamait-ul-Ulema cabled representations to Angora and other moslem countries on the deposition of the Khalifa.
11 Mar. '24 Mr. Lansbury's motion of adjournment in the Commons on the Massacre at Jaito—Parliamentary Standing Committee on Indian affairs moved in the Lords.
12 Mar. '24 The official Jaito Report of Mr. Balwant Singh issued.
14 Mar. '24 Second Sahidi Jatha reached Jaito and peacefully arrested (see pp. 112 c).
17 Mar. '24 Assembly—THE FINANCE BILL THROWN OUT.
18 Mar. '24 Assembly—Recommended Finance Bill thrown out again.
19 Mar. '24 Council of State—The South African Debate on Mr. Natesan's motion.
Khelafat Conference with Moul. Mahomed Ali as President opened at Calcutta (see p. 93).—In the Bengal Council Budget demands rejected.—In the Bombay Council motion for release of Hasrat Mohani carried.
20 Mar. '24 Council of State—South African debate continued. Mr. Natesan's resolution carried.—In Bombay Council Mr. Nariman's resolution recalling Mr. Horniman rejected.
Assembly—Motion for Repeal of Repressive laws passed against Govt.
22 Mar. '24 Third Sahidi Jatha marched from Amritsar to Jaito.
24 Mar. '24 In Bengal Council demand for ministers' salaries refused.
25 Mar. '24 Council of State—Finance Bill passed.
26 Mar. '24 In the Bengal Council—Great debate on reduction of Police grant.

Congress Activities

After the National Congress session at Cocanada was over three parties from it sallied forth to push their respective party-work in the country. The Swarajists having obtained the imprimatur of the Congress devoted themselves wholly to Council-work. Delhi, Calcutta and Nagpur were their main fields of action; so much indeed that no other Congress-work could be done at these places. Their activities have been detailed on pages 56-70. The work of the Congress itself was carried on by two parties mainly in South India. The All-India Khadi Board, with Sj. Jamnalal Bajaj as president and Sj. Sankerlal Banker as Secretary, toured in the Deccan and South propagating Khadi doctrine. An account of this is given in the following pages (20-21).

The Ceylon Tour.

Maulana Shaukat Ali, Drs. Kitchlew and Mahmood accompanied by Bi-amma, the revered mother of the Ali Brothers, went over to Ceylon to rouse the Muslims there and enlist their sympathy for the Khilafat cause, and particularly to raise funds for the Angora deputation. During their journey through the Madras coast they halted at several stations and addressed big gatherings exhorting the people to wear Khaddar and help the constructive work of the Congress. On January 7th the party reached Colombo and was enthusiastically received there by the people. On the second day of their arrival they addressed a big meeting of Muslims and explained what India was doing to safeguard the sacred institution of the Khilafat. On the third day they called on the leading people of Colombo and addressed a meeting held on behalf of the National Congress of Ceylon. In a very strong and spirited speech Maulana Shaukat Ali explained to the audience the principles of non-co-operation, the message of Gandhi, of the Khilafat cause and of Khaddar. It was in this speech that he made some strong indictments against the British Govt. which was raised in question in the House of Commons where it was urged that the Maulana should be arrested once more. The British Empire, he said, might be eaten up and swallowed, but until their chief, Mahatma Gandhi, was liberated and their demands granted, not one pice out of Indian funds, nor one soldier more from India would be sacrificed for Britain and the British Empire would go to ruin. They wanted, he said, to close the door on the British Empire. They, in India, were preparing for a great fight. He assured them that very soon India would achieve what she desired and then they would not forget Ceylon.

After a hurricane touring campaign in Ceylon the party came back to India on the 18th January and started on Khadder propaganda work in South India. Ramnad was visited first and then Madura, where the party was presented with a purse, and then on Jan. 28th they came over to Poona to see Mahatmaji who was then lying in Hospital.

The All-India Congress Committee

Immediately after the annual session of the Congress was over a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held on the 1st. and 2nd. Jan. in the Subjects Committee pandal which was attended by about 60 members. A Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. was elected with the following members : (1) Sjts C. R. Das ; (2) Rajagopalachariar ; (3) Vallabhbhai Patel ; (4) Konda Venkatappayya ; (5) Shankarlal Banker ; (6) Jamnalal Bajaj ; (7) Sardar Mangal Singh ; (8) Moulanas Abul Kalam Azad and (9) Shaukat Ali, with the President and General Secretaries as ex-officio members.

THE BUDDHA GAYA TEMPLE.

There was a hot discussion about the Buddha Gaya temple. Srijut Rajagopalachari suggested that it should be taken over from the owner and converted into a national property and its management should be entrusted to some Buddhist Association which should be assisted by the Congress. It was also said that as Babu Rajendra Prosad was connected with this, he should be again consulted on this point. Babu Brijkishore Prashad of Behar who was also asked by the Congress to enquire into the matter objected to Srijut Rajagopalachari's motion on the ground that the entire Hindu population of Gaya had held out a threat to him and that, in the event of Srijut Rajagopalachari's motion were carried and given effect to, a storm of protest and opposition would come from the same party and the Congress would be landed upon a very difficult situation. So he struck a note of warning to the members.

Srijut Jamnalal Bajaj moving an amendment to it said that a Committee should be appointed to settle the terms with the present proprietors.

Mr. C. V. Vaidya opposed both the resolution and the amendment on religious grounds. Then Srijut Rajagopalachariar said that if there could no united opinion on the subject he would like to withdraw his motion. Srijut T. Prakasam said that they should protest against all such opposition and proceed with the matter at all costs. Srijut Rajagopalachari said that as matters required to be amplified he would move another resolution of nationalising the Buddha Gaya temple.

Srijut Manilal Kothari said that all Buddhist population in Burma, China, Japan and other places were looking to the people of India for a solution of this matter. Srijut Jairam Das opposed Sjt. Rajagopalachari. Sjt. Venkatram said that the matter should be referred to the Working Committee. The matter, however, receiving still more opposition was put to the vote and was defeated, 26 being in favour of the motion and 31 against it.

PUBLICATION OF THE A. I. C. C. PROCEEDINGS.

Babu Siva Prosad Gupta, Benares, moved a resolution suggesting that all the resolutions as well as the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee from the Calcutta session down to this day be published in book form and kept for circulation among members and for purposes of sale. This resolution was unanimously carried.

PERMANENT OFFICE AND PAID WORKERS.

Babu Siva Prosad Gupta in moving another resolution said that there should be a permanent office of the All-India Congress Committee, paid workers should be appointed, libraries should be kept and, if possible,

meetings should be held at one place only. Babu Bajrang Sahai opposed it and there being opposition from other sides also the resolution was dropped.

The President expressing his own personal opinion about it said that he would like that Delhi should be the permanent place and the Working Committee should always meet at that place.

Thereafter the resolution about Akali Dal was discussed and it was proposed that it should be referred to the Working Committee.

A Sub-Committee of 12 members was then appointed to consider the election disputes in some of the provinces, namely, Srijuts Jairam Das (Sindh), Bhagawan Das (Benares), Manilal Kothari (Gujarat), C. V. Vaidya (Maharastra), Drs. Murarilal (Cawnpore), Subramaniam (Andhra), Pattabhi Seetharamayya (Andhra), Sjts Vallabhbhai Patel (Ahmedabad), T. Prakasam (Madras), Santanam (Punjab), Baijoji Bharuch (Bombay), and Dr. Ansari (Delhi).

Dr. Biswa Nath Mookerjee moved a resolution calling the attention of the Committee to the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Gaya Congress last year and asking the General Secretary to put before the Committee the progress made by the Enquiry Committee. He said that the Congress had done an injustice to the labourers in India. He wanted to know why the Labour Enquiry Committee appointed some 12 or 13 months before could not submit any report up to this time.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru moved an amendment that the matter be referred to the Working Committee. He assured the Committee that it would receive their best attention and matters would be expedited. The amendment was carried.

PROGRAMME FOR FUTURE WORK.

In pursuance of the N-C-O resolution passed by the Cocanada Congress, the A. I. C. C. resolved as follows :—

In accordance with the programme adopted by the Congress at Cocanada, the A. I. C. C. resolves that every Provincial Congress Committee do at once take steps to carry out the constructive programme. Provincial Congress Committees are directed to prepare detailed and considered schemes showing the items of the Bardoli constructive programme to be now concentrated upon in each province, and the ways and means decided upon for carrying them out. Reports shall reach the General Secretary before the 15th of February.

The following points should be noted :—

(i) The Congress programme for the year is the constructive programme. (ii) Provincial Executive Committees should take up the work vigorously at once. (iii) Without prejudice to the above, the Provincial Executive Committees should meet at once and settle what items should be concentrated upon and what methods and means should be adopted. (iv) Detailed programme as settled above should be sent up to the General Secretary at Allahabad.

PURCHASE OF CONGRESS TENT.

Sjt. K. Venkatappayya moved a resolution suggesting the purchase of the Congress tents from Mr. Mookerji of Calcutta. He said that the Working Committee should be authorised to do so.

The resolution was unanimously passed.

The All-India Khadi Board

In pursuance of the resolution of the A.I.C.C. given above the All India Khadi Board appointed at Cocanada to organise the production and distribution of Khaddar throughout India started on its tour on the 3rd January. For the first week they visited all the Khadi-producing centres of the Andhra-desa going into the very interior for collecting information about and supervising Khadi work and lecturing all the while to village people on the utility of Khadder and the message of the Congress. Their impression of Andhra-desa as regards Khadi are set forth as below :

"The Province has an immenese potentiality. A village near Ongole called Guruvareddipalayam is dead 50% in Khadi. A whole-time Khadi-worker J. V. Appaya Sastri, formerly a medical student rusticated from his college for insisting to put on Gandhi cap, was the main-spring there.

"The village has 300 houses with a total populace of about 3,000. It contains 400 charkas. Each charka produces yarn enough for cloth 27 yards long and 45 inches wide per month. It amounts to over 10,000 yards per month. They work at full swing for 6 to 8 months in a year. That means that they produce from 60,000 to 80,000 yards of 45" width cloth which practically amounts to double the quantity they use. Considering the population containing equal number of men, women, and children and the average consumption of cloth 12 yards per head, their total consumption should not be more than half the production. Women were asked what quantity of cloth they used every year. They said they replenished their old stock with two new sadies of 8 yards each every year. This amounts to 16 yards of cloth for a woman per year. The consumption of cloth by a man and a child being less than that of a woman, the average of 12 yards per head is not improper.

"Conditions varied more or less in each of the other villages. If one could not grow cotton on its own fields, while other requirements were there, the other was wanting in weavers. A third one was not producing yarn within its own boundary, but was getting its required quantity from neighbouring villages and providing it to its numerous weavers. A fourth again being a centre of complete production was relying largely on its sale outside and was consuming very little of it within its own limits.

"It was observed that if able workers would settle in these villages and would try to put in the missing part or parts of the whole organisation, the field was there.

At Nadendla, about 15 miles interior from Guntur, there were about 700 Charkas always working among a population of about 5000 people. The cotton was exhausted and all the charkas were idle for a month. Men and women were seen to put on their own hand-spun. The village was able to produce more yarn than it could consume, but the weaving population was not sufficient for itself.

The Andhra province was the foremost in pure Khadi production. Cultivators stocked their own cotton and spun it themselves. In some villages the amount of Khadi produced was twice as much as was needed to meet the requirement of the village. On January 10th Sj. Devadas Gandhi opened on behalf of the Municipal Board of Tirupatti a Khaddar store. This was the first Municipal Khaddar store opened. On January 19th. Sjts. Jamnalal and Sankerlal reached Salem and accompanied by Sjts. K. Santhanam, N. S. Varadachari and C. Rajagopalachari made a tour through the Tamil Nadu province. At Tiruppur, the chief Khaddar area of Tamil Nadu, the Kongu Hand-spinning and Weaving Association in their address to the Board said :—

"A steady and persistent demand for more and more Khaddar and an unlimited scope for production locally, led us to undertake ambitious schemes of work. Large sums of money, placed at our disposal as loans, and heavy standing orders by various Congress Committees of several Provinces were additional incentives for us to organize works of production on a very large scale and in the months of September and October last, the quantity produced exceeded Rs. 7,000 worth every

week. A separate Limited Company with an identical name was recently formed to take up the business of production and sale of Khadi. The Association resolved to restrict its activities to purely educational and demonstrative work to promote the arts of hand-spinning, weaving and dyeing. With the original funds of the Association and further funds that are being collected locally, the buildings for the Kongu Ka a-sala have already been erected.

"The present state of Khadi work in these parts, however, is a sorry tale. The recent depression in Khadi trade has affected us here also and practically all work has stopped. About 10,000 women of the agricultural class who were doing spinning only as a secondary occupation have now no work whatever to do, especially in these days of famine conditions here, consequent on monsoon failure. 500 to 600 weavers working with hand-spun yarn have also been thrown out of work and heavy stock of Khadi are lying unsold. Under these highly depressing circumstances, we hail your presence here as something providential and await your message of hope and deliverance."

In Tamil Nadu they spent more than a fortnight during which time they passed not only through important towns like Madras, Salem, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Tinnevelly and Madura: but also through a large number of villages lying far in the interior, like Uttukuli near Tiruppur, Rajapalayam and Adirampatnam. At all these places the Khadi workers assembled and met to discuss with the members of the Khaddar Board measures for the spread and promotion of the Khadi industry. At large centres of production spinners and weavers were also met by the members and much information was elicited at first hand through them.

During the tour much work was accomplished in Tamil Nadu by way of whipping up the demand for Khadi which was rather slack and also by way of ensuring increased and continuous Khadi production.

On January 17th the party reached Madura, visited the national school there and inspected how the little boys and girls in the school spin. A huge public meeting was held at which Sj. Jamnalal Bajaj hoisted the National Flag and lectured on Khadi.

After visiting Trichinopoly, Tanjore and other centres, the Board issued an appeal on the 20th January in the course of which they said:—

"The present position of our Province is extremely anomalous. While many Provinces are complaining that production of Khaddar has not been keeping pace with the demand, there is not a single centre here which is not complaining that the demand is not keeping pace with the supply. We were told by every worker that if we could only push up the demand, the production will go up to any extent. There is at present more than one lakh of rupees worth Khaddar stock, and production has been curtailed in many places as the major portion of the capital has been locked up in stock. But it does not need much argument to see that this is no solution of the difficulty. It is only if more people take to Khaddar that the present stock can be really cleared. If the Khaddar Board bought up the cloth, it will only increase the price as the necessary establishment and freight-charge have to be put upon it."

After their tour the Board met at Bombay on 30th January and passed certain important resolutions which are given on p. 24. During the month of February they toured in the Karnatak and the Central Provinces.

The record of Khadi-work in other provinces are either not available or not worth mentioning. In Bengal Dr. P. C. Roy carried on the work without any help from the local Congress Committee. In a letter addressed by him to Mahatma Gandhi on the 11th February he deplored the lack of Khadi in Bengal: "of the thousands who are flocking to the public meetings to attend the Gandhi celebrations barely one per cent is clad in Khaddar!"

The Bombay A. I. C. C. Meeting.

The Working Committee again met in Bombay on the 30th. and 31st. Jan. and ended this second sitting after Cocanada on February 1st. The more important resolutions passed are summarised below.

The following members were present : Moulana Mahomed Ali in the chair, Konda Venkatappayya, Moulana Shaukat Ali, C. R. Das, C. Rajagopalachariar, G. Deshapande, Sirdar Mangal Singh, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Dr. Kitchlew, Shankerlal Banker, Jawaharlal Nehru and Seth Jhaveri.

The report and recommendations of the National Education Conference convened by Babu Baghawan Das were read and it was decided to postpone their consideration till the formation of the National Education Board. Regarding the application of Utkal P. C. C. for financial help, the Committee decided that in view of the A. I. C. C.'s present financial position no grant for aid could be made to Utkal, but that other assistance will be rendered in re-organising work in the province. It was also resolved that Mr. Gangadar Rao Deshpande should look into the financial condition of all the Provincial Congress Committees as ascertained by the Auditor and should arrange for the visits of the members of the Working Committee or other prominent Congressmen in such provinces as are in straitened circumstances in order to assist them in re-starting work and particularly in enrolling members and raising funds.

Several individual complaints against certain Provincial Congress Committees were then disposed of and relief sought by some of the subordinate Congress Committees were considered.

THE AKALI SITUATION

The Akali situation was fully discussed and eventually the following resolution was carried :

"That out of the money car-marked for Civil Disobedience, a sum of Rs. 22,000 be sanctioned for helping the families of the Sikhs going to jail in offering Civil Disobedience to Government in addition to Rs. 3,000 given for this purpose by the Burma P. C. C. This amount is to be sent to the Punjab P. C. C. and is to be spent by them for the purpose specified in consultation with the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee."

CIVIC GUARDS

The question of drafting rules for Civic Guards was considered and it was resolved :

"That in view of the Cocanada Congress resolution relating to volunteer organisation, the Organisation be requested to carry out the object of the Civic Guards through their volunteers.

Another resolution was passed appointing Mr. Banarsidas Chathurbedi and Mr. C. F. Andrews to consider the prevention of emigration to foreign countries in terms of the Cocanada Congress resolution No. 10.

INDIANS IN AFRICA

The Working Committee also considered the cable from South Africa inviting Mrs. Sarojini Naidu by cable from East Africa. It was resolved

that Mrs. Naidu and Mr. Banarasidas Chathurbedi be requested to proceed to South Africa to study the urgent problems affecting Indians and to give advice and render all possible assistance to them. The Secretary was authorised to incur the necessary expenditure in this behalf. A cable was accordingly sent to Mrs. Naidu and Mr. P. K. Naidu to Nairobi and Johannesburg.

GANDHI MONTH.

On February 1st, the last day of the meeting, the following resolution was adopted :—

"The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is deeply thankful to merciful Providence that Mahatma Gandhi has passed safely through his recent grave illness and that his further services for the cause of freedom have thus been vouchsafed to the Nation."

"The Working Committee earnestly appeals to the nation that in order to prepare for a great struggle to be carried on all over the country to wrench from the Government his and the Nation's freedom and establish Swaraj, a supreme effort should be made to strengthen the Congress organisation in every respect and for this purpose the month beginning from the 18th February and ending on the 18th March next should be observed as the Gandhi month and devoted to an intensive national work by every man and woman desiring the emancipation of the country."

"The Working Committee calls upon all Indians to put forth the utmost endeavour to clothe the nation in Khaddar, to enroll Congress members and to collect money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund."

"All Congress Committees are called upon to organise work at once in order to carry out the above resolution."

The Delhi A. I. C. C. Meeting.

The next meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee was held at Delhi under Maulana Mahomed Ali on the 26th and 27th February 1924.

Among other resolutions the Committee passed the following :—

"The Working Committee expresses its deep sympathy with the brave Sikh community on the tragic events at Jaito and congratulates the Jatha on their gallant and determined behaviour and on their non-violence. In view of Sjt. Gidwani's arrest Sjt. George Joseph is requested to take charge of publicity work of the Congress Akali Sahayak Bureau at Amritsar."

The Committee considered the scheme of work prepared by the Provincial Congress Committees in compliance with the request of the All-India Committee and passed the following resolution :—

"The Working committee notes with satisfaction that most provinces have framed definite schemes of Constructive Work and have already begun to take vigorous action. The Committee appeals to the people to give every help to the Congress organisation in attaining a substantial measure of success in the fulfilment of their programme. The Committee recommends that special attention be paid to the enrolment of volunteers, collection of funds and organisation of Khaddar and volunteers."

The All-India Khadi Board.

The All-India Khadi Board also met at Delhi on the 27th and 28th February last and passed the budget for the head office, the technical department and the information bureau. The All-India Khadi Service was sanctioned to consist of full-time men employed on salaries not ordinarily exceeding Rs. 100 p. m. with travelling charges to serve as organisers and inspectors in the Provinces. Provinces doing considerable amount of Khadi work directly under the management of the Provincial Khadi Boards and utilising All-India Khadi Board funds taken as loans or grants will have travelling inspectors who will be watching and auditing on behalf of the All-India Khadi Board. Any province where there was scope for increased Khadi work and which needed guidance and initiative from outside was to be given an organiser. The provinces were to be given one or both such class of officers according to their needs.

Owing to the illness of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj at Delhi and his doctor's advice against proceeding further in his tours, and also because of Lala Lajpatrai's absence from the Punjab, the Khadi Board's promised Punjab tour which was tabled in March had to be postponed indefinitely.

The next meeting of the Congress Working Committee and allied bodies was to take place in Bombay on the 21st April.

सत्यमेव जयते

The Tilak Swaraj Fund

At the direction of the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee the General Secretaries issued in March last the following statement with regard to the Tilak Swaraj Fund :—

The All India Congress Committee have taken considerable pains to publish detailed audited accounts of all collection and expenditure of the central office and of the Provincial Congress Committees. None the less there appears to be considerable misapprehension and enquiries and occasional references in the press indicate that many people are ignorant of these accounts and do not know how the money was collected or spent. Mention is frequently made of the crore of rupees collected in 1921 and there appears to be an impression that this money was brought together at one central place and then spent or distributed. This is not so. The money collected by each Provincial Congress Committee was largely kept by it and spent in its own province according to its needs. A part of it however was sent as the provincial quota to the All India Congress Committee.

Audited accounts of the Tilak Swarajya Fund of the central office and different provinces together with the All India Congress Committee's auditors' inspection reports are prepared annually and placed before the All India Committee. These accounts and statements for 1921 and 1922 were published in book form and widely distributed amongst members and Congress Committees and the press. Similar detailed accounts for 1923 have also been prepared. They are being printed and as soon as they are ready they will be widely distributed. Any person who is interested in these accounts or desires to refer to details should see these printed statements at the office of any Provincial Congress Committee. Our object here is merely to give a rough idea of the Congress finances to the average person who is not well-versed in understanding balance sheets or has not got the time or inclination to study the detailed accounts.

The income of the Congress is principally derived from the four-anna membership subscriptions and from donations to the Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund. Membership fees are retained in the provinces and are usually divided between the Provincial Committee, the District Committee and the local Committee. No part of these fees goes to the All India Committee.

The main source of income in the past has been donation to the Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund. These donations were of two kinds :—

(1) General donations—Subscribed by donors without indicating any specific object on which the money was to be spent. The Provincial Congress Committees had the discretion to spend this money on any department of Congress activity, e. g. general propaganda and organisation, national education, khaddar, removal of untouchability, etc.

(2) Specific Grants—These were ear-marked by donors for particular objects. The ear-marking in some cases was general, as, for instance, for Khaddar or National Education, and sometime it was for a particular institution, like a Vidyapitha or a National School. In the latter case the money often went direct to the particular institution, or was kept by the local Congress Committee, who exercised only a general supervision.

The All India Congress Committee's quota of the Tilak Swarajya Fund collections was originally fixed in 1921 at 25 per cent. Subsequently in 1922 it was reduced to 5 per cent. This quota of 25 per cent or 5 per cent, however, was only taken from the general collections and not from the ear-marked items. Thus no part of the specific ear marked grants came to the central fund of the All India Committee. They were kept entirely either by the Provincial Committee or the local committee or, as mentioned above, by the institution concerned. Details about these specific grants can be seen in the provincial or local accounts. The All India Committee could only supervise or check generally by means of the auditor the expenditure and accounting of these funds. A great part of these specific items were utilised for capital expenditure, e. g. building for schools and colleges and also for running expenses of educational institutions.

Thus it will be seen that the All India Congress Committee is chiefly concerned with the general collections 25 per cent of which in 1921 and 5 per cent subsequently, came into its coffers. The remaining 75 per cent or 95 per cent was usually divided up in varying proportions fixed by each Provincial Congress Committee between the District or local committee and the Provincial Committee. The recom-

mendation made by the Working Committee in 1921 was that, except in the case of big cities, 50% should be left with the districts and 25% should go to the provinces.

The major part of the collections for the Tilak Swarajya Fund, including the famous crore, was made in 1921 and we shall therefore deal with this year separately. According to the report of the auditors a sum of rupees one crore and thirteen lacs roughly was promised in 1921 and one crore one lac and sixty-four thousand were actually collected by the end of 1921. Out of these collections rupees sixty-four lacs and thirty thousand were for the general fund, and rupees thirty seven lacs were collected for specific ear-marked items.

Special mention has to be made of the city of Bombay. Of the crore and thirteen lacs promised in 1921, Bombay's contribution was nearly thirty eight lacs —twenty one lacs being for the general fund and seventeen lacs for specific ear-marked items. Out of these thirty eight lacs actual collections in Bombay in 1921 amounted to thirty five and a half lacs. In view of the large collections in Bombay it was decided to treat them not as purely provincial collections to be spent in Bombay only but as All India collections, to be spent in accordance with the recommendations of the All India Working Committee and the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. Trustees were appointed to deal with the Bombay collections and in the beginning of 1922 they had about twenty lacs with them out of the general collections, besides the ear-marked collections.

The All India Committee received about thirteen lacs from the Provincial Committees in 1921 as their 25 per cent quota of the general collections. Nearly half of this amount—six lacs and nine thousand rupees—was given by the All India Committee in the shape of grants to the different provinces for various purposes, e. g. spinning and weaving : rupees two lacs eighty eight thousand ; famine and other relief: rupees ninety thousand ; national education : rupees fifty thousand ; ashrams : rupees forty thousand ; depressed classes : rupees twenty six thousand : Malabar relief and a large number of unclassified sums, rupees one lac fifteen thousand. Thus at the end of 1921 the All India Congress Committee had a balance of about seven lacs left. The various Provincial Congress Committees also had balances totalling up to about eight lacs at the end of 1921.

It will thus be seen that out of rupees four lacs and thirty thousand collected for the general fund, twenty lacs were the savings of the Bombay Provincial Committee at the end of 1921, about eight lacs were held by the other Provincial Committees and rupees seven lacs were held by the All India Congress Committee—a total saving of about rupees thirty five lacs by the end of 1921. The balance of twenty-nine and a quarter lac was spent all over India by the All India Committee as well as the different provincial and local committees in the course of the year in the various activities of the Congress.

In the year 1922 and 1923 the total collections for the Tilak Swarajya Fund amounted to about twenty three lacs—of this rupees six and a half lacs were for the general fund; rupees sixteen and a half lacs for ear-marked items. As we have mentioned above the All-India Committees' quota out of the general fund was reduced to 5 per cent. in 1922. The All-India Congress Committee thus only received about rupees ninety eight thousand as its quota in these two years and the balance remained with and spent by the provincial and local committees. The Trustees of the Tilak Swarajya Fund in Bombay made large grants and loans amounting to rupees eight and a half lacs for khaddar work. They gave five lacs to the All-India Khaddar Board and three lacs to the Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee and Rs. 40,000 for khaddar work in Hyderabad-Dn. They also ear-marked almost the entire amount in their possession for various educational and other purposes. The All India Committee has also made a large grant of rupees six lacs to the All India Khaddar Board, and grants to provinces for various purposes amounting to rupees one lac and a half and loans amounting to rupess fifty-five thousand.

At the end of 1923 the amount held by the All India Congress Committee was rupees eighty eight thousand seven hundred and eighteen; by the Bombay Trustees of the Tilak Swarajya Fund was rupees seven lacs and eleven thousand (but all this is ear-marked now); and by the various Provincial Congress Committees about rupees two lacs. The All India Khaddar Board held rupees four lacs thirty nine thousand five-hundred and twenty eight.

The figures we have given in the preceding paragraph do not include amounts due under loans advanced etc. Sums totalling Rs. 89,000 have been advanced by the All India Congress Committee to the three Provincial Committees of the United Provinces (Rs. 40,000), Hindustani Central Provinces (Rs. 34,000) and Tamil Nadu (Rs. 15,000). Many other minor sums are also due to the All India Committee on

account of Congress delegation fees etc. The All India Khaddar Board has also advanced considerable sums to various Provincial Committees and other organisations for Khaddar work. A total sum of rupees six lacks eighty five thousand was advanced thus by this Board by the end of 1923. This sum included four lacs advanced to the Gujrat Provincial Committee; one lac to the Behar Provincial Congress Committee; Rs. 50,000 each to Andhra and Karnatak Provincial Congress Committees; and smaller sums to Kerala Rs. 15,000; Utkal Rs. 10,000; Assam Rs. 10,000; and Sind Rs. 5,000.

Thus taking the figures for the past three years we have a total income of nearly rupees one hundred and twenty five lacs for the Tilak Swarajya Fund. Out of this a little less than rupees seventy one lacs were for the general fund and nearly rupees fifty four lacs for ear-marked items. (We are not here including the sums received for Congress membership and various minor sources of income. As we have stated above the Congress membership fees are entirely spent in the province or district where the member resides). These rupees seventy one lacs were chiefly spent as follows:—over twenty seven lacs for khaddar and over five and three-fourth lacs for education (both these items are in addition to the ear-marked expenditure under these heads). Rupees thirty two and three-fourth lacs were spent chiefly by the Provincial Congress Committees and their subordinate committees all over India in various Congress activities e. g. organisation, famine relief, floods, volunteers, removal of untouchability, temperance etc. The All India Congress Committee received about fourteen lacs in all as their quota during the three years. Out of this six lacs were granted to the Khaddar Board and most of the balance of eight lacs was given back to the various provinces in the shape of grants.

The chief heads of expenditure during the last three years have been khaddar and national education. The amount spent on khaddar work is however largely represented by the stocks and other assets held by the All India Khaddar Board and the various provincial committees, national universities in Gujrat, United Provinces, Punjab, Maharashtra, Behar etc. and the numerous national schools all over the country have consumed a large amount. Particulars of other grants are given in the published accounts.

We may mention that out of rupees fifty four lacs which have been given for specific ear-marked objects, rupees twenty two lacs are invested in immoveable properties, trusts, valuable securities etc. and the income accruing from them is spent on the objects named.

To those who are interested in further details we would again recommend a study of the audited statements published by the All India Congress Committee.

Resolutions of the All-India Khadi Board.

The following resolutions were passed by the All-India Khadi-Board at the meeting held in Bombay on the 31st January and the 1st February 1924.—

GANDHI MONTH.

1. The All-India Khadi Board is thankful to Providence that Mahatmaji has passed safely through his recent dangerous illness and in order that his further services in the cause of freedom thus vouchsafed to the nation may be deserved of us, the Board in accordance with the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress appeals for a supreme effort throughout the whole country to make every man and woman realise the duty of wearing Khadi.

The Board appeals to all Provincial Khadi organisations to put forth their utmost endeavour to achieve the object in a substantial measure before the 18th March next.

APPEAL TO COTTON CULTIVATORS

2. The Board appeals to every grower of cotton, to stock a sufficient quantity of cotton, at least for the use of his own family, and requests every Congress Committee to take vigorous steps before the next cotton season is over, to educate the cultivators in this idea.

APPEAL TO CONGRESS MEMBERS

3. The Board deems it the duty of every Congress Member to have a charkha working in his house and thereby set an effective example for the universalization of charkha.

KHADDAR POLICY

4. Every Province should endeavour to develop to the fullest extent its

potentialities for the production of Khaddar and aim at clothing its population as far as possible with khadi produced within the province itself; (b) Specially favourable areas should be fully worked so as to supply from their surplus production the Khadi requirements of areas and provinces where there cannot be sufficient production of indigenous Khadi or where the industry is not yet fully developed; (c) In the transitional stage, before consumption and production reach their maximum and are duly co-ordinated, the provinces shall help each other in supplying the requirements of the population and relieving surplus production. But this distribution of surplus production from one Province to another shall be done through the respective Provincial Khadi Boards and with due regard to the local needs and conditions.

DEPOTS FOR SALE

5. A sufficient number of depots or other selling agencies should be provided at suitable centres in all provinces, in order that the public may obtain genuine Khaddar at proper prices.

PROVINCIAL ORGANISATION

6. Whereas it is desirable to put the khadi work in the provinces on a more permanent and satisfactory basis, at the same time giving the provinces the fullest freedom and scope for development, this Board requests every Provincial Congress Committee to set up and give full powers of administration to separate Khadi boards consisting of responsible and capable members holding office for at least three years, so as to ensure continuity of work.

PROVINCIAL KHADI SERVICE

7. The Provincial Khadi Board shall organise and control an effective body of whole-time workers devoting exclusive attention to Khadi work.

Members of this service should be placed above want and be guaranteed at least two years' employment. Rules as to the qualifications, allowances and conditions of the service shall be framed in each province as early as possible and sent up to the All India Khadi Board for approval.

TRAINING OF VOLUNTEERS

8. Provincial Khadi Boards shall provide facilities for giving sufficient training in spinning and carding to all Congress Volunteers in the province so as to make them fully serviceable in the work of Khadi organisation.

ALL INDIA KHADI SERVICE

9. An All-India Khadi Service shall be organised in order to secure the service of competent full-time workers (1) for helping the provinces to organise their Khadi work on a sound basis, (2) for auditing and inspecting the work in the provinces, (3) for providing facilities for technical instruction.

The Secretary of the Board is empowered to organise the service, framing rules as to qualifications, allowances, tenure of service etc., and recruit men accordingly.

LOANS

10. Loans will be granted from the All India Khaddar Board to Provincial Khaddar Boards to such extent as funds may permit, provided sufficient security by way of lien on stocks and assurance of an efficient utilisation of the sums lent are obtained, and provided also the funds lent are adequately supplemented by money locally raised. Every individual application shall be disposed of on these general lines and such other conditions may be imposed as the special circumstances of the case may necessitate.

APPEAL FOR FUNDS

11. The Board appeals to all persons interested in the political and economic emancipation of the country generously to contribute funds for Khadi work. These contributions may be ear-marked for Khadi work in any particular area or otherwise as the donors may choose, not inconsistent with the aims of the Congress.

Applications for loan from Tamil Nadu and Andhra were also disposed of. Tamil Nadu has been granted a loan of rupees one lakh for one year and the Secretary has been empowered to advance up to this amount obtaining lien over stocks to the value of the amounts advanced. Andhra has been sanctioned a further loan of rupees ninety thousand for one year to be disbursed after obtaining necessary documents. Punjab Khadi Board's application will be considered after the Board's tour during February in the Province.

The Borsad Satyagraha

A unique triumph of Satyagraha as advocated by Mahatma Gandhi was observed in the Borsad Taluk of the Kaira District, Bombay, in January last. It took the form of a No-Tax campaign started against some unjust and oppressive Government measures in the said Taluk to realise a punitive police-tax not for any default of the villagers but for their alleged non-co-operation with the police who failed to capture some notorious dacoits. But what the police failed to achieve with the dacoits was more than made up by their oppression on innocent villagers. The facts are as follows.—

Closely following two articles in the "Times of India" by its special correspondent at Anand, who happened to be a high European official, a Government resolution was published on October 9, 1923 as follows.—

"The Government of Bombay have come to the conclusion that the conduct of the inhabitants of all the villages in Borsad taluka and of those villages in the Anand taluka which lie towards the west of the main line of the Bombay and Baroda and Central India Railway of the Kaira District renders it expedient to employ additional police in the said villages for a period of one year."

Accordingly Government directed the employment of the additional police and the clerical staff to the cost of Rs. 2,40,074. The notification further stated that the cost of such additional police and clerical staff shall be defrayed wholly by a rate assessed on the adult inhabitants of all the communities of the villages of Borsad taluka and some villages of Anand taluka with the exception of Government officers, missionaries and some village servants.

BORSAD is a taluka of the Kaira District with a population of 1,44,046 of whom more than half are Dharalas who have been described as a "criminal Koli tribe and the chief cause of the present trouble." The Dharalas in all number about 3 lakhs in Kaira District. Attempts were made to reform them by means of a reckless application of the Criminal Tribes Act and the notorious sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. But the Dharalas, naturally reluctant to remain under the constant vigilance of the Police, preferred a life of open outlawry to suspected criminality with the result that they gave rise to a number of ferocious and wild free-booters.

The most notorious amongst these outlaws was one Babar Deva who had been spreading terror and oppression in the district for years. The Police failed to capture him and complained to the Government that the people were secretly helping Babar. The result was the above resolution. The statement published by the Director of Information of Bombay related to a majority of cases of murder of those people who were police informers about the movements of Babar. The village people, as a matter of fact, were the worst victims in the case. Babar ruthlessly murdered those who informed police about his whereabouts. His vengeance on his informants and his hatred of the police was

so intense that he did not spare even his nearest relatives. He murdered his uncle whom he suspected of having given information against him ; the way in which he crucified an unfortunate informant by nailing him to a tree, murdered "a Mahomedan who had given evidence against dacoits", was horrible in the extreme. But these very acts were meant to strike a wholesale terror which naturally deterred people from showing any enthusiasm for helping the police. And for this fault the whole taluk was penalised with the imposition of a punitive police force.

The Police Tax amounted to Rs. 2-7-0 per head of every adult in the taluka including women, the old and the infirm. In several cases even those whose scars from the belabouring of the decoits were fresh and those whose property was looted were not omitted from the payment list. Families who lived from hand to mouth had to pay from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 in the total, while it was the injustice of the impost that roused the righteous indignation of the people. A resolution was passed at the Borsad Taluka Conference which was presided over by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel advising the people to refrain from paying the tax. The Satyagrah campaign was immediately inaugurated in the first week of December with Mr. Gopaldas Desai, the ex-ruler as Dhasa, as the President of the Committee. Volunteers were posted in almost all the villages of the taluka who kept on asking the people not to pay the tax besides carrying out all the items of Congress constructive work. How marvellous was the effect of their propaganda can be imagined from the fact that the Dharalas soon after passed resolutions and acually gave up drink, thieving and took a vow to put on Khadi. The sale of Khadi mounted up. The communal panchayats are again set up and vested with powers of arbitration. The machinery of the Government was not slow in moving. The taluka officers with the aid of the hardy Punitive Police proceeded with the work of collecting money. But no money was collected. Out of Rs. 2,40,000 a sum of Rs. 900 was voluntarily paid up. The Government officers set on foot the work of attachment and practices resorted to in this connection can hardly be called creditable to a civilised Government. Villages were invaded by the Police in the early morning under the direction of a mamlatdar or a sub-Inspector and each of them was instructed to sit tight on the threshold of a house just when the door opened. How demoralised and inefficient was the Police of Borsad was illustrated by Mr. Vallabhbhai on many a platform in Borsad and in Bombay by levelling grave charges at the Police Officers to which the Government could find no fitting reply. The Police even provided arms and ammunition to another Dacoit, a murderer Aliya, on condition that Aliya should effect the arrest of Babar—furnishing a murderer with arms and setting him up against another murderer ! The lower ranks of the Police were so corrupt that there were amongst them certain men who were actually the tools of Babar and told him the names of those who informed the Police of their where-abouts. The Government, instead of overhauling the Police force of the Taluka or taking immediate action against them thought fit to penalise a whole people and impugned their character.

The Borsad Satyagraha was inaugurated by the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee on the 1st of December last by the following resolution :—

"This Committee after considering the report submitted by the Sub-

Committee to inquire into the punitive police and the tax of Rs. 2,40,074 imposed on the inhabitants residing in 84 villages of the Borsad Taluka and 14 villages of the Anand Taluka, and after further hearing the sub-committee on the situation which has arisen in the Talukas in consequence of the impost, resolves that the impost is entirely unjust and oppressive, inasmuch as the Government, which has failed in its function to protect the people from the oppressions of the dacoits, has wrongly aspersed the character of the innocent people and shifted its guilt on them. The Committee, therefore, advises the people in these villages to resist this injustice by refusing to pay the impost and by peacefully putting up with all the suffering consequent on the refusal."

The representatives of each and every community of people of the said villages in a conference assembled on the next day welcomed the resolution. The local officers in their turn immediately started on making recoveries by all sorts of measures, and all the revenue and the police officers were ordered to leave their ordinary work and to busy themselves entirely with recovery work. The punitive police was also brought into aid. The limit of the law was transgressed, and considerable harshness was resorted to in attachment proceedings. Valuable articles were attached for recovering trifling amounts. Even milch cattle were not spared. Notices to confiscate land were issued. By a sheer abuse of authority several people were rushed into jail on false complaints or trumpery charges. To fight this oppression, the Satyagraha camp established stations in various villages, and posted volunteers there to help the people in non-violent suffering. The suffering came in at an unexpected moment. Every village resolved not to pay the tax, and each vied with the other in frustrating the efforts of *Zabti* officers. Mahajans advised shop-keepers to close their shops, and they implicitly obeyed, keeping their shops closed by day and doing their business by night. The poor practically left their homes, and with their cattle repaired to the fields. All forced labour was refused, the headmen and the *ravanias* and even some men of the punitive police disobeyed orders to carry to Police stations the articles attached. Some of the headmen resigned their posts. The women beat even the men in their enthusiasm; they buried their metal pots and pans, and began using earthen vessels; they fasted by day and cooked and fed and drew water by night. As a result, a month's labour on the part of the attachment officers failed to recover even the cost of the recovery proceedings. No one turned up to bid for articles put up to auction.

THE VOLUNTEERS.

The real work of organising the no-tax compaign was done by volunteers. It was able to attract a host of educated young men from all parts of Gujarat to severe in the villages, among them a batch of students from the Gujarat Vidyapith. Most of these volunteers were tried men and a large proportion of them had had jail experience during the Flag Satyagrah struggle at Nagpur. Every volunteer signed a pledge, which had to be endorsed by the President of the Committee, as follows :—

"I am willing to work as a volunteer of the Borsad Satyagraha

Committee. In presence of God I take a vow that I shall abide by the following conditions :—

(1) I will put on only handspun and handwoven clothes.

(2) As long as I work as a volunteer I will remain non-violent in word and deed and will try to be so even in thought.

(3) As a Hindu I will try to abolish the stain of untouchability and will serve the untouchables to the best of my abilities.

(4) I will obey the resolutions of the Satyagraha Committee and those emanating from my superiors.

(5) I undertake to do all work that will be assigned to me by the Satyagraha Committee and will be prepared to meet all the difficulties such as jail life, beating and loss of life or property without getting angry or violent.

(6) It shall be my ceaseless endeavour to strengthen the communal bonds between the Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsees and others.

(7) I will not ask for any help for myself or my family in case I am sentenced to imprisonment."

More than 75 volunteers signed the pledge. They carried to villages the message of khadi and non-violence together with that of non-payment of police tax. The whole taluka was divided into several centres which were put in charge of responsible workers from which the Head Office at Borsad received reports every evening. From the central office at Borsad to the small hut in the remotest part of the taluka where a volunteer may have taken up his abode, the whole work was conducted with utmost efficiency. The central office issued two bulletins every day which kept the volunteers all over the taluka informed of happenings and of the instructions from the leaders. One of the three leaders, Mr. Pandya or Mr. Vallabhbhai or the Darbar Saheb, was ever ready to go off to any place where the people were reported to be weak or likely to yield.

The following letter addressed by Sj. Gopaldas Desai to the outlaws of Borsad reminds one of the famous letter addressed by Mahatma Gandhi "To the Hooligans of Bombay" in 1922 (*See I. A. R.* 1922), and speaks volumes of the methods of Satyagrahists :—

TO THE OUTLAWS :—

'I venture to write this pamphlet to send my message to the brave gallant gang of Babar Deva and others.

'Everyone in India has known now that you are the outlaws. Government have reinforced the police to capture you. In search of you the police with guns in their hands went here and there but to no purpose. At last when they could do nothing the Government to hide their defect decided to exact this punitive police tax from the adult population of the villages of these talukas. This punitive police was kept in villages to capture you and your gang but now they are engaged in the work of exacting this tax by 'Jafti' and other means.

It is a fact that you are outlaws but I don't think that you have really understood the duties of an outlaw. Mahatma Gandhiji is the only brave outlaw. I, too, giving up a few villages of mine, have become an outlaw. There are many others who have become outlaws. These are

true outlaws. It is our right to be honourable outlaws to redress the grievances of the subjects arising from the oppression of the Government. By our becoming outlaws the Government has been confused and the people have become glad. But if our brothers are troubled by us God will not forgive us. You have strength, you have boldness, you are generous. You are ready to meet death at any moment. According to your views you don't trouble anybody without any reason, but really you are mis-using all your virtues. Had you been fortunate to see Mahatmaji, he would not have allowed you to waste your energy and bravery in such a way, but would have shown you a straight path and would have made you good. About a hundred years ago there was a famous outlaw named Joban Vadtala. He, too, was a thief, a highway man and a cruel murderer, but by the Grace of God he came in contact with Swami Sahejanandji. From that date he gave up that dirty work. He became a true follower of his guru and at last got salvation. You, too, if you give up this dirty work and be true followers of Mahatmaji, can get salvation. Observe "ahimsa" and God will welcome you.

'You distribute sweet-meats to the school-boys, you give money for digging wells and you spend your money after many other good deeds. But there is one defect. The use of money is no doubt good but the means of getting it are bad. You cannot steal for the sake of charity. If you want to do charity, have faith in God. He will give you money. Money obtained by evil means and spent in so-called charity cannot reap good fruits.

'It is true that you have to be an outlaw for some trifling matter and it is also true that you have done it unconsciously. But done it is done. It cannot be undone. I don't find fault with you for man is liable to err. But for that very mistake if you go on doing this work of an outlaw it is nothing else but swimming in the river of sin. You can't wash off your sins thereby, but will multiply them. People have become very unhappy by your troubles. They can't sleep soundly and to add fuel to fire, Government have determind to exact the punitive police tax of two lacs and a half to hide their unfitness and defect. Will your hearts not feel for these sufferings of the people?

'Therefore, I beseach you to look to the right path. You give up this work of sin, this work of an outlaw and be an honourable man. In doing this work you don't get sleep, you have not your own place to take your food, you have no house to sleep and sit. We too, really, feel for your pitiable condition.

'We have established Satyagraha Camp in Borsad and are encouraging the people to withstand this 'zulum' of the Government. I don't know whether you would like my advice or not, but in writing this pamphlet I have given vent to the feelings resulting from the sufferings of the people. Read or get it read when you are sober. Mahatma Gandhiji before he went to jail has asked us to win you over and to advice you not to harrass any man either of the Government or of the people. The man whom the whole world worships has told us not to think evil of any man even if he be guilty. I ask you to give up your work and remain quiet and allow us to do the work of Swarajya. Come to our place if you want to see us. We shall try to find out some mid-way. There is no other way but to

find out some settlement of the present situation. I give you my surety on oath that it is not my intention to hand you over to the Government and thereby play false with you; we are honourable outlaws of this Government. You have faith in us. Don't hesitate in seeing us. Still if you don't want to see us you are at liberty to do so. India is a very large country. There are many big mountains. If you go there you will meet some holy saints. If you will take their advise and follow it, you will be able to get salvation.

'We know that even if you give up this work, go home and live there quietly this Government won't allow you to do that. We also know that if you will feel for the sins you have committed, God will forgive you, but this Government will never do it. We also know that even if we ask this Government to forgive you it will not do it. Still, however, we ask you to give it up. Stop it at once. May God make you understand the right path. Save yourselves from this sin and may people thereby shower their blessings upon you."

To The Government

And the following letter was sent to the Government of Bombay :—

If a lady of noble birth accidentally deviates from the path of morality, she is severely taken to task by her own people and society instead of being pardoned. What step she would then take? She is compelled under circumstances to run away from her own people and forced to lead the life of a professional fallen woman. Humanity is apt to err. If we do not pardon a human being of a guilt, which we ourselves would be committing daily, think of the misery of the poor soul who bears the stamp of guilt and is not treated by us tenderly. The position is clear from the case illustrated above. The officers of the Government and the people also commit some mistakes every now and then. Bhai Baber and his gang might have committed some such fault in the beginning, perhaps unconsciously, and owing to reasons circumstancial. The Government neither handled the situation tenderly, nor tried to imrove them, with the result that to-day your Government is in a fix. And in consequences we people have to undergo so much of suffering.

The whole of the Patanwadsia community is a criminal tribe in your opinion and you mean to treat it as such. Had your Government tried to educate and improve it in right earnest, the brave community would have been quite different from what it is now. But you have no faith in Ahimsa (non-violence). You take steps that tend to Himsa. Instead of educating those people, if we damn them as criminal by marking their presence twice a day and if we call them knaves and thieves every now and then, it is but natural that even honest people being thus humiliated in life and bearing the stamp of guilt might turn into rouges. Even an honest man would become a thief. Your Government have created the criminal atmosphere amongst them owing to the marking of their presence twice a day and thus you have rendered the Patanwadias into brutes. The effect of your vindictive steps would naturally react upon them in such a manner as to make them devoid of the common virtues of mankind, "Daya" and "Maya" (kindness and affection). But they are men and as such they have hearts.

The very report of yours stating that the banditti distribute sweetmeats amongst children, cause wells to be dug, and get Sapthas performed, is an open confession on your side that these people have yet a spark of religion burning in their hearts. If you take advantage of the charitable disposition of these people you and we all will be blessed with the good result. But if you chose not to do so, we leave the matter to yourselves to rue for it. It may mean your ruin. People supplied you with information and lost their lives. Your Govt. is responsible for the murders. You could not protect the informants. You did nothing. That you could not unearth the criminalities of the banditti from the informations received, is a fault of yours. Your Government have proved themselves unfit to make use of people's co-operation. When the salt Tax was doubled and was to be levied you cared but little for people's co-operation; you did not mind their protest, you levied it with your force, as you think you are made of "hard fibre." Now when your Police prove themselves unfit

to seize the banditti when the force of your arms proves futile, you come down from your high pedestal for our co-operation.

But your selfish interests were to be guarded. You snatched away arms from the people. They are rendered helpless against the outlaws. You have thus rendered the people helpless and have left them in such an awfully dangerous state. And even under such conditions when the people prove powerless in co-operation with you against the banditti you impose a fine of rupees two Lacs and a half on the people and call them to be the colleagues of the bandits.

In spite of these do you mean to co-operate with us? Yes, we are ready to co-operate with you, but that can be possible under one condition. Ahimsa is our creed and we are ready to co-operate accordingly. If you mean to be full of Himsa we can never co-operate. We are sure, Ahimsa will mend matters the best.

If you desire us to co-operate with you under our creed of Ahimsa these are our conditions :

(1) Declare a free pardon for all the banditti of ten year's standing in the District and let the free pardon document be circulated throughout the length and breadth of the District.

(2) Call back your Punitive Police and withdraw the punitive fine levied over the people without further delay,

(3) Promise those of the banditti that mean to live as peaceful citizens again, that they would not be punished for their crime and give them some work for their maintenance.

Leave off nourishing your idle fancy of creating a separate colony for the Patnawadias and the other so called criminal tribes and removing them there and manage to give them a reasonable and proper education and mould them as peaceful men. We will co-operate with you in all that if you follow our creed of Ahimsa. If you have no faith in what we say entrust the duties of subduing the banditti in our hands. We are sure and we promise that all the outlaws will become peaceful citizens within the end of a year and the once happy District of Kaira will again bear the grandeur of the Garden of our Lord.

(Sd.) GOPALDAS AMBAIDAS DESAI.

The End of the Satyagraha

For the whole of December the oppression of the police and the attachment officers went on unabated. It was fortunate, however, that the Bombay police did not follow the ghoulish conduct of their Assam confreres at Charnamair last year where they were alleged to have raped, ravished, mangled and beat to death many village women. As a result of a month's labour on the part of the attachment officers even the cost of recovery proceedings was not raised. No one turned up to bid for articles put to action.

At last the new Governor deputed the Home Member, Sir Maurice Heyward, to make enquires on the spot. The latter visited Borsad on January 3rd, and met several leading men of the Taluka in a conference. They told him their tale of woe with firmness and with courage. The Home Member stopped all attachment proceedings, and returned to Bombay having promised to place the result of his inquiry before Government. As a result the Government issued a Press Note on the 7th withdrawing the Punitive Tax. It said :—

"His Excellency the Governor has made special enquiries through the Member-in-Charge of the Home Department, who has at His Excellency's request during the past few days personally visited the Kaira District, into the necessity of maintaining the extra police force at the expense of the people of the Borsad Taluka.

"His Excellency has considered the results of these enquiries in Council and has come to the conclusion that it is necessary to maintain for

sometime to come a substantial police force over and above the normal force of the Taluka for the protection of the people and for organising further operations for the suppressing and hunting down of the outlaws. At the same time he has decided that a case has been made out for remitting the collection of the extra charge at present involved.

"The Governor in Council has therefore resolved that the cost of the extra police which have already been drafted in, shall be met during the current year from general revenues and that the legislative Council shall be asked to vote funds for the continuance of operation during the next financial year. The Governor in Council believes that the people of Borsad who have already experienced that benefit of security as the result of the presence of the extra police force will respond to this policy of liberality by cordial assistance and co-operation in the further operations necessary for suppressing the violent crime from which their Taluka has so long suffered."

This was at once followed by a ready response from the people. The Satyagraha was raised. As said Messrs. Patel and Desai, the originators of the movement, in a press-note :—

"The Borsad Satyagraha now comes to a close. Truth and Non-violent suffering have triumphed once more. It is a matter of relief that the quickness of the triumph is in consonance with the justice of our cause. It is a unique triumph in as much as it is a triumph for both parties. Government have admitted their mistake with courage and candour. In doing so, they have abandoned the traditional way of sticking to prestige, and absolved themselves from the crime of condemning an innocent population unheard and of oppressing them. In thus embracing truth, they too have triumphed. We should be failing in our duty if we did not congratulate most heartily the new Governor, Sir Leslie Wilson, on the great moral courage he has shown.

"Our triumph does not consist in our having secured from Government the remittance of the tax and in their restoration to us of the articles attached, nor even in their decision to meet the cost out of the general revenue. We have indeed triumphed, in that the Government has withdrawn the charge against us. But we shall have truly triumphed only when we have realised the magnitude of the triumph and are able to contain it. Government always hesitates to admit its mistakes. It believes that the State would be jeopardised by even a legitimate surrender to people fighting an injustice with pure weapons. This is the first time that a Government has not hesitated openly to admit its mistake and repair it, and in yielding to the just demands of the people has recognised that a movement of peaceful non-payment of taxes is constitutional. We feel that rather than give any verbal assurance we should prefer to demonstrate by future conduct that this goodness of Government will not be abused. It depends on the local officers, no less than on the people, to preserve intact the grace and dignity with which this struggle has been concluded. It was natural that high-handedness in attachment proceedings should have embittered both the parties. Some headmen had to send in their resignations and there was evident damage to property. Several people have been wrongly proceeded against. We hope that each party will close the chapter with good-will, and behave in a spirit of "forget and forgive."

Mahatma Gandhi's Release

The central figure in Indian politics is Mahatma Gandhi. His sudden illness and his equally sudden release came providentially at a time when the political atmosphere was charged with forces of such high potency that while every body feared, nobody could foresee the trend of events. His release suddenly spelled a new orientation. It came as a God-send. Nobody expected it, nobody hoped for it, the Government never meant it, the Europeans and the Moderates feared it as nothing else, but still it came, by one of those mocking ironies of fate which shatter the calculations of men and turn things into channels unknown before.

On January 13th the Director of Informations, Bombay, startled the world with the news that Mahatma Gandhi had been removed from Yerowda Jail to the Sassoon Hospital, Poona, for an operation for appendicitis. The news came as a great shock, for people in general had no idea that the "Prisoner of Yerowda", whom Sir George Lloyd and his Govt. wanted to "bury alive", was in a serious state of health. The Mahatma's own people knew nothing about his illness. Nearly two months ago Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel had written to the Chief Secretary to the Government asking for a statement of the Mahatma's health but he got no reply. Some days ago the Subarmati people heard that Mahatmaji was regularly having fever, and that he was complaining of acute pain in the abdomen. On January 10th, therefore, Mr. Ramdas Gandhi wired to the Superintendent, Yerowda Jail, inquiring about the Mahatma's condition. The Superintendent wired in reply : "Your father has slight fever ; no cause for alarm." Next day came another telegram from him : "Your father has been transferred to Sassoon Hospital, Poona, to-day." There was absolutely no reference to the cause of the sudden 'transfer'. Next day came the stunning news of the serious operation. A wave of excitement spread throughout the country but nothing more was vouchsafed by the authorities as regards the nature of the ailment of the Mahatma. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, however, issued a statement to the Press on the 13th as quoted below.—

THE RT. HON. MR. SASTRI'S STATEMENT

"I was called suddenly to the Sassoon Hospital last night to see Mahatma Gandhi. In view of the profound interest that the matter will have for the public I venture to make the following statement:

"Dr. V. E. Gokhale came to me about 8-45 p. m. and told me that the Yerowda authorities had removed Mr. Gandhi to the Sassoon Hospital where Dr. Gokhale was in charge. Mr. Gandhi was about to be operated on for appendicitis. As the case was serious the patient had been asked whether he would like any doctor friends of his to be sent for. He had mentioned Doctor Dalal of Bombay and Doctor Jivraj Metha who was in Baroda. Both had been wired to and attempts had been made but in vain to get at Doctor Dalal by means of the telephone. Meanwhile, in view of the patient's temperature and pulse it had been decided to perform the operation immediately and he was asked whether he would like to have any friends brought to see

him. He mentioned me, Doctor Phatak of the non-co-operation party and Mr. N. C. Kelkar. Doctor Gokhale and I started at once and took Doctor Phatak on the way, Mr. Kelkar being away at Satara.

"On my entering the room, we greeted each other and I inquired how he felt as to the operation. He answered firmly that the doctors had come to a definite conclusion and he was content to abide by it, and in reply to further inquiry he said that he had full confidence in the medical men about him and they had been very kind and very careful. Should there arise any public agitation, he added, it should be made known that he had no complaint whatever to make against the authorities and that so far as the care of his body went, their treatment left nothing to be desired.

"I enquired if Mrs. Gandhi had been informed of his condition. He said that she did not know the latest developments but she knew that for some time he had not been well and he expected to hear from her. He then made enquiries about my wife and my colleagues in the Servants of India Society viz., Messrs. Devadhar, Joshi, Patwardhan and Kunzru and asked if my frequent journeys out of India had benefitted my health.

"Doctor Phatak then read a draft statement to be signed by Mr. Gandhi conveying his consent to the operation. After hearing it once Mr. Gandhi put on his spectacles and read it himself. He then said he would like the wording to be changed and asked Col. Maddock who was in the room what he thought. The Colonel said Mr. Gandhi knew best how to put it in appropriate language and his own suggestion would not be of much value. Then Mr. Gandhi dictated a longish statement which I took down in pencil. It was addressed to Col. Maddock who was to perform the operation. In this statement, Mahatmaji acknowledged the exceeding kindness and attention which he had received from Col. Maddock, the Surgeon-General and other medical men and stated that he had the utmost confidence in Col. Maddock, the officers and attendants. He proceeded to thank Government for their considertion in allowing him to send for his own doctors but as they could not be got in spite of the best attempts made by Col. Maddock and as delay would in the opinion of the Colonel involve serious risk, he requested him to perform the operation at once. When it was finished I read it out to him once. Then he called Col. Maddock to his side and I read it again at his desire. Col. Maddock was quite satisfied and remarked: "of course you know best how to put it in proper language." Mahatma Gandhi then signed the paper in pencil. His hand shook very much and I noticed that he did not dot the "i" s. At the end he remarked to the Doctor, "see how my hand trembles. You will have to put this right." Col. Maddock answered: "Oh! We will put tons and tons of strength into you."

"MY QUARREL WITH GOVT. WILL CONTINUE."

"While the operation room was being got ready the doctors went out and I found myself nearly alone with the Mahatma. After a remark or two of a purely personal nature, I asked him whether he had anything particular to say. I noticed a touch of eagerness as he replied, as though he was waiting for an opportunity to say something.

"'If there is an agitation,' he said, 'for my release after the operation, which I do not wish, let it be on proper lines. My quarrel with the

Government is there and will continue so long as the originating causes exit. Of course there can't be any conditions. If Government think they have kept me long enough they may let me go. That would be honourable. If they think that I am an innocent man and that my motives have been good, that while I have a deep quarrel with the Government, I love Englishmen and have many friends amongst them, then they may release me. But it must not be on false issues. Any agitation must be kept on proper non-violent lines. Perhaps I have not expressed myself quite well but you had better put it in your inimitable style.'

ABOUT THE MESSAGE

"I mentioned the motions of which notice had been given by members of the Assembly and added that though Government might in other circumstances have opposed it, I expected that they would take a different line. I then pressed him again for a message to his people, his followers, or the country. He was surprisingly firm on this subject. He said he was a prisoner of Government and he must observe the prisoners' code of honour scrupulously. He was supposed to be civilly dead. He had no knowledge of outside events and he could not have anything to do with the public. He had no message.

"How is it then" I asked, "that Mr. Mahomed Ali communicated a message as from you the other day?" The words were scarcely out of my mouth when I regretted them, but recall was impossible. He was obviously astonished at my question and exclaimed: "Mr. Mahomed Ali! a message from me?" Luckilly at this point the nurse came in with some articles of apparel for him and signalled to me to depart.

"In a few minutes he was shifted to the operation room.

"I sat outside marvelling at the exhibition I had witnessed of high-mindedness, forgiveness, chivalry and love transcending ordinary human nature and thinking what a mercy it was that the non-co-operation movement should have had a leader of such serene vision and sensitiveness to honour.

"The Surgeon-General and the Inspector-General of Prisons were also there. I could see from their faces how anxious they were at the tremendous responsibility that lay on them. They said that the patient had borne the operation very well indeed, and that it was a matter for congratulation that the operation had not been delayed any longer. The patient had had morphia and was expected to sleep soundly for sometime longer. We then dispersed.

"I learnt from the doctor this morning that the patient's condition was thoroughly satisfactory. I have read out this statement to Doctor Phattack who approves of it and adds that his inquiry as to a message elicited the same sort of answer.

The History of the Illness

The history of the Mahatma's treatment in jail will, when written and presented to the world, show some "gems of purest ray serene" of Jail Administration in India. As there is no room for it here we are content to mention that up to April 1923 from the day of his sentence Mahatmaji was accommodated and treated in the jail quite like an ordinaryfelon!

As is common knowledge, until recently all political prisoners have persistently been treated in Indian jails like the worst type of criminals. Pursuant of a resolution moved in the last Bombay Council, reluctant assent was, however, given by the Govt. to treat purely political prisoners as special division prisoners, and from the middle of April 1923 Mahatmaji was treated as such, and removed to the European ward of the prison.

But the effect of the previous long suffering brought the inevitable result. During June and July last year, he was seriously ill and a medical examination by the jail authorities showed that he had an attack of dysentry. Mahatmaji was given some emetine injections. Subsequently, Mahatmaji does not seem to have recovered at all, but began to lose weight in an alarming degree. He used to have sudden rises of temperature and this seems to have been invariably set down to fever. When Mahatmaji's weight was reduced to as low as 95 lbs. his friends and relatives, who were in a position to know, got alarmed. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel wrote a letter to the Jail Superintendent,—and a copy thereof was sent to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, as Mahatmaji's case was directly under the Government—requesting for a chart of Mahatmaji's temperature during a given time, so that independent medical men, who had been acquainted with the previous history of his health might form their own opinion of the case and inform the parties vitally interested in the health of the Mahatma. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel received no sort of answer from the Government or the Jail Superintendent.

But the public did not lack assurances from time to time from the Government that Mahatmaji was in good health and that there was no cause for anxiety. Even as early as the last week of December 1923, such an assurance was given, and it is difficult to imagine how all of a sudden appendicitis could have developed in Mahatmaji, considering that, since some time in November last, Mahatmaji had been "experimenting in his diet" and had been living only on milk for over a month. Mahatmaji had been suffering from temperature of a hectic type which usually is symptomatic of the formation of pus in some part of the body. There were several other symptoms also which, if they had been intelligently studied, might have given cause for serious reflection to the Government and the medical authorities. But the Government of Sir George Lloyd had persistently treated the matter in a light-hearted way.

The first symptoms of the breakdown of Mahatmaji's health were noticed by Col. Murray as early as the 5th January last, and between that date and the Saturday following—January 12th—Mahatmaji's condition seems to have been watched by Col. Murray with great anxiety and concern. Mahatmaji who was always anxious to spare trouble to others, tried to make light of his complaint whenever Col. Murray spoke to him about his health. As early as the Tuesday preceding the operation, Mahatmaji felt a severe pain and on Wednesday complained of having spent a restless night. Col. Murray examined him carefully to ascertain if there were any symptoms of tuberculosis or any other serious complaint, and failing to detect any definite symptoms, spoke to Mahatmaji and learnt about his previous intestinal troubles and other matters of his medical history. The suspicions of Col. Murray about Mahatmaji's complaint being due to appendicitis seem to have been aroused on Thursday by certain amount of tenderness noticed about the abdomen, and on

Friday, the 11th. Col. Maddock was called in for consultation. Col. Maddock also noticed the tenderness and seemed to share the suspicions of Col. Murray. On Saturday morning, Mahatmaji's condition was serious, he having spent a sleepless night and having had to sit up with the knee in a raised position the whole night owing to acute pain. On hearing of it Col. Maddock at once came and took away Mahatmaji in his own car to the Sassoon Hospital.

This Act of Col. Maddock, the Civil Surgeon of Poona, who from previous experience at once detected the cause of the patient's trouble and disregarding red-tape as to prison rules removed the patient from the prison to hospital on his own responsibility and in his own car, has since been very highly eulogised by all sections of people. His promptness saved the life of the Mahatma, and for this all India is grateful to the great Surgeon, not so much for his skill as for the human qualities he exhibited at a critical time in the life of the prisoner. A less courageous man would not have dared to remove such a prisoner as Gandhi—whom Govt. would feign 'bury alive'—without express authority from the higher authorities.

In the evening of the 12th January the condition of the Mahatma became worse and Col. Maddock decided to carry on the operation at once. At about 11 in the night the abdomen was opened and pus and foreign matter taken out. The operation took some twenty minutes in all. The abscess was deep-seated and and quite a large quantity of pus was drawn out by a six inch tube. A few hours delay would have led to this poisonous matter being absorbed in the peritoneum, and then the case would have been hopeless. Mahatma Gandhi bore the operation well and the night was passed in quiet. For the next few days Col. Maddock was all attention to the patient and dressed his wound himself. In less than a week the tube inserted in the abdomen to drain out the pus was withdrawn and the patient began rapidly to recover.

Col. Maddock issued daily bulletins regarding the Mahatma's health and the more than professional care bestowed by him on the Idol of the nation has gone not a little to assuage the feeling that Indians bear towards Europeans since the days of General Dyer & Sir Michael O'Dyer. The nation's gratitude was conveyed to the gallant Colonel by Mr. Mahomed Ali, President of the Indian National Congress, while the Indian Press vied with each other in paying warm tributes to him.

The Mystery of the Message.

The reference in Mr. Sastry's communication of the 15th January to Mr. Mahomed Ali raked up an old controversy. In the Special Session of the Congress held at Delhi in October last Mr. Mahomed Ali had said to the effect that he had a "wireless message" from the Mahatma in favour of lifting the ban on council entry. This was sought to be proved a falsehood and a hoax which Mr. Mahomed Ali was accused of playing upon the 'no-changers.' The enemies of Congress were trying to discredit the Congress President and to drive a wedge amongst Congress-ranks. On the 16th January Mr. Mahomed Ali sent a telegraph to Mr. Sastri regarding the serious implications in his statement and not receiving any reply issued a long statement in the course of which he said:—

"I admit it is quite natural for Mr. Sastri to ask the Mahatma if he had any message to send to his people whose first question on hearing of the master's serious illness would be if he had sent a message to sustain and guide them, and few would cavil at Mr. Sastri's availing himself of an opportunity to ask for it when he was nearly alone with the Mahatma. But, as Mr. Sastri admits, the Mahatma's sensitiveness to honour was too great for him to avail himself of the opportunity afforded by Mr. Sastri's willingness to be less scrupulous than himself in observing the prisoner's code of honour. Mr. Sastri may well marvel at the exhibition of such high-mindedness and such surprising firmness in the leader of the Non-co-operation movement though non-co operators have long been familiar with these and other great qualities of their leader. But, while I admit that it was natural for Mr. Sastri to ask for a message, I am constrained to say that it was far from natural to cross-examine the Mahatma at such a time with regard to his refusal to give one to Mr. Sastri. He says the words were scarcely out of his mouth when he regretted them, but their recall was impossible. This is perfectly true and few will refuse to believe the genuineness of his regret, but what many will be disposed to ask the Right Honourable Gentleman is whether it was equally impossible for him to abstain from proclaiming this regrettable incident to the world. The slip of the tongue was excusable enough, but why need it have been followed by a slip of the pen as well? Where was the compelling necessity of publication? It is this that one cannot so easily explain to oneself. But even if there was such a compelling necessity, surely Mr. Sastri could have asked me to throw such light as I could on the subject, and if he had not spared me then, he would have spared me the more distasteful necessity of issuing the present statement.

INTERVIEW WITH DEVADAS

"I am sincerely glad he is not now as acceptable to Anglo-Indian journals as he used to be before his Kenya dis-illusionment. None-the-less these journals have pounced upon his statement in order to accuse me of manufacturing a message from my Chief to deceive my fellow-workers at a decisive moment, for any stick is good enough with which to beat a non-co-operator. As there may be others besides these journals, who may be as ignorant of the facts of the case as Mr. Sastri, I desire to state that in September last, shortly after my release and almost on the eve of the special session of the Congress at Delhi, my dear brother Devadas Gandhi came to see me at Bhawali and from there went off to Poona to interview his father in the Yerowda Jail. During his all too brief visit to me I had had an occasion to discuss the political situation with him and to express my surprise and indignation when on my release I had discovered that some non-co-operators had formed a party which was determined to seek entry into the legislatures, among other reasons, for the maintenance of the triple boycott as carried out by Mahatma Gandhi without the slightest change. I had mentioned to Devadasji, as I did subsequently at Delhi in the Subjects Committee, that our great Chief was a prisoner in British hands and could no longer address the nation in favour of his own views, and that out of loyalty to our absent Chief, if for no other

reason, all non-co-operators should have abstained from effecting any change in their programme of work. A week or so after this, Devadasji returned from Poona and when I heard at Delhi, from my friend Mahadev Desai that he was back at Delhi, I left the All-India Congress Committee meeting that instant and went out to meet him and learn all he had to tell me about his revered father. He talked about his health, work in prison and his studies and, to my great surprise, I also learnt that Devadasji had had occasion to repeat to Mahatmaji the gist of our conversation at Bhawali. I did not expect this at all, for in my own case no such latitude had been allowed in my interviews with the members of my family and in fact all interviews had for all practical purposes been stopped for sometime, all because my mother had incidentally maintained in her first interview with me at Bijapur in March 1922 that all the affectionate messages I was asking her to carry to my chief were futile as Government had taken him away. Devadasji told me that his father was deeply touched by my loyalty and love to him and had talked for quite a long time about our relations in the most affectionate terms. He had however asked Devadasji to tell me that I must not allow the love I bore to him to dictate a course of action at that juncture. Instead of that, he said, a course of action is to be dictated by the love I bore to my country itself. He said he had always disapproved of people sending messages from prison, and this partly at least for the very reason for which I myself had had occasion once to disapprove of such action and for which Mahatmaji has once again refused to send any message through Mr. Sastri, viz., that, being a prisoner, one had not sufficient knowledge as a rule of outside events and could not reasonably undertake the responsibilty of guiding those who were out and who could be presumed to be in a better position to take stock of the then existing situation and to act according to the need of the moment. Nevertheless, the Mahatma said that he was still in favour of continuing the triple boycott, but he added that if, in the changed circumstances of the country, I was myself convinced that a change of any sort was necessary, I was to follow my own convictions and must not permit my loyalty to him to weigh with me. That is how I understood what Devadasji told me and on reading some weeks later my friend Mahadev Desai's article in 'Young India,' I received ample confirmation of my interpretation of Mahatma Gandhi's message, or his refusal to send a message, in whichever way Mr. Sastri or others may choose to characterise that which was conveyed to me. Before Devadasji had quite finished, I had exclaimed, 'Quite right, Bapu. I could have almost written down the whole thing before I heard a word of what you tell me. Bapu has said he is the fittest man to be our dictator because he is so unwilling to dictate to anyone' Subsequently when I moved in the Subjects Committee the resolution for the removal of the ban on Council entry, I repeated almost word for word what I had heard from Devadasji, and had I interpolated therein anything of my own, there were present in that meeting several of my friends who knew just as well as I what I had been told and would have intervened, but no one felt any need of challenging my statement or correcting it, and I would invite the particular attention of the Anglo-Indian journal which accuses me of having successfully deceived the no-changers into the acceptance of my motion by

manufacturing a message from the Mahatma to the observation of that staunch no-changer Mahadev Desai who wrote : ' Whatever the Maulana's words, he has not expected anybody to be carried away by the thought that Gandhiji suggested anything like a compromise' and I certainly do not know of anyone who voted for my motion or abstained from voting against it because he understood that Mahatma Gandhi had sent a message asking the people to do so.

WHY THE SOURCE WAS NOT MENTIONED.

"In replying what I had heard from Devadasji, I did not however disclose the manner in which I had received the message because, in the first place, I had not obtained Devadasji's permission and, in the next, I felt that as the same latitude had not been allowed at interviews to all political prisoners, the local gaol authorities might perhaps be taken to task by the higher authorities for giving so much latitude to the Mahatma or perhaps the latter, though cognisant of the difference and even responsible for it, might not like it to be known generally and might therefore in either case put a stop to the practice followed in the Mahatma's case. That is why I had prefaced the message with an observation in a lighter vein that it had been communicated to me by a special process of wireless telegraphy, the process of soul-force. The only change, if it can be called that, I had permitted myself to make in the Mahatma's message was that after saying that he had asked me to let my love for India rather than my love for him shape the course of my conduct at that juncture, I had added, nay he has commanded me to do that.

LIBERAL LEADER'S "UNFORTUNATE RESEARCHES."

"This is the plain unvarnished tale of the Mahatma's message to me. May I add that I think that perhaps the Mahatma did not understand Mr. Sastri who asked him about a message communicated by me as from him the other day. But I venture to think that Mr. Sastri could have been more precise than he was in alluding in this manner to an episode that took place so long as four months ago. Who thinks in the Mahatma was not thereby misled into believing that I had communicated to the people a message as from him the other day at Cocanada in more ways than one. After Cocanada, Delhi is ancient history and when Swarajists and No-changers alike are willing to let the dead past bury its dead, it is a little unfortunate that the leader of the Liberals should still be engaged in making researches into the past."

The Release of the Mahatma

Speculation was rife ever since the Mahatma's removal to hospital as to whether the Govt. was going to send him back to jail again. A representative of the Bombay Chronicle interviewed Col. Maddock in this connection on the 16th. January and the latter is reported to have said : "it is impossible and I will not allow it." "Even in ordinary cases," the Colonel added, "the usual period would be about 3 weeks before a patient can be removed from the hospital, and in an acute case like the Mahatma's it could not be done under a month.' This assurance relieved public anxiety for the time, but inured as Indians are to the

ways of the Govt., no body hoped that they would relent even at such an hour. When a resolution was moved in the last Assembly in July 1923 for the Mahatma's release, Sir Malcolm Hailey said: "Neither the Govt. of India nor the Bombay Govt. had received any memorial or even a suggestion from Mr. Gandhi. On the other hand there was the suggestion that he would be in jail rather than released at the suggestion of this Assembly..... He was as happy in jail as a bird and even desired that he should be cut off from the outside world." The Govt. opposed the motion and they were supported by a majority of that Assembly which refused to release the Mahatma.

However, on Jan. 14th the Governor of Bombay went up to Delhi to confer with the Viceroy personally on the matter. What transpired at this interview is of course not known. But presumably the move was taken by Sir Leslie Wilson and a strong representation was cabled to the Secretary of State. Lord Peel still ruled at the India Office, but the Government here dared not face the odium of sending the Mahatma back to jail from hospital, and the bureaucrats at Delhi were already feeling uncomfortable for the impending labour crisis in Whitehall, and further there was Col. Maddock insisting on the removal of the Mahatma to some sea-side change. Meanwhile Labour had come into power on 23rd January, and at Delhi things were warming up in connection with the Swarajist-Independent coalition against the Govt.

THE ORDER FOR RELEASE.

At midnight on Monday, the 4th February, the Government of Bombay issued the following press-note:

"The Government of Bombay have received **MEDICAL ADVICE** that Mr. Gandhi should be removed to the sea-side for a prolonged period of convalescence, not less than six months in any event. In these circumstances they have decided with the concurrence of the Government of India to remit unconditionally under Sec. 401 Code of Criminal Procedure, the unexpired portion of his sentences. Orders will be issued immediately for his release."

Orders were accordingly issued immediately and were sent with a special messenger to Poona. It was five minutes to eight in the morning on Feb. 5th when Colonel Maddock ran upstairs to Mahatmaji's room and told him the news of his unconditional release.

The Mahatma remained quiet for a few moments and then said to the Doctor: 'Perhaps you would not mind reading to me the orders.' When Col. Maddock had read the order through, the Mahatma smiled upon him and said: 'I hope you will not mind my remaining your guest and your patient a little longer'. This he said laughingly and the Colonel replied with a smile: 'I hope you will continue to obey all my instructions as a doctor'. Mahatmaji promised to do so, and thanked the doctor for his exceeding kindness.

Telegrams and visitors began to pour in almost immediately to congratulate the Mahatma. His first act was to send Mr. Andrews, who was with him at this time, to Sabarmati to give a message to the Ashram people, and to Rustomjee at Durban in South Africa. The message that the Mahatma sent to the country took some time to come out and was issued on February 7th. It was addressed to Mr. Mahomed Ali, the President of the National Congress, and runs as follows:—

My dear friend and brother,

I send you as President of the Congress a few words which I know our countrymen expect from me on my sudden release.

I am sorry that the Government have prematurely released me on account of my illness. Such release can bring me no joy for I hold that the illness of a prisoner affords no ground for his release.

I would be guilty of ungratefulness if I did not tell you and through you the whole public that both the gaol and the hospital authorities have been all attention during my illness.

As soon as Colonel Murray, the Superintendent of the Yervada Prison, suspected that my illness was at all serious, he invited Colonel Maddock to assist him and I am sure that promptest measures were taken by him to secure for me the best treatment possible. I could not have been removed to the David and Yocoob Sassoon Hospitals a moment earlier. Colonel Maddock and his staff have treated me with the utmost attention and kindness. I may not omit the nurses who have surrounded me with sisterly care. Though it is now open to me to leave this hospital, knowing that I can get no better treatment anywhere else, with Colonel Maddock's kind permission, I have decided to remain under his care till the wound is healed and till no further medical treatment is necessary.

The public will easily understand that for sometime to come I shall be quite unfit for active work, and those who are interested in my speedy return to active life will hasten it by postponing their natural desire to see me. I am unfit and shall be unable for some weeks perhaps to see a number of visitors. I shall better appreciate the affection of friends if they will devote greater time and attention to such national work as they may be engaged in and especially to hand-spinning.

THE PRESENT SITUATION.

My release has brought me no relief. Whereas before my release I was free from responsibility, save that of conforming to gaol discipline and trying to qualify myself for more efficient service, I am now overwhelmed with a sense of responsibility I am ill-fitted to discharge. Telegrams of congratulations have been pouring upon me. They have but added to them many proofs I have received of the affection of our countrymen for me. It naturally pleases and comforts me. Many telegrams, however, betray hopes of results from my service which stagger me. The thought of my utter incapacity to cope with the work before me humble my pride. Though I know very little of the present situation in the country, I know sufficient to enable me to see that perplexing as the national problems were at the time of the Bardoli resolution they are far more perplexing to-day.

It is clear that without unity between Hindus and Mahomedans, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians and other Indians, all talk of Swaraj is in vain. This unity which I fondly believed in 1922 has been nearly achieved but so far as Hindus and Mussalmans are concerned, I observe, it suffered a severe check. Mutual trust has given place to distrust. An indissoluble bond between the various communities must be established if we are to win freedom. Will the thanksgiving over my release be turned into a solid unity between the communities? That will restore me to health far quicker than any medical treatment or rest-cure. When I heard the tension between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in certain places, my heart sank within me. The rest I am advised to have will be no rest with

the burden of disunion preying upon me. I ask all those who cherish love towards me to utilise it in furtherance of the union we all desire. I know that the task is difficult but nothing is difficult if we have a living faith in God. Let us realise our own weakness and approach Him and He will surely help us. It is weakness which breeds fear and fear breeds distrust. Let us both shed our fear. But I know that even if one of us will cease to fear we shall cease to quarrel. May I say that your tenure of office will be judged solely by what you can do in the cause of union? I know that we love each other as brothers. I ask you therefore to share my anxiety and help me to go through the period of illness with a lighter heart.

SPINNING WHEEL THE REMEDY.

If we could but visualise the growing pauperism of the land and realise that the spinning wheel is the only remedy for the disease, the wheel will leave us little leisure for fighting. I had during the last two years ample time and solitude for hard thinking. It made me a firmer believer than ever in the efficacy of the Bardoli programme and therefore in the unity between the races, the charka, the removal of untouchability and the application of non-violence in thought, word and deed to our methods as indispensable for Swaraj. If we faithfully and fully carry out this programme we need never resort to civil disobedience and I should hope it will never be necessary. But I must state that my thinking prayerfully and in solitude has not weakened my belief in the efficacy and righteousness of civil disobedience. I hold it as never before to be a man's or a nations right and duty when his vital being is in jeopardy. I am convinced that it is attended with less danger than war and whilst the former, when successful, benefits both the resistor and the wrongdoer, the latter harms both the victor and the vanquished.

ON COUNCIL ENTRY.

You will not expect me to express any opinion on the vexed question of return by Congressmen to the Legislative Councils and the Assembly. Though I have not in any way altered my opinion about the boycott of Councils, law courts and Government schools, I have no data for coming to a judgment upon the alteration made at Delhi and I do not propose to express any opinion until I have had the opportunity of discussing the question with our illustrious countrymen who have felt called upon in the interest of the country to advise the removal of the boycott of Legislative bodies.

In conclusion may I, through you, thank all the very numerous senders of congratulatory messages? It is not possible for me personally to acknowledge each message. It has gladdened my heart to see among the message many from our Moderate friends. Non-co-operators can have no quarrel with them. They too are well-wishers of their country and serve to the best of their lights. If we consider them to be in the wrong we can hope to win them over only by friendliness and patient reasoning and never by abusing. Indeed we want to regard Englishmen too as our friends and not misunderstand them by treating them as our enemies, and if we are to-day engaged in a struggle against the British Government it is against the system for which it stands and not against Englishmen who are administering the system. I know that many of us have failed to understand always to bear in mind this distinction and in so far as we have failed we have harmed our cause."

After the Release.

This letter was addressed to the President of the Congress just as, soon after his conviction, the Mahatma had wished to speak to his countrymen through a letter addressed to the then President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, which, however, never reached its destination because the Government of Sir George Lloyd had held it up for 'political' reasons, and refused to transmit it unless some passages were mutilated.

POPULAR DEMONSTRATION

The news of the release was received in Poona with great joy. The leading men of the city at once paid visits to Mahatmaji, prominent amongst whom were Messrs. S. M. Paranjpye, C. V. Vaidya, H. V. Tulpule of the Congress Committees, D. V. Gokhale of the *Mahratta* and others. During the day visitors began to pour in and he was seen by hundreds of his friends. Mr. Shaukat Ali arrived on the very morning and came to know of his release later on. Mr. Mahomed Ali and several of his Bombay friends arrived in the afternoon and saw him. At four in the afternoon Mahatmaji was brought out in a wheeled chair on the verandah of his room and the huge crowd outside could now see him.

A huge public meeting was held in the same evening and it was attended by all prominent men in the city. Mr. S. M. Paranjpye presided. Maulana Mahomed Ali who was first to speak said that he thanked Providence for inspiring Government with the right policy and thanked them for their wise and kind act. He remarked, however, that it could not be said that the key to Yerowda jail had been found out. The lock fell by itself. The people however must carry on the constructive programme of the Congress fully and completely.

Similar public meetings followed elsewhere, in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and so on the news of the release was transmitted throughout India within a few hours. The country was, however, not quite prepared for this sudden change in the attitude of the Government, for only a few days back, in the Viceroy's speech on opening the Assembly, there was not only no reference to Gandhi but on the other hand a full-winded warning to the Swarajists who were going there to wreck the constitution. The speeches of the Viceroy during the month, and other gubernatorial utterances were full of threats. A shower of the 'mailed fist', of more 'law and order', of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818, were what the people expected to be their coming meed. Whether the release of the Mahatma was an independent act of the Labour Govt. in England over-riding Lord Reading who on no account could be credited with such an act directly counter to his sense of 'law and order', or whether it was the effect of the Swarajist demand and their threatened tactics in the Assembly, or whether it was really "on medical grounds" as the Government communique avowed, must remain a matter of speculation. But whatever the cause of the release the effect it produced on the country was remarkable. By one stroke, as it were, the intense brewing hatred against the Govt. that were rankling in the hearts of the people impotently for the last 2 years now began to melt away in gratitude. Thanks-givings, prayers, a whole nation's gratitude, poured forth from every quarter. The President of the National Congress, Maulana Mahomed Ali,

in an appeal issued to the people to hold Sunday, the 10th February as an all-India National thanks-giving day, said :—

"On Sunday next when we meet to offer our thanks to Providence, I hope our appreciation of the Government's action will also be recorded and the Nation will once more declare that it harbours no malice against the British People. Ours is a war without an enemy and Indians are as ready for reconciliation as any one else, provided they are not asked to surrender the Nation's honour and jeopardise the Nation's freedom. We must continue to place our trust in God and in our humble efforts but nothing should be done to antagonise any one who desires to befriend us."

The 10th of February was accordingly celebrated all over India as a national thanks-giving day. Prayers were held in the morning in all places of worship, in Hindu temples and Moslem mosques ; processions marched through the streets in the afternoon silently singing songs of love and joy at the return of the people's idol ; meetings held at important centres, and all big towns were illuminated at night. The more ardent of the followers of Gandhi observed the whole day by spinning continuously for 24 hours.

The Famous Jail Letters.

The famous jail letters of the Mahatma have since evoked the greatest interest partly because they reveal some of the inner workings of our prison administration, but more particularly because they led sometime to the Mahatma's refusing even to write the permitted quarterly letter to his wife and friends outside as a protest against the action of the authorities who suppressed these letters altogether. Writing on Feb. 28th. in '*Young India*', the Mahatma gave out his intention to publish all the important correspondence he had with the authorities during his incarceration as part of his jail experience. The first instalment of this contribution consisted of four letters which are reproduced below. In this connection the Mahatma says :—"So far as any physical comforts were concerned, both the Government and the jail officials did all that could possibly be expected to make me happy. And if I suffered from illness now and then, it is my firm belief that neither the Government nor the jail authorities could in any way be blamed. I was allowed to choose my own diet and both Major Jones and Col. Murray, as also in this respect Col. Dalziel who preceded Major Jones, strictly respected all my scruples about diet. The European jailors too were most attentive and courteous. I cannot recall a single occasion when they can be said to have unduly interfered with me. And even whilst I was subjected to ordinary jail inspection, to which I cheerfully submitted, they carried it out considerately, and even apologetically. I entertain high regard for both Major Jones and Col. Murray as men. They never let me feel that I was a prisoner. Subject to what I have said about the kindness of officials, I am unable to revise the estimate I have given in Hakimji's letter about the soul-less policy of the Government regarding political prisoners. All I have said in that letter was confirmed by later experience."

The first letter was addressed to Hakim Ajmal Khan, the President of the Ahmedabad Congress, in Dec. 1921 (the Mahatma was arrested on 10th Feb. 1922) and runs as follows :—

Yerowda Gaol, 14th April 1922.

Dear Hakimji,

Prisoners are allowed one visit every three months and to write and receive one letter during the same period. I have had a visit from Devdas and Rajagopalachari. And I am now writing the permitted letter.

You will remember that Mr. Banker and I were convicted on the 18th March on a Saturday. On Monday night about 10 p.m. we received notice that we were to be removed to an unknown destination. At 11-30 p.m. the Superintendent of Police took us to the special that was awaiting us at Sabarmati. We were given a basket of fruit for the journey and we were well looked after during the whole journey. The doctor of the Sabarmati goal had allowed me for health and religious reasons the food to which I am used, and Mr. Banker bread and milk and fruit for medical reasons. Cow's milk for Mr. Banker and goat's for me were therefore ordered on the way by the Deputy Superintendent who was escorting us. We were taken off at Khirki where a prison-van was awaiting to take us to their goal from where I am writing this.

YEROWDA NOT SABARMATI'

I had heard bad accounts of this gaol from ex-prisoners and was therefore prepared to face difficulties in my path. I had told Mr. Banker that if my hand-spinning was stopped, I would have to refuse food as I had taken a vow on the Hindu New Year's Day to spin every day at least for half an hour except when I was ill or travelling. He should not, therefore, I told him, be shocked if I had to refuse food and that he should on no account join me out of false sympathy. He had seen my view-point.

We were not therefore surprised that when on reaching the gaol about 5-30 p.m. I was told by the Superintendent that he could not allow the spinning-wheel which was with us nor could we be allowed to take the fruit that was with us. I pointed out that hand-spinning was a matter of vow with me and that as a matter of fact both of us were permitted to do it every day at Sabarmati gaol. Thereupon we were told Yerowda was not Sabarmati.

'NO ACCOMMODATION FOR HUMAN SENTIMENT.'

I told the Superintendent too that both of us were permitted at the Sabarmati gaol for reasons of health to sleep outside but that was not to be expected at this gaol.

Thus the first impression was rather unhappy. I felt however totally undisturbed. The semi-fast of Tuesday following that of Monday did me no harm. I knew that Mr. Banker felt it. He had night terrors and required some one near him. And this was his first rough experience in life perhaps. I am a seasoned jail-bird.

The Superintendent came the next morning to question us. I saw that the first impression did not do justice to the Superintendent. The previous evening he was evidently in a hurry. We were received after the regular time and he was totally unprepared for what was undoubtedly to him a strange request. He discovered however that my request for the spinning-wheel was not a matter of cussedness but rightly or wrongly a real religious necessity. He saw too that it was no question of hunger-striking. He gave order that the spinning-wheels should be restored to

both of us. He realised too that both of us would need the diet we had mentioned.

And so far as I have been able to observe, the animal comforts were well looked after in this gaol. Both the Superintendent and the Gaoler appeared to me to be tactful and have pleasant manners. The first day's experience I count as of no consequence. The relations between the Superintendent and the Gaoler and myself have been as cordial as they can be between a prisoner and his keepers.

But it is evident to me that the human element is largely if not entirely absent in the gaol system. The Superintendent informed me that all prisoners were treated as I was treated. If that were so, as animals prisoners could hardly be better cared for. But for the human sentiment there is no accommodation in the gaol Regulations.

This is what the Gaol Committee consisting of the Collector, a clergyman and some others did the next morning. This Committee met by coincidence the very next day after our admission. The members came to find our needs. I mentioned that Mr. Banker suffered from nervousness and that he should be kept open. I cannot describe to you the contemptuous and callous indifference with which the request was treated. As the members turned their backs upon us one of them remarked: 'nonsensical.' They knew nothing of Mr. Banker's past or his position in life or of his upbringing. It was none of their business to find all this out and to discover the cause for what appeared to me to be the most natural request. It was certainly of greater importance for him than his food that he should be able to have undisturbed rest a night.

Within one hour after the interview a warder came ordering Mr. Banker to be removed to another quarter. I felt like a mother suddenly deprived of her only child. It was by a stroke of good fortune that Mr. Banker was arrested with me and that we were tried together. At Sabarmati I had written to the District Magistrate that I would deem it a courtesy if the authorities did not separate Mr. Banker from me and had told him that we could be mutually helpful if he was kept with me. I was reading the 'Geeta' with him and he was nursing my weak body. Mr. Banker lost his mother only a few months ago. When I met her a few days before her death, she said she would die in peace as her son would be quite safe under my care. Little did the noble lady know how utterly powerless I would prove to protect her son in the hour of his need. As Mr. Banker left me, I entrusted him to God's care and assured that God would take care of him and protect him.

He had been since permitted to come to me for about half an hour to teach me carding which he knows. This he did in the presence of a warder in order to see that we did not talk about anything else than the purpose for which he was brought to me.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS.

I was trying to coax the Inspector-General and the Superintendent to let me read the 'Geeta' with Mr. Panker during the few minutes he was allowed to come. This request remained under consideration.

In fairness to the authorities I must mention that Mr. Banker's animal comforts were well-looked after and that he was looking not bad at all. He gradually lost his nervousness.

It required the use of all my tact to retain possession of several books, five of which are purely religious and the other two are an old dictionary I prize, and an Urdu manual presented to me by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Strict orders were given to the Superintendent that prisoners were not to be allowed any books save the gaol library books. I was given the option of presenting the said seven books to the gaol library and then using them. Whilst I was prepared to do so with my other books I gently told the Superintendent that to ask me to present religious books which I was using or gifts with a history was like asking me to give up my right arm. I do not know how much tact the Superintendent had to use in persuading his superiors to let me retain those books.

I am now told that I could import at my own expense periodicals. I had said a newspaper was a periodical. He seemed to agree but he had his doubts about a newspaper being allowed. I had not the courage to mention the "Chronicle" weekly. But I mentioned the "Times of India" weekly. That seemed to the Superintendent to be too political. I could name the Police News, Tit Bits, or Blackwood's. This matter is however quite beyond the Superintendent's province. What is to be considered a periodical will probably be finally decided by His Excellency the Governor in Council.

KNIFE—A FATAL WEAPON.

Then there was the question of the use of a knife. If I was to toast my bread (I could not digest it without) I must cut it up in slices and if I was to squeeze my lemons I must cut them also. But a knife was a "lethal weapon" and most dangerous in the hands of a prisoner. I gave the Superintendent the option of withdrawing bread and lemons or giving me the use of a knife. At last the use of my own penknife has been restored to me. It has to remain in the custody of my convict-warder to be given to me whenever I may require it. It goes back to the gaoler every evening and comes back every morning to the convict-warder.

AN INTERESTING SPECIES.

You may not know the species of convict-warders. They are those long term prisoners who by their good behaviour may be given a warder's dress and may be under supervision entrusted with light responsibilities. One such warder who has been convicted for a murder is in charge of me during the day and another, reminding me of Shaukat Ali's size, is added for night duty. This addition was made when the Inspector-General at last decided to leave my cell open. Both the warders are quite inoffensive. They never interfere with me. And I never engage in any conversation with them. I have to speak to the day-warder for some of my wants. But beyond that I have no intercourse with them.

I am in a triangular block. One side (the longest) of the triangle which falls west has eleven cells. I have as my companion in the yard an Arabian State prisoner, I suppose. He does not speak Hindustani. I unfortunately do not know Arabic; therefore our intercourse is restricted to morning greetings. The base of this triangle is a solid wall and the shortest side is a barbed wire fence with a gate open-

ing on to a spacious open ground. The triangle is divided by a lime line beyond which I was not to go. Thus I had about seventy feet length to exercise. As an illustration of the want of human touch I mentioned the white line to Mr. Khambata, the Cantonment Magistrate, who is one of the visiting Magistrates. He did not like the restriction and reported likewise. The whole length of the triangle is now open for exercise to me giving me probably 148 feet length. My eyes are set upon the open space just mentioned. But that is perhaps too human to be permissible. Any way, seeing that the white line is gone the barbed wire fence may, I have suggested, be disregarded, so far as my exercise is concerned. It is rather a ticklish problem for the Superintendent and he is taking time to consider it.

The fact is I am an isolation prisoner. I must not talk with anybody. Some of the Dharwad prisoners are in this gaol, so is the great Gangadhar Rao of Belgaum. Vetumal Begraj, the reformer of Sukkur, is also in this gaol and so is Lalit, one of the Bombay editors. I cannot see any of them. What harm I can do to them if I live in their midst, I do not know. They can certainly do me no harm. We cannot plot our escape. It will be just the thing the authorities would relish if we did plot. If it is a question of infecting with my views, they are all sufficiently inoculated. Here in the gaol I could only make them more enthusiastic about the spinning wheel.

But if I have mentioned my isolation to you, it is not by way of complaint. I am happy in it. By nature I like solitude. Silence pleases me. And I am able to indulge in studies which I prize but which I was bound to neglect outside.

But not all prisoners can enjoy isolation. It is so unnecessary and unhuman. The fault lies in the false classification. All prisoners are practically grouped together and no Superintendent, however humane he may be, can possibly do justice to the variety of men and women that come under his custody and care, unless he has a free hand. Therefore the only thing he does is to study their bodies to the entire neglect of the man within. Add to this the fact that the gaols are being prostituted for political ends so that political persecution follows a political prisoner even inside the prison wall.

I must finish the picture of my gaol life by giving you the routine. The cell itself is nice—quite clean and airy. The permission to sleep outside is a blessing to me being used to sleeping in the open. I rise at 4 a. m. for prayers. The Ashram people will be interested to know that I recite the morning verses unfailingly and sing some of those hymns I have by heart. At 6-30 A. M. I commence my studies. No light is allowed. As soon therefore as one can read, I commence work. It stops at 7 P. M. after which it is impossible to read or write without artificial light. I retire at 8 P. M. after the usual Ashram prayer. My studies include reading the Kuran, Ramayana by Tulsidas, books on Christianity given by Mr. Standing, study of Urdu. These literary studies require six hours. Four hours are given to hand spinning and carding. At first I gave only 30 minutes to spinning when I had only a limited supply of slivers. The authorities have kindly given me some cotton. It is exceptionally dirty. It is perhaps a good training for a beginner in carding. I give one hour to carding and three to spinning. Anasuyabai

and now Maganlal Gandhi have sent slivers. I would like them to stop sending slivers but one of them may send good clean cotton, not more than two pounds at a time. I am anxious to make my own slivers. I think that every spinner should learn carding. I was able to card after one lesson. It is harder to practise but much easier to learn than spinning.

'COMING NEARER TO GOD'

This spinning is growing on me. I see daily to be coming nearer to the poorest of the poor and to that extent to God. I regard the four hours to be the most profitable part of the day. The fruit of my labour is visible before me. Not an impure thought enters my mind during the four hours. The mind wanders whilst I read the geeta, the Kuran, the Ramayana. But the mind is fixed whilst I am turning the wheel, or working the bow. I know that it may not and cannot mean all this to everyone. I have so identified the spinning wheel with the economic salvation of pauper India, that it has for me a fascination all its own. There is a serious competition going on in my mind between spinning and carding on the one hand, and literary pursuits on the other. And I should not be surprised if in my next letter I report to you an increase in the hours of spinning and carding.

Please tell Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb that I expect him to compete with me in spinning which he informed me he had just taken up. His example will lead many to take up this great occupation as a duty.

The Ashram people may be informed that I have finished the primer I promised to write. I presume that I shall be permitted to send it to them. I hope to be able to overtake the religious primer I promised to write as also the history of the struggle in South Africa.

Instead of three for the sake of convenience, I am taking two meals only here. But I am taking quite enough. The Superintendent is offering every convenience in the shape of food. For the last three days he has procured for me goat's milk, butter, and I expect in a day or two to be baking my own chapatis.

I am allowed two perfectly new warm heavy blankets, a coir mat and two sheets. A pillow has been added since. It was hardly necessary. I used books or my extra clothing as a pillow. The latter has been added as a result of the conversation with Rajagopalachari. There is privacy for bathing which is allowed daily. A separate cell is allowed as a work room whilst it is not otherwise required. Sanitary arrangements have been made perfect.

Friends therefore need not worry about me in any way whatsoever. I am as happy as a bird. Nor do I think I am doing less useful service here than outside. To be here is a good discipline for me and separation from co-workers was just the thing required to know whether we were an organic whole or whether our activity was one man's show—a nine day's wonder. I have misgivings. I have therefore no curiosity to know what is happening outside. And if my prayers are true and from a humble heart, they I know are infinitely more efficacious than any amount of meddlesome activity.

I am anxious about Das's health. I shall always have cause for complaint against his good partner that she did not keep me informed of his health. Motilalji's asthma, I hope, has left him.

Do please persuade Mrs. Gandhi *not* to think of visiting me. Devdas created a scene when he visited me. He could not brook the idea of my standing in the Superintendent's office when he was brought in. The proud and sensitive boy burst out weeping aloud and it was with difficulty I restrained him. He should have realised that I was a prisoner and as such I had no right to sit in the presence of the Superintendent. Seats might and should have been offered to Rajagopalachari and Devdas. But I am sure there was no discourtesy intended. I do not suppose it is usual for the Superintendent to supervise such interest. But in my case evidently he wanted to run no risks. I would not like the scene to be repeated by Mrs. Gandhi, nor do I want a special favour to be done in my case by a seat being offered. Dignity, I am sure, consists in my standing. And we must yet wait for a while before the British people naturally and heartily extend that delicate courtesies to us in every walk of life. I am not at all anxious to have visitors and I would like friends and relations to restrain themselves. Business visits may always be paid under circumstances adverse or otherwise.

I hope Chhotani Mian has distributed the spinning wheels donated by him among poor Musssalman women in Panchmahals, East Khandesh and Agra. I forget the name of the missionary lady who wrote to me from Agra. Kristodas may remember.

I shall finish the Urdu manual. I would prize a good Urdu dictionary and any book you or Dr. Ansari may choose.

Please tell Shuaib I am at ease about him.

I do hope you are keeping well. To hope that you are not overworking yourself is to hope for the impossible. I can therefore only pray that God will keep you in health in spite of the strain.

With love to every one of the workers.

Yours sincerely
M. K. Gandhi.

II—PRISONER'S PROTEST.

(From Prisoner No. 8677).

To The Government of Bombay.

With reference to the Government orders passed on prisoner's letter to Hakim Ajmal Khan, a friend of prisoner, and returning the said letter to prisoner with certain remarks in the said orders read out to prisoner by the Superintendent Yerowda goal, prisoner No. 8677 begs to say that on application to the Superintendent for a copy of the said orders, he says he has no authority to give prisoner a copy thereof.

Prisoner would like to possess a copy of the said orders and send one to friends so that they may know under what circumstances prisoner has been unable to send to friends a letter of welfare. Prisoner hereby applies for instruction to the Superintendent to give him a copy of the said orders.

Regarding the orders, so far as prisoner recollects and understands them, the Government base their refusal to send prisoner's letter to its destination on the ground that as (i) the letter contains reference to prisoners other than prisoner himself, and (ii) the letter is likely to give rise to political controversy. With regard to the first ground, prisoner submits that the latter contains no references that are not strictly relevant to prisoner's own personal condition and welfare. With regard to the second ground prisoner respectfully contends

that the possibility of a public controversy can not be a valid ground to deprive a prisoner of the right of sending a quarterly letter of welfare to friends and relatives. The implication of the ground is in prisoner's opinion dangerous in the extreme; it being that an Indian prison is a secret department. Prisoner contends that Indian prisons are an open public department subject to criticism by the public in the same manner as any other departments.

Prisoner contends that his said letter is strictly one containing information regarding his personal welfare. Reference to other prisoners were necessary to complete the information. Prisoner would gladly correct mis-statement or exaggeration if any be discovered to him. But to send the letter in the mutilated manner suggested by the Government would be to give an erroneous idea of his condition to his friends. Unless, therefore, the Government will forward prisoner's letter subject to such corrections that may be found necessary, prisoner has no desire to exercise the right of sending to friends a letter of welfare which right becomes of doubtful value under the restrictions imposed by the Government under the said orders.

Yerwoda gaol,
12-5-22.

M. K. Gandhi.
Prisoner No. 8677

III—MY FIRST AND LAST

Yerwoda gaol,
12-5-22

Dear Hakimji,

I wrote to you on 14th April a long letter giving you full information about myself. It contained messages among others to Mrs. Gandhi and Devdas. The Government have just passed orders refusing to send the letter unless I would remove material parts of it. They have given grounds for their decision, but as a copy of the order has been refused to me. I cannot send them to you nor can I give you the grounds so far as I recollect.

I have written to the Government questioning the validity of their grounds and offering to correct mis-statement or exaggeration in my letter if any is discovered to me. I have told them too that if I cannot send my letter without mutilation, I have no desire to write even regulation letters to friends, which then become of doubtful value. Unless, therefore, the Government revise their decision this intimation must be my first and last from the gaol to you or other friends.

IV—THREE MATTERS PENDING

To—The Superintendent, Yerwoda Central Gaol.

Sir,

There are regarding myself three matters pending for some time.

(1) In May last I wrote to my friend Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi the usual quarterly letter. The Government declined to forward it unless I cut out portions objected to by them. As I considered the portions strictly relevant to my condition in the gaol I could not see my way to remove them and I respectfully notified to the Government that I did not propose to avail myself of the privilege or the right of sending

to my friend the usual letter unless I could give him a full description of my condition. At the same time I wrote a brief letter to my friend saying that the letter I had written to him was disallowed and that I did not propose to write any letter regarding my welfare unless the Government removed the restriction imposed by them. This second letter too the Government have declined to send. It is this second letter which I have asked should be returned to me as the first has been.

(2) After having received permission from Col. Dalziel to write a vernacular primer and the assurance that there would be no objection to my sending it to my friends for publication, I wrote the primer and gave it to Col. Dalziel for despatch to the address mentioned in the covering letter. The Government have declined to send the primer to the address given, on the ground that prisoners cannot be permitted to publish books whilst they are serving their term. I have no wish to see my name on the primer as publisher or author. If the primer may not be published even without my name being connected with it in any way, I would like it returned to me.

(3) The Government were pleased to notify that I could be allowed periodicals. I therefore asked for permission to send for the "Times of India" weekly, the "Modern Review"—a high class Calcutta monthly, and the "Saraswati"—a Hindi magazine. The last named has been kindly allowed. No decision has yet been received regarding the other two. I am anxiously awaiting the Government decision about them.

12th August '22 M. K. GANDHI

Other Correspondence.

Of the other Jail letters published by the Mahatma in March last the following are given here as they reflect his personal treatment in Jail.

BAN ON VISITORS.

To The Superintendent, Yerola Central Jail. 20-12-22

Sir, You were good enough to tell me that of those who had recently applied for permission to see me, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Hakim Ajmal Khan and Mr. Maganlal Gandhi were refused permission to see me.

Mr. Maganlal Gandhi is a very near relative of mine, holds my power of attorney and is in charge of my agricultural and hand-weaving and hand-spinning experiments and is in close touch with my work among the depressed classes.

Panditji and Hakimji are, besides being political co-workers, personal friends interested in my well-being.

I shall be obliged if you will kindly ascertain from the Government the reasons for the refusal to Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakimji, and Mr. Maganlal Gandhi.

I observe that under the prison regulations governing interviews with prisoners all the three gentlemen named above appear to be eligible as visitors to their prisoner friends.

I would like too to know, if I may, what the Government wishes are regarding interviews with me; whom I may and may not see and whether I may receive information from the permitted visitors on non-political topics or activities with which I am connected.

M. K. GANDHI

To The Superintendent, Yerola Central Jail. 4-2-22

Sir, You were good enough to tell me yesterday that the Inspector-General had replied to my letter of the 20th December last to the effect that you had full discretion regarding interviews by relations and friends within terms of the prison regulations governing such interviews.

This reply has come upon me as a surprise and is at variance with the information given me by my wife, who together with Mrs. Vasumati Dhimatram was permitted to see me on the 27th ultimo.

My wife told me that she had to wait for over twenty days before receiving reply to her application for interview. On hearing rumours of my illness she came to Poona in the hope of being admitted to see me. Consequently early last week accompanied by Mrs. Vasumati Dhimatram, Mr. Maganlal Gandhi, Radha, his daughter about 14 years old and Prabhudas, a lad about 18 years old, Mr. Chhangalal Gandhi's son, who had come in the place of his father who was one of the applicants and who was ailing, my wife applied at the prison gate for admission. You told the party that you had no authority to grant permission and that you were awaiting reply from the Government to whom the original application was sent by you. On Mr. Maganlal Gandhi's pressing, you undertook to telephone to the Inspector General who, too, it seems could not grant the proposed interview and my wife and party had to go away disappointed.

On the 27th ultimo my wife told me, you telephoned to her saying that you had heard from the Government that she and three others who were named in her original application could see me. This therefore excluded youngsters Radha and Prabhudas.

If you had the discretion retained to you, the whole of the circumstances narrated above need revision. I feel sure that I have not misunderstood my wife.

Moreover, if your discretion had been retained Radha and Prabhudas could not have been excluded.

I shall therefore be obliged if you will enlighten me on the discrepancy between the Government's reply and my wife's version, and inform me further—

(1) On what grounds Pandit Motilal Nehru, and Hakim Ajmal Khan and Mr. Maganlal Gandhi were excluded last year?

(2) Who will and who will not be allowed to see me in future?

(3) Whether at these interviews I may receive information on non-political matters and activities initiated and now being conducted by my various representatives?

Though I will not permit myself to believe that any humiliation was intended, I venture to think that the treatment received by them was in fact humiliating. I should not like a repetition of the unfortunate occurrence.

M. K. GANDHI

To The Superintendent, Yeroda Central Jail. 23-2-'23.

You were kind enough to tell me to-day that you had heard from the Government in reply to my letter of the 4th inst. and that the Government was sorry for the inconvenience that was caused to my wife and that with reference to the other parts of my letter, the Government could not discuss with a prisoner the prison regulations in general. I appreciate the expression of sorrow about the inconvenience caused to my wife.

Regarding the other part of the Government reply, I beg to state that I am well aware of the fact that as a prisoner I may not discuss the prison regulations in general. If the Government will re-read my letter of the 4th inst. they will discover that I have not invited a general discussion of the regulations. On the contrary, I have merely ventured to seek information on the particular application of certain regulations in so far only as they bear on my future conduct and welfare. I presume that a prisoner is entitled to seek and receive such information. If I am to see my friends and wife in future, I ought to know whom I may or may not see, so as to avoid disappointment or even possible humiliation.

I venture to make my position clear. I have the good fortune to have numerous friends who are as dear to me as relatives. I have children being brought up under me who are like my own children. I have associates living under the same roof with me, and helping me in my various non-political activities and experiments. I could not, without doing violence to my most cherished sentiments, see my wife if I may not from time to time also see these friends, associates and children. I see my wife not merely because she is my wife but chiefly because she is my associate in my activities. Nor should I have any interest in seeing those I wish to, if I may not talk to them about my non-political activities.

Again, I am naturally interested in knowing why Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakimjee Ajmal Khan and Mr. Maganlal Ghadhi were excluded. I should understand their exclusion if they were guilty of ungentlemanly conduct, or if they wanted to see me for any political discussion. But if they have been excluded for any unnameable

political reasons, the least I could do is to waive the pleasure of seeing my wife. I entertain ideas of honour and self-respect which I would like the Government, if they can, to understand and appreciate.

I have no desire to hold political discussion with anybody, much less to send out political messages. The Government may post anyone they wish to be present at these interviews and their representative may take short-hand notes thereon if the Government deem it necessary. But I may be excused if I wish to guard against friends and relatives being refused permission for reasons outside the prison regulations. I have now stated my position frankly and fully. This correspondence commenced on the 20th December last. I would urge the Govt. to let me have an early, straight and undiplomatic reply.

Note.

'The result of the correspondence', says the Mahatma, 'was that the Government at last gave their reason for prohibiting the visits referred to, viz., it was in the public interest that the said visits were prohibited but if in future I wanted to see anybody in particular the Superintendent was to send the name or names to the Government. I may add that to the last moment the names of all who wanted to see me had to be submitted to the Government. In spite of the Government statement, in my case and those who were in the same block with me, the Superintendent had no discretion to grant permission to visitors, which he had in the case of all the other prisoners.']

SPECIAL TREATMENT.

To The Superintendent, Yerodа Central Prison. 1-5-23.

Sir,

You have kindly showed me the regulation classifying certain simple imprisonment prisoners in a special division and told me that I am so classified. In my opinion there are hard labour prisoners, like Messrs. Kaujalgi, Jeramdas and Bhansali, who are no more criminals than I am, and who have enjoyed outside a status probably superior to mine, and who certainly have been used to a softer life than I have for years. Whilst therefore such prisoners remain outside the special classification, much as I should like to avail myself of some of the regulations, I am unable so to avail myself, and I should be glad if my name is removed from the special division.

To H. E. the Governor of Bombay. Yerodа Central Prison, 15-7-23.

Sir,

Your Excellency will, I trust, forgive me for recurring to our conversation of Monday last. The more I think of what you said about the powers of the Government about framing regulations and relaxing sentences, the more I feel that you are mistaken. I must confess that behind the special division regulations, I have always read not a sincere recognition of the necessity of some such provision, but a reluctant and therefore a mere paper concession to some public pressure. But if you are right in thinking that the law gives you no authority to specially classify rigorous imprisonment prisoners or to reduce sentences, I must revise my view of the Government action and rid myself of the suspicion about its motives. I should like to be able to do so, all the more, as you tell me, you have personally framed the regulations in question. I have always considered you to be the last person to do things weakly or to appear to conciliate public sentiment when you did not wish to. I would be glad therefore to find that you excluded rigorous imprisonment prisoners from the benefit of the regulations only because the law rendered you helpless.

But if your law officers advice you that the law does not prevent you, as you imagine it does, I hope you will do one of the two things:

(1) Either remove me and my colleagues mentioned to you by me from the special division or (2) logically include in the special division those rigorous imprisonment prisoners who are accustomed to the same mode of life as we are.

I would ask Your Excellency to send for and read my letter of 1st May last addressed to the Superintendent together with this.

Note.

[This letter was written as a result of His Excellency's visit at which I discussed with him, when he pressed me as to whether I had anything to say, the question of Special Division. I told him in effect that in my opinion the Special Division Regulations were an eye-wash and were designed merely to deceive the public into thinking that

something was done to accord to the political prisoners a treatment that their general upbringing rendered necessary. But the Governor told me with the greatest assurance that he had no authority whatsoever in law to bring rigorous imprisonment prisoners within the special division. And when I ventured to question the accuracy of his legal knowledge he told me he ought to know in as much as he had framed the regulations himself. I was amazed at the industry of a Governor who went so much into details as even to draw up regulations—a work that is generally left to legal officers. Although my knowledge of law has become rusty for lack of use, inspite of the authoritative manner in which the Governor spoke I could not reconcile myself to the fact that the law had given the Government powers to specially classfy only simple imprisonment, and not hard labour prisoners, and that it gave no discretion to the Government to reduce sentences. Hence the foregoing letter. The reply received was that H. E. was mistaken about the law and that the Government had the necessary powers, but that in spite of that discovery he could not see his way to revise the regulations so as to include all political prisoners whether undergoing simple or rigorous imprisonment. My suspicion therefore that the Special Division Regulations were a mere eye-wash became, I am sorry to say, confirmed. M. K. G.]

RESTRICTION OF VISITORS.

To The Superintendent Y. C. P., 6-9-23.

Sir,

With reference to the names sent to the Government of certain visitors intending to see me, you have to-day informed me that the Government have now decided to restrict the number of visitors to be permitted to see me to two, and that of the names sent only Messrs. Narandas and Devadas Gandhi may be permitted to see me for this quarter's interview.

As the Government have hitherto permitted me to receive five visitors, I must confess that the present decision has come upon me as a surprise. But I welcome the decision in as much as they have refused to grant similar permission to my colleague, Mr. Yagnik, who is kept in the same block with me. Had it not appeared graceless, I would myself have waived the facility which I then saw was exclusively allowed to me.

The case however of restricting the permission only to Messrs Naranadas and Devadas Gandhi stands on a different footing. If it means that henceforth I am not to see any but such blood relations only as may be allowed, I must deny myself the usual privilege of receiving visitors twice every quarter. I had thought that the question of the qualifications of persons who were to be permitted to see me was decided once for all. I have no desire to weary the Government by reiterating the argument contained in the previous correspondence on this subject. I can only state that the three friends whose names have been sent to the Government fall under the category of those who have been permitted to see me since the correspondence referred to by me. And if I may not see these friends, whom I regard in the same light as my blood relations, I must simply not receive any visitors at all.

I observe that the Government have taken over a fortnight to give the decision you have conveyed to me. May I ask now for an early decision on this letter, so as to avoid unnecessary suspense both to those who are eager to see me and to myself?

The October Manifesto

The Swarajya Party issued the following manifesto from Allahabad dated October 14, 1923 over the signature of Pandit Motilal Nehru, General Secretary.

The principles and policy to be followed by the Swarajya Party on its entry into the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils have been sufficiently indicated in the programme of the Party published in February last. The relevant part of that programme is given below and it is only necessary to explain certain poin s and deal with certain aspects which the events of the last eight months have brought into prominence.

It will be convenient at the outset to make the position of the Swarajya Party in relation to the Indian National Congres perfectly clear. It was declared at the earliest possible opportunity that it was a party within the Congress and as such an integral part of the Congress. It is not and was never intended to be a rival organisation and its promoters have always kept in view the essential principles of Non-violent Non-co-operation as they understand them. This position has now been made clear by the resolution of the recent Special Session of the Congress which, while affirming these essential principles, affords full opportunity of service to Congressmen who believe in carrying the good fight into the enemy's camp by entering the Councils. It was our earnest desire to arrive at a settlement which would render it unnecessary to continue the separate organization of the Party by incorporating it into the Congress as one of its various departments and subjecting it to the control of the general Congress Executive. But this desire could not be fulfilled in view of the terms of the compromise finally agreed upon and confirmed by the Special Session. It is obviously impossible to carry out the object in view without an effective organization to control the proceedings of Congressmen who go into the Councils. The Swarajya Party must therefore continue to function as was clearly understood throughout the negotiations which ended so happily in the compromise adopted by the Congress. It need hardly be pointed out that the only right course open to Non-co-operators who have so far opposed Council-entry and now desire to avail of the permission accorded by the Congress is to join the Swarajya Party and subject themselves to its discipline. Any other course would not only be inconsistent with the spirit of the compromise but would defeat the very object with which it was sanctioned by the Congress. It is the first and the foremost duty of the Swarajya Party to guard the honour and prestige of the Congress in and out of the Councils and it cannot approve the conduct of those non-co-operating Congressmen who did not favour Council-entry before the resolution of the Delhi Special Congress and are now setting themselves up as independent candidates without agreeing to submit to any discipline. Such conduct can only bring discredit on the Congress, and the so-called Independents cannot but be treated by the Party as outsiders. What they are doing is in effect counter-propaganda against the Party which is the very thing the Congress resolution was intended to avoid. It is hoped that they will receive no countenance from the Working Committee of the Congress.

REAL NATURE OF REFORMS.

The Swarajya Party believes that the guiding motive of the British in governing India is to serve the selfish interests of their own country and that the so-called Reforms are a mere blind to further the said interests under the pretence of granting responsible government to India, the real object being to continue the exploitation of the unlimited

resources of the country by keeping Indians permanently in a subservient position to Britain and denying them at home and abroad the most elementary rights of citizenship. It is daily becoming abundantly clear that the British, while professing equality of treatment, are in practice subjecting the whole Indian Nation to humiliation and insult in all parts of the world where British influence is supreme. The Party notes with pride and satisfaction that the people of India are resolved to submit no longer to the national humiliation imposed upon them by the autocratic will of their British rulers and in full concurrence with the Congress expresses its emphatic opinion that Indians have no option but to continue to carry on a policy of progressive non-violent Non-co-operation with the present system of Government until it is radically changed in accordance with the will of the people expressed through their chosen representatives.

Whilst the Swarajya Party is convinced that it is absolutely necessary to keep in view the various stages of non-co-operation and believes that by entering into the Legislative bodies it will materially help the general campaign of non-co-operation, it realises at the same time that there are true nationalists in the country who, without agreeing with the principles of non-co-operation, are in sympathy with the Party programme so far as it relates to Councils. With such nationalists the Party has no quarrel. It is open to them if they sign the Congress creed to join the Council section of the Party without identifying themselves with the activities of non-co-operators outside the Councils by giving the requisite undertaking required by the Party from all its members who stand for election. A country engaged in freedom's battle must mobilize all available forces and a national soldier fit to serve in the National Army need not be discarded simply because he is unfit or unwilling to serve in the National Navy and Air Force as well. He must, however, submit himself to the discipline of the particular department of the national organization which he elects to enter. It will be observed that the words used in Article V of the Programme of the Party copied below are "Nationalist candidates" and not "Party members as candidates." Any nationalist who subscribes to the creed of the Congress and to the Council policy of the Party can therefore be set up by the Party as its candidate and will not thereby become a member of the Party for any other purpose. He will however be bound by all the rules which may be framed by the Party to regulate the conduct of Party members of the Councils. Some mis-apprehension exists in the public mind as to the exact nature of the Congress creed which an intending candidate who is not already a member of the Congress is expected to sign. It is nothing more than "the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means" and has no reference whatever to non-co-operation which the Congress has adopted by resolutions passed at its periodical and special sessions, such resolutions being no part of the Creed. The form of the undertaking required is given below.

ISSUE BEFORE THE ELECTORATES

In the published programme the immediate objective of the Party is stated to be "the speedy attainment of full dominion status" which is explained to mean "the right to frame a constitution adopting such machinery and system as are most suited to the conditions of the country and the genius of the people." It is essential for the self-realization of a people to be free to exercise their natural and inherent right to determine and adopt a system of Government most suited to their civilization and their cherished traditions. When such a system

has been fully evolved it cannot be very different from the Swarajya which is the ultimate goal of nationalist India. The immediate objective of the party must necessarily be something falling short of complete Swarajya and it is therefore referred to in the programme as the securing of the "right to frame a constitution" as distinguished from the "fully evolved constitution" itself. The words "dominion status" are used in their well understood technical sense to convey a definite idea of the nature of the constitution to the minds of English statesmen and jurists and are not intended to mean any special form of Government established in any particular dominion. It is evident that before the old order of things can give place to the new the authors of the new order must have an effective control of the old. In other words, as a necessary preliminary to the right to frame their own constitution of Swarajya the people of India must obtain an effective control of the existing machinery and system of Government. To remove all doubt and speculation in the matter the Swarajya Party therefore declares that it will contest the forthcoming elections on the broad basis of the incontestable right of the people to secure such effective control. It will not concern itself with trivial reforms in the various departments of the administration to be obtained by the grace of the Government but will insist on a transference of the power to effect the necessary reforms from the bureaucracy to the people themselves. Long lists of grievances have been set forth in the election manifestoes of certain parties and individuals, but the means suggested for their redress have no fascination either for the Swarajya Party or, as it firmly believes, for the people of India. The Swarajya Party will not lay itself out to secure famine ration for the politically famished people of India but will devote all its energy to provide them with a feast of substantial rights of citizenship which is their due. On questions like the salt tax, certification and the Kenya betrayal the Party has no faith in halting measures of the nature suggested in certain quarters but believes in the complete eradication of a system which makes such atrocities possible as the only remedy. Under existing conditions the Party considers it an abuse of the suffrage of an Indian electorate on the part of its representatives to engage in such questions as the readjustment of the powers and duties of the Secretary of State, the Government of India, the Provincial Governments, and various other officials. The Swarajya Party maintains that the powers those functionaries exercise vest in the people by right and can only be properly exercised by their representatives.

THE NATIONAL DEMAND.

The demand to be made by the members of the Party on entering the Legislative Assembly will therefore in effect be that the right of the people of India to control the existing machinery and system of Government shall forthwith be conceded and given effect to by the British Government and the British Parliament. It is no answer to this demand to say that the Government of India has no power under the Act to entertain it. We know it has not and we do not ask it to find some power within the four corners of the Act to deal with it. It has indeed nothing whatever to do with the forms prescribed for resolutions, or other motions or with the Act itself. We take the position of the Government of India to be precisely what the late Lord Morley said, viz, it was that of an agent of the British Cabinet. The demand will be addressed to the principal through the accredited agent as soon as practicable after the results of the elections are declared and before the Legislative session begins, in such manner

and form as the elected members of the Party may determine. It will in its nature be an offer of certain terms which it will be for the agent to accept or refuse on behalf of the principal or take such other action thereon as he may be advised,

The attitude of the elected members of the Party in the Assembly and the Councils will depend on the action taken by the Government on the demand formulated by them on the lines indicated above. If the right itself is conceded it will be a matter for negotiation between the Government and the Nationalist member in the Assembly as to the manner in which the right is to be given effect to. But in the event of the Government refusing to entertain the said demand or, after agreeing to do so, offering terms which are not acceptable, it shall be the duty of the members of the Party elected to the Assembly and the Provincial Councils, if they constitute a majority, to resort, in the words of the Party Programme, to a policy of "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction with a view to make Government through the Assembly and Councils impossible." The objection that the Government will not have sufficient time between the date on which demand is made and the opening Session of the legislature to consider it is met by the publication of this manifesto which indicates clearly the essential features of the demand and copies of which are being forwarded to the India Office and the Government of India. There is ample time between now and January 1924 for the Government to be prepared to make up its mind at least as to whether it will dismiss the demand summarily or try to arrive at a settlement. In the former case the course to be adopted by the Party members of the Assembly and the Councils has been clearly indicated above In the latter it will be easy to arrange the terms and conditions on which the negotiations are to proceed.

RELATION TO OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES.

The Swarajya Party desires to make it quite clear to the other political parties in the country and the people at large that it is pledged to obstruction against the Government and not against any other party in the Legislature. It will not be inconsitent with its principles to support a non-official measure introduced by any other party or group of members if such measure is opposed by the Government. It shall also be always open to members of the Party to accept on such terms and conditions as are likely to promote the general policy of the Party, a "bonafide" invitation from any other party or group of members of the Legislature to join the latter for the purpose of defeating the Government on any non-official measure opposed by the Government, or on an official measure opposed by the inviting party or group of members. In the event of the members of the Swarajya Party being in a minority they will accept such invitation only when they form a majority of the Legislature concerned along with the inviting party or group of members. The Swarajya Party expects all other parties and elected Indian members in the Assembly or the Councils to support it whole-heartedly in the initial demand set out above and to that end invites their assistance and co-operation in formulating and presenting it. It is impossible to conceive that there can be any serious differences between true nationalists to whichever party they may belong as to the general attitude they ought to take in the Assembly and the Council towards a system of Government which stands wholly discredied in the eyes of all classes of Indians.

The agriculturist of India needs no assurance of the unswerving loyalty of the Swarajya Party to his cause. He is the back-bone of the country and the mainstay of the whole Congress movement. It has

now been fully demonstrated that he believes in the Congress and the Congress believes in him. The Swarajya Party would miserably fail in its primary duty if it did not make the betterment of his deplorable condition its first and fore-most concern. It is a happy sign of the times that he is fully convinced that his salvation does not lie in the temporary benefits which a "benign" Government is likely to confer or well-meaning friends are expected to gain. He believes in Swarajya as the only remedy for his many ills and knows that his party is the party which strives for nothing short of Swarajya. The case with the landowning classes is however different and it has to be noted with regret that the tongue of slander has of late been more than usually busy to estrange them from the Swarajya Party. All sorts of fanciful stories are being circulated to the prejudice of the Party. The Swarajya which the Party aims at is represented as something which has no place whatever for this ancient order the members of which have in the past furnished many a brilliant chapter to the history of the country, and even in these degenerate days have a number of ardent nationalists among them. The Party can only appeal to these latter to set at rest the doubts and misgivings of their less enlightened brethren by explaining to them the obvious fact that those who desire to help in the building up of Swarajya cannot possibly dream of such madness as to undermine the very foundations of society as it has existed for hundreds of years in India by trying to eliminate an important and influential class from it. True it is that the Party stands for justice to the tenant but poor indeed will be the quality of that justice if it involves any injustice to the landlord. The Party believes that it is only by serving the true interests of both that it can find a solid base for Swarajya and is pledged to stand by the one as firmly as by the other in its hour of need. It welcomes nationalist Zemindars who intend contesting the elections as comrades in arms if they will only agree to avail of the many opportunities for co-operation with the Party which they are bound to have within the limitations of their well-known disabilities. As has already been stated, the Swarajya Section of the Party is open to all who will satisfy the very simple conditions to which no true nationalist can have any possible objection. For reactionaries, whether they are Zemindars or others, the Party has no sympathy whatever

There are certain other points which have formed the subject of enquiry but it is obviously impossible to go into further details in this manifesto. Much will depend upon the circumstances which will arise after the elections are over. It will then be for the elected members to decide what course to adopt keeping in view the principles of non-violent non-co-operation. The Party hopes and trusts that its Members will be resourceful enough to meet all eventualities.

Hostile Influences.

These are the broad lines of work which the Party has laid out for itself. How far it will meet with success depends on the support it receives from the public in general and the electorates in particular. As is well-known, it starts on the campaign with a heavy handicap. Many of its best men have been disqualified by the Government from voting or standing for election for no other crime than the love for their country. Crippled as it has thus become, it has only had a free hand in the matter of the forth-coming elections since the last Special Session of the Congress. Many other influences have been at work against it which it is needless to enter into as the

Party knows no going back when it has once entered the field and will fight to the last man if the country will accept its services. It does not admit that any of its members has really lost the privilege of seeking suffrage of his countrymen and will set up some of them as its candidates in spite of the disqualification unjustly imposed upon them. By doing so the Party offers the Government an opportunity to remove those disqualifications and make the elections a fair test of the real feeling in the country But if the Government, which boasts of having conceded a substantial measure of responsible Government to the people of India, cannot have the courage to admit men of tried merit and undoubted patriotism into the Legislatures of the country, it stands self-condemned. The Party fully trusts that the people will stand by it in electing its candidates and thereby helping to expose the fraud practised during the last three years in their names. Detailed instructions in this behalf will follow.

ANNEXURE A.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PROGRAMME OF THE SWARAJYA PARTY.

I.—The goal of the Party is the attainment of Swarajya.

III.—The immediate objective of the Party is the speedy attainment of full Dominion status, that is, the securing of the right to frame a Constitution adopting such machinery and system as are most suited to the conditions of the country and to the genius of the people.

IV.—The Party will formulate a definite programme of organising and instructing the electors of the Legislatures in the country.

V.—The Party will set up Nationalist candidates throughout the country to contest and secure the seats in the Legislative Councils and Assembly at the forthcoming general elections on the following basis:—

(a) They will, when they are elected, present on behalf of the country its legitimate demands as formulated by the Party, as soon as the elections are over and ask for their acceptance and fulfilment, within a reasonable time, by the Government.

(b) If the demands are not granted to the satisfaction of the party, occasion will then arise for the elected members belonging to the Party to adopt a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the Councils with a view to make Government through the Councils impossible but before adopting such a policy the representatives of the Party in the Councils will, if necessary, strengthen themselves by obtaining an express mandate of the electorates in this behalf.

(c) Detailed instructions in this behalf will be given by the Party after the elections are over.

(d) In no case will any member of the Party accept office.

ANNEXURE B.

MEMBERS' FORM OF UNDERTAKING.

I,.....of.....
... ... being a member of the Swarajya Party of the Indian National Congress, do hereby offer myself as a candidate on behalf of the said party for election to the Legislative Assembly (or Council) from the Constituency of ... ...
... ...and declare that if my candidature is approved by the General Council (or Provincial) Committee I shall faithfully follow the principles and policy of the Party as laid down in its Programme passed at Allahabad on the 22nd February, 1923, and shall strictly conform to all rules and directions which may have been, or may hereafter be, issued by the General or Provincial Council of the Party or a Sub-Committee appointed by either of the said Councils regulating the conduct of elections by members of the Party. I further agree that in case I am duly elected I shall faithfully observe all rules and carry out all instructions which may from time to time be issued by the General Council for the guidance of the elected members of the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislative Council, and if at any time I feel unable to carry out such instructions I shall forthwith resign my seat and seek re-election if so advised.

The Elections and After.

Following this general declaration of policy the Swarajists went forward to the polls at the Council Elections in November last. The whole country rang with their exultant battle-cry, and their success, judging from the short time that they had since the Delhi compromise to free themselves from fear of an anti-Congress mandate, and organise themselves against the Moderate-official group on one side and the militant no-changers who still bore a secret grudge against the Nehru-Dasites on the other, was beyond all measure phenomenal. The elections broke the inertia of a year, and there was the birth of a new spirit in the country. Never before had there been such wide-spread and genuine enthusiasm among the educated classes. It seemed as if the mephetic influence that Bardoli had spelled over them was blown away, and success after success impelled the Swarajist enthusiasm to rise to a height which almost rivalled the best days of the N-C-O under Gandhi. The record of the last elections will be found elsewhere. But a controversy into which the Dasites were led and which at one time threatened to split the party once more came after the elections. Lord Lytton in Bengal called for Mr. Das on December 11th and asked him to form the Bengal Ministry. What happened in the interview is not known but after consulting his party Mr. Das declined. On December 16th and 17th was held the famous Swarajist meeting at Calcutta which framed what is known as the Bengal Pact, since then repudiated by the Congress and subjected to acrimonious criticisms in the nationalist press.

The following resolutions were passed at this Swarajya party conference:

A.—Hindu—Muslim Pact

It is resolved that in order to establish real foundation of Self-Government in this province it is necessary to bring about a pact between the Hindus and the Mahomedans of Bengal dealing with the rights of each community when the foundation of Self Government is secured.

Be it resolved that:

(a) REPRESENTATION IN COUNCIL

Representation in the Bengal Legislative Council be on the population basis with separate electorates subject to such adjustment as may be necessary by the All-India-Hindu-Muslim Pact and by the Khilafat and the Congress.

(b) REPRESENTATION IN LOCAL BODIES

Representation to local bodies to be in the proportion of 60 to 40* in every district—60 to the community which is in the majority, and 40 to the minority. Thus in a district where the Mahomedans are in majority they will get 60 per cent. Similarly where the Hindus are in majority they are to get 60 per cent. and the Mahomedans 40 cent. The question as to whether there should be separate or mixed electorates is postponed for the present to ascertain the views of both communities.

This may be further considered.

(c) GOVERNMENT POSTS

55 per cent. of the Government posts should go to the Mahomedans to be worked out in the following manner:—

Fixing of tests of different classes of appointments. The Mahomedans satisfying the least test should be preferred till the above percentage is attained; and after that according to the proportion of 55 to 45 the former to the Mahomedans and the latter to the non-Mahomedans, subject to this that for the intervening years a small percentage of posts say 20 per cent. should go to the Hindus.

(d) RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

(1) In not allowing any resolution or enactment which affects the religion of any of the different communities without the consent of 75 per cent. of the elected members of that community. (2) In not allowing music in procession before any mosque. (3) In not interfering with cow-killing for religious sacrifices.

(4) In providing that no legislation or enactment in respect of cow-killing for food will be taken up in the Council. Endeavour should be made by members of both the communities outside the Council to bring about an understanding between the communities. (5) In providing that cow-killing should be carried on in such a manner as not to wound the religious feeling of the Hindus. (6) In providing for the formation every year of representative committees in every sub-division, of which half the members should be Mahomedans and half Hindus, each committee choosing its president from among themselves with power to prevent or arbitrate upon any dispute between the Hindus and Mahomedans in accordance with provision hereinbefore stated.

B.—Programme of the Party within the Council.

That with reference to the work within the Council, be it resolved that the following steps should be taken in the following order.

(1) To insist on the release of all political prisoners. (2) To insist on the withdrawal of all repressive laws.

(3) To recommend to the Assembly for the repeal of all repressive legislation.

(4) Formulation of national demands for the province, which should be at least of effective provincial responsible Government. (5) Vote of no-confidence on Ministers, if necessary. (6) Reduction or refusal of salary to Ministers, if necessary.

(7) All measures proposed by the Government to be rejected or postponed till the grant of the national demand. (8) If the Budget comes up before such grant it should be thrown out, unless in the meantime there is a change of situation which indicates an honest inclination on the part of Government to concede the demands, in which case the party will meet to reconsider the situation.

(9) The party will act as a whole and the decision of the majority will be implicitly obeyed by all the members (10) Every member will attend unless prevented by illness or very urgent considerations.

(11) No Swarajist should accept office until the national demand is granted.

Be it further resolved that with regard to the work within the Council the whole programme is subject to such revision or modification as the All-India Swarajya-Council may think necessary.

The Meeting at Cocanada

On December 18th a communique was addressed by Mr. C. R. Das, the President and Pt. Motilal Nehru, the General Secretary of the All-India Swaraj Party to all elected members of the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils as follows :—

"Elections to the various legislatures in the country have been completed and it is time to explore the avenues for common understanding among all the nationalist members as to the general principle and policy to be followed by them. The Swarajist members are bound by terms of their undertakings to follow the instructions issued by the General Council of the Swarajya party and a meeting of that Council has been called at Coconada during the Congress week to settle a line of action to be adopted by the party and also to formulate a Demand on behalf of India to be presented to the British Government. It is expected that all nationalist members of legislatures other than Swarajists will join the latter in that demand and also in other matters so far as they are found to be in conformity with their own views."

Accordingly, the General Council of the party met at Cocanada on the 30th and 31st December, and passed the following resolutions :—

"Whereas the Reforms introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919, have repeatedly been pronounced by the Indian National Congress and all shades of Indian public opinion to be inadequate and unsatisfactory, and Whereas the events of the last three years, and the working of the Legislatures inaugurated under the said Act during that period, have amply justified the Indian public and shown beyond all doubt that the said Legislatures are not only utterly powerless to protect the true interests of the Indian people and secure to them the most elementary

rights of citizenship but are entirely unable to defend them from national humiliation at home and abroad, and

"Whereas the Swarajya Party of the Indian National Congress by its programme adopted in 1923 laid down certain lines of political work including entry into the said Legislatures having for its immediate objective the securing of the right to frame a Constitution adopting such system and machinery as are most suited to the conditions of the country and to the genius of the people, and

"Whereas in pursuance of the said programme the Swarajya Party has succeeded in winning a substantial number of seats in the said Legislatures at the General Election just concluded,

"This meeting of the General Council of the Swarajya Party held at Cocanada on this, the 30th day of Dec. 1923, expresses its full agreement with the resolutions passed at the several sessions of the Indian National Congress to the effect that India is fully fit for Swarajya and that there is no justification for withholding it from the Indian people any longer, and this meeting demands that steps be forthwith taken to establish full responsible Govt. in India, and this meeting is of opinion that with a view to ensure a proper atmosphere for the said purpose the following preliminary measures should be immediately adopted :—

I. "That the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures do immediately present a Demand to Govt. asking for:

(a) Immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi.

(b) The immediate and unconditional release of all other political prisoners convicted or under trial in India and of persons detained in India or foreign countries for political reasons.

(c) Immediate suspension of the operation of all oppressive laws and orders passed thereunder, and

(d) The immediate summoning of a Round Table Conference of representatives of whom one-third shall be elected by the elected members of the Indian Legislative Assembly, one-third by the Indian National Congress, and one-third shall be nominated by Government or elected by such other communities as Government may desire.

II. "This Conference will negotiate with Government with a view to determine the principle of the Constitution for India which shall provide inter-alia—

(a) For declaration of rights on the lines of the resolution adopted by the Indian National Congress at Amritsar in 1919, and

(b) For full control of the Legislatures, Central and Provincial, in all matters of legislative administration, civil and military and finance and over the services, imperial and provincial, as the case may be.

The decision of the said Conference arrived at as a result of the said negotiations will then be laid before a new Legislature elected on a wider franchise than at present, to be determined by the said Round Table Conference, and the said Legislature shall have power to frame a constitution for India on the basis of the said decisions and the Constitution so framed shall then be presented to the Imperial Parliament to be accepted and embodied in a Statute.

Further Resolutions were adopted next day as follows :—

III. That the Executive Committee of the General Council of the Party with the addition of Messrs. M. R. Jayakar, V. Ramdas, and Dr. Moonjee be empowered to adopt such amendments to the Provisional Demand already published as are not inconsistent with the principles and policy of the Party. The said Committee is requested to attend the meeting of the elected members of the Legislatures at Lucknow on the 5th January 1924 and to carry out the amendments aforesaid without any further reference to the General Council.

That the Demands as finally settled at Lucknow, after being signed by as many elected members of the Legislative Assembly and the various Provincial Legislative Councils both present and absent from the Lucknow meeting as are willing to join in it, be presented to the British Cabinet and the Government of India by registered post. That the Leader of the Party in the Assembly to be elected at the meeting in Lucknow will put a question at an early meeting of the Assembly asking the Government what steps it proposes to take on the said demand.

GENERAL INSTRUCTION FOR MEMBERS

IV. The future action of the members of the Party in the Assembly and Provincial Councils will be regulated according to the following instructions.

I. In the event of the Government accepting the principle of the demand or taking time to consider it, the Leader of the Party in consultation with such other members of the Assembly as may be elected for the purpose shall put himself in communication with the Government and arrange all preliminaries in regard to the various items constituting the said demand. Provided that no modification of any of the Sub-Clauses of Clause I shall be accepted without the sanction of the Executive Committee of the General Council of the Party. Provided further that the line of action to be adopted by the members of the Party in the Assembly and the Provincial Legislative Council before the acceptance of the demand by the Government shall be regulated by such instructions as the Executive Committee of the General Council of the Party may issue in that behalf from time to time.

In the event of the Government refusing to entertain the said demand after agreeing to do so offering terms which are not accepted, it shall be the duty of the members of the Party to resort to a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction with a view to make Government through the Councils impossible. Such obstruction should be offered on all occasions when the members of the Party by themselves or by joining any other party or group of members of the Assembly are in a position to defeat the Government. On other occasions the members of the Party in the Assembly and the Legislative Councils of Bengal, United Provinces, Central Provinces and Bombay will take no part in the proceedings and the following instructions will be followed :—

INSTRUCTIONS FOR OBSTRUCTION, ETC.

1. The members of the party will accept no office in the gift of the Government with or without salary or other remuneration.

2. No member of the Party shall agree to be on the panel of chairmen nominated by the President or to serve on any Select or Standing Committee or Commission nor take part in the voting for the election of members to any Select or Standing Committee or Commission except when the formation of such Committee or Commission can be made impossible by a majority voting against every person proposed for election.

3. Members are at liberty to exercise the right of interpellation with a view to elicit information. It is expected that questions will be so framed as not to contain or imply a request for the redress of any grievance.

4. No member of the Party shall move any resolution or introduce a bill. Provided that it shall always be open to members of the Party to accept on such terms and conditions as are likely to promote the general policy of the Party an invitation from any other party or group of members to join the latter for the purpose of defeating the Government on any non-official motion or measure opposed by the Government or on any official motion or measure opposed by the inviting party or group of members. Such invitation shall only be accepted when the members of the party by themselves or with the inviting party or group of members form a majority of the Legislature concerned.

5. When members of the party are voting on any motion all members of the Partly shall be bound to go into the same lobby.

6. All demands for grants in the Legislative Assembly shall be wholly opposed, thus ensuring the total rejection of the budget.

7. All demands for grants in the Provincial Council shall also be opposed provided that it shall be open to members of the Party with the previous sanction of the Executive Committee of the General Council to abstain from voting on any demand for a grant if there are special reasons in any province for such abstention.

8. All questions of doubt or difficulty not covered by these instructions or requiring the interpretatfon of these instructions may, if necessary, be referred to the Executive Committee of the General Council and the decision of that Committee on such questions shall be final.

9. The members of the Party in the Provincial Legislative Councils will select a Leader and such other office-bearers as may be necessary at an early date.

10. As very few members of the Party have been elected to the Legislative Councils of Madras and the Punjab and no combination with other parties or groups of members is likely to be effective, the Swarajist members of the said Legislative Councils will not take part in the proceedings and attend from time to time only with the object of preventing vacancies.

11. These instructions do not apply to the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa as no members of the Party as such were sent up for election to that Council. It is expected that the Nationalist members of the said Council will frame their own rules on the lines of these instructions so far as possible.

12. It is recommended that all Swarajists and other Nationalist members shall attend the meeting of the Assembly and the Provincial Councils dressed in pure Khaddar.

The Lucknow Swarajist Conference

As decided at Coconada a Conference of Swarajist and non-Swarajist members of the legislative bodies in India met in the Rifah-i-am hall, Lucknow, on January 9th. to discuss the terms of the DEMANDS to be presented to the Govt. Mr. C. R. Das presided. The attendance was however very meagre, and contrary to expectations, there was not much of enthusiasm. Very few Council members from the distant provinces attended and even the members of the U. P. Council did not join wholeheartedly. The reason was that by some mischance the letters inviting the members were mysteriously miscarried by the post.

At the outset Pandit Motilal Nehru made a statement explaining the object of the meeting and regretting that out of 600 invitations issued by him to the elected members of the Legislatures only very few attended and that therefore it was not proper to decide the question of the demands finally at the meeting. However, he said, the demands drafted were such that nobody could have any objection to any of them. They, in his opinion, would meet the desire of the most loyalists of loyalists, of the most extremist of extremists, and even of the Government. He however asked the non-Swarajist members present not to be affected in considering the draft by the fact that it was framed by the Swaraj party, but to treat it only as a draft made by some one and then consider it. He also remarked that the decision of this conference could not be treated as final as a large number of members could not be present due to non-receipt of invitations. He suggested that the demand might be circulated to the Council members and that another Conference of a few representatives from every Council might be called at Delhi at the end of the month. This proposal was strongly objected to by a member of the Bihar Council and by Mr. Ramdas as it would lead to great delay. They maintained that the ultimate decision as to the form of the demands should rest with the Swarajists and not with all sections of the elected members. But both Mr. Das and Pandit Nehru disagreed with this view and the few Nationalists that were there expressed the desire that members of their party should be given more time to think over the form that the demands should take. There was some difference of opinion as to whether the Executive of the Swarajya Party had the final voice in the shaping of demands or whether the elected members should be given a free hand in shaping it. After some discussion on the night of the 9th and afternoon of the 10th it was finally resolved by those who were present that the demand as drafted at Cocanada should be circulated to the elected members of the Legislatures in the country and that another Conference of the elected members should be held at Delhi at the end of the month and that the demand as finally approved at the Delhi meeting was to be presented by the members of the Assembly and that signatures of the provincial members who might be willing to sign the demand might be subsequently obtained. In view of the very informal nature of the Conference and the small attendance no formal resolutions were passed except deciding upon postponting the matter.

THE PUNJAB AND MADRAS.

This infructuous Conference was followed by a meeting of the Executive Committee of the General Council of the Swaraj party with Mr. Das in the

chair. The Punjab Swarajist members complained against the unworkable nature of the instruction issued by the meeting held at Cocanada and said that on communal questions arising in the Punjab the Hindu Swarajists could not but vote with the other Hindu members and that restraint placed upon them in such matters could not be enforced.

As regards instruction No. 10 which required the members not to take part in the proceedings of the Council, it was strongly objected to by the Punjab and Madras members.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

With regard to the Central Provinces those present from that province explained that the Government had placed at the fore-front of their programme for the opening session those very important bills which were all beneficial measures. The Land Settlement Bill which was intended to prevent the ryot from being overtaxed by executive action; the bill to prohibit opium smoking and the third bill to improve the Elementary Education Act came on the first day of the Council. The people stood to gain a great deal if the Swarajist members of the Council would get those Bills through the Council in the form in which they wanted them. So they wanted to have instructions from the party as to whether they should reject even these Bills or whether they should allow them to pass in the Council. It was decided that the measures should be opposed in spite of their beneficial nature and that they should not be allowed to pass in the Council.

The Executive Committee then passed the following resolution.—

"Under the resolution 4 passed by the General Council at Cocanada, leaving it to this Committee to issue instructions to regulate the action of the members of the party in the Assembly and Provincial Councils before the final acceptance or rejection of the national demand, it is resolved that the instructions contained in the said resolution will generally apply with this exception that resolutions consistent with the principle of non-co-operation may be moved in the Assembly and the Provincial Councils on occasions when defeat of the Government is fairly certain.

"While deploring the action of certain Swarajist members of Madras and the Punjab Councils in permitting public criticism of instruction No. 10 issued by the General Council without waiting for the decision of the Executive Committee on their representation, it is explained that the said instruction in no way affects the general rule. Whenever Swarajist members of Provincial Councils can combine with other parties or groups of members to defeat Government, they are at liberty to do so. In cases where successful obstruction is not possible or is very highly improbable instruction No. 10 is a necessary corollary from preceding instructions. It was designed to safeguard small minorities of Swarajists such as those in Madras and the Punjab Councils from being led into ineffective combinations and futile opposition of Government. But on occasions when the defeat of the Govt. is assured by such minorities joining with other parties, there is nothing to prevent them from doing so.

The Delhi Conference

After Lucknow the activities of the Swarajists were directed in their respective provinces in their local councils, and the General Council of the Party concentrated itself at Delhi against the Legislative Assembly. Their work in the provincial Councils and the Assembly is detailed elsewhere in the section on Council proceedings. At Delhi, after numerous informal conferences, the joint conference of the Swarajist and non-Swarajist members of the legislatures was held on 3rd. February at Raisina with Mr. C. R. Das in the chair.

There were in all about eighty members present including the Right Honble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Lallubhai Samaldas, Mr. R. P. Karandikar, Lala Sukhbir Sinha, Mr. Vedamurthi, Raja Rampal Singh, Syed Raja Ali, Dr. Ganesh Prashad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Lala Lajpat Rai and Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad.

Pundit Motilal Nehru explained at the outset the circumstances which brought about the meeting. The National Demand as drafted at Cocanada and confirmed at Lucknow had, he said, received the support of fifty members of the Legislative Assembly and two hundred persons belonging to various provincial Legislative Councils. This Conference was convened to consider the various items of the National Demand and the form and manner in which they should be presented.

Mr. Baria, a Moslem Member from the Punjab, observed that there was no necessity for pressing the National Demand drafted by the Swaraj Party as there was already a motion by Mr. Rangachariar in the Legislative Assembly, but if the National Demand was to be considered and presented to the Government then he strongly urged adequate representation of Mahomedan interests in constituting a Round Table Conference.

Mr. Dumasia, on behalf of the Parsis, promised support in the Assembly to all motions meant for the good of the people. He incidentally informed the meeting that his resolution in the Assembly for a Round Table Conference to solve differences between the Government and Non-co-operators had been disallowed.

Mr. Patel thought that they should consider if the best method of approaching the question of National Demand was to move a suitable amendment to Mr. Rangachariar's resolution in the Assembly.

Mr. Jayakar pointed out that the first business before them was to ascertain how many were agreed in asking for Dominion Status and then to proceed step by step as to how to present the demand.

Mr. Jinnah asked the Conference to decide whether they were in favour of immediate responsible Government or responsible Government by instalments.

The Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, as a member of the Liberal party, opined that there was no objection to the demand for Dominion Status. He was perfectly willing to agree that it was high time that a demand for full responsible Government should be made, but if it was for full Responsible Government immediately then they must put off for some time military, naval and foreign and political departments because even with the best will in the world the Government could not make over these branches to popular control.

President:—Suppose the details of the demand for full responsible Government are left to be decided by the Round Table Conference?

The Right Hon'ble Sastri: Then I am perfectly agreeable.

After further discussion, the following resolution was arrived at:—

"This Conference is of opinion that the Government be asked to take steps immediately for the establishment of full responsible Government in India."

Mr. Jinnah moved the resolution and Mr. Kelkar seconded it.

Mr. Rangachariar in supporting the resolution said that his own

motion in the Legislative Assembly expanded this and was more specific in character, namely, revision of the Government of India Act for securing Dominion Status and provincial autonomy, but the question of form and means would be judged by the committee of the Round Table Conference.

The Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri tentatively accepted the resolution subject to the qualifications and reservations which he would press if given an opportunity to do so in the Round Table Conference or in the Committee.

Lala Lajpat Rai thought that the resolution as moved by Mr. Jinnah was an expression of the opinion strengthening the motion of Mr. Rangachariar in the Assembly.

The resolution was put and carried.

The Conference without discussion adopted the following resolution on the motion of the Hon'ble R. P. Karandikar, seconded by Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas :—

"This Conference proposes that either a Committee or a Round Table Conference of public men representing various communities and interests be appointed with a view to consider and recommend measures for the purpose of establishing full responsible Government."

The Conference then adjourned till the next day.

Meanwhile a committee of the Assembly members consisting of three Swarajists namely Pundit Motilal Nehru, Mr. V. J. Patel and Mr. N. C. Kelkar and three non-Swarajists, namely Mr. Rangachariar, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Mr. M. A. Jinnah had been sitting since the last night with a view to arriving at a united and common amendment to Mr. Rangachariar's resolution regarding the Dominion status.

Next day, Feb. 4th. the Conference of the Members of the Legislature resumed sitting. Mr. C. R. Das presided. Attendance was thinner than before and among those absent were Mr. Sastri, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Mr. Rangachariar. Two more resolutions were adopted, one expressing the opinion of the Conference that with a view to ensure proper atmosphere, the following steps should be immediately adopted :

"That a demand should be immediately presented to the Government of India for (a) the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi, (b) the immediate and unconditional release of all other persons convicted or under trial in India or detained in India on political grounds, and (c) the immediate suspension of repressive laws and the orders passed thereunder pending the deliberations of the Round Table Conference."

The next resolution adopted declared that the decisions arrived at by the Round Table Conference should be placed before a newly elected Legislature for their approval and presentation to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute.

A speaker raised the point as to whether a new Assembly would be elected on the same basis as the existing Assembly. Mr. Das replied that it was for the Conference to decide all these points. The real question was to see whether there came a change of heart in the Government.

The Conference next appointed a small Committee to secure signatures to the National Demand and forward it to the Government and supplement it later by more signatures from the Provinces as these were obtained.

The New Party Formation

The identity of the Swarajists in the Legislative Assembly merges at this point into a new coalition of Swarajists-Independents, later known as the new Nationalist party, about which a fuller account is given on p. 122. The main work of the Central Swarajists ends here with the formation of a new party of 72 Assembly members, amongst whom were 48 Swarajists, pledged to act in concert. As to the work done by this new party in the Legislative Assembly, the following account was given by Pt. Motilal Nehru before a Bombay audience on April 18th. last:—

A National demand in complete accordance with the Swarajist programme was formulated and presented by way of an amendment to a resolution asking for the establishment of full responsible Government in India. That amendment was carried by the overwhelming majority of 76 to 48 (see p. 145). We then waited for the response. It came at last, but turned out to be highly unsatisfactory. All was now ready for the first attack, and it was delivered when the first four demands for grants came up for discussion. These, as you know, were rejected one after the other. They related to Customs, Income tax, Salt and Opium. The money demanded was to run these departments which raised revenue on these heads. The meaning of the refusal to grant money to run these departments, was that there would be no agency to release the revenue, and when it is borne in mind that it is the revenue from these four sources which supplied the sinews of war to the Government of India, it will be easily understood that the vote of the Assembly was tantamount to paralysing the Government of India. That would of course be so, only if the Government of India were bound by the vote of the Assembly, which is not the case in this country. The actual result therefore was simply this. From the Swarajist point of view, the Government was driven to carry on by the exercise of its autocratic powers, and not by the vote of the Assembly, and from the point of view of other Nationalists, it was the most emphatic protest that could be lodged against the action of the Government. Both objects were thus fully achieved. Under the rules governing free representative institutions if applicable to this country the Government would have lain prostrate at the feet of the Assembly. It was saved only by its autocratic powers.

The Chivalrous Course.

Now, I come to the second stage, which has been characterised as showing a great weakness on our part; I mean the attitude we took in relation to the remaining demands for grants. It was of course open to us to refuse them as we had done in the first four, but we adopted a more chivalrous course. All the remaining grants put together could not suffice to run any considerable part of the machinery of the administration, civil or military. The refusal of these grants would therefore have amounted to a mutiliation of the prostrate form which lay before us without materially improving the position. We refrained from this process of mutiliation and allowed our soldiers to play a more innocent game. Some of them were anxious to show their capacity for dealing with the merits of the demands, and we allowed them to have their own way. Then came the final act in this drama or tragedy, whatever you may call it, I mean the Finance Bill. At the call of the whips the soldiers rallied fresh and strong and fell into line again for the final attack which however was not delivered till every precaution had been taken to cover a possible retreat in the event of some unexpected mishap. This was done by putting in a number of amendments reducing the various new taxes proposed in the Bill, while the main attack was to be directed against the Bill itself as a whole. The discussion of the amendments on the previous evening at our Party meeting put our friends of the Press off the scent, and they flashed messages across the country and the seas, informing the world that the Swarajists' attack on the Finance Bill was to take the form of amendments to clauses. Many of the Swarajists themselves were unaware that the main attack was to be delivered against the Bill itself. They were made to march as it were under sealed orders. Early next morning at 6 o'Clock Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya informed me of the readiness of the Non-Swaraj group of the Nationalist Party to take part in the main attack. Nothing could better please the Swarajist who were spoiling for a big fight. The rally was sounded, and the Swarajists and Non-Swarajists

Members of the Council.

PRESIDENT.—The Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT.

Major Hassan Suhrawardy.

EX-OFFICIO.

The Hon'ble Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, Maharajahdhirajah Bahadur of Burdwan.
The Hon'ble Sir Abdur Rahim.
The Hon'ble Sir Hugh Stephenson.
The Hon'ble Mr. J. Donald.

MINISTERS.

The Hon'ble Maulvi A. K. Fazl-ulHuq.
The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi.

OFFICIALS.

Mr. A. N. Moberly.
Major-General B. H. Deare, Mr. D. H. Lees.
Mr. M. C. McAlpin. Mr. N. B. Gupta.
,, A. Marr. Mr. J. A. L. Swain.
,, G. S. Dutt. Mr. G. T. Huntingford.
,, G. G. Dey. ,, J. T. Donovan.
Dr. T. O. D. Dunn. Mr. L. Emerson.
,, S. C. Stuart-Williams.

NON-OFFICIALS.

Mr. S. C. Mukerji. Babu Charu Chandra Das.
Mr. K. C. Ray Chaudhury. Mr. M. Daud.
Babu Debi Prosad Khaitan.
Rai Abinash Ch. Banerjee Bahadur.
Mr. D. J. Cohen. Mr. P. N. Guha.
Babu Jatindra Nath Basu.
Mr. Satcowripati Roy.
Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea.
Mr. Nirmal Chandra Chunder.
,, Mr. Ashiny Coomar Banerjee.
Babu Boroda Prosad Dey.
,, Khagendra Nath Ganguly.
Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy.
Babu Surendra Nath Ray.
Rai Pyari Lal Doss Bahadur.
Babu Sarat Ch. Basu. Anil Baran Roy.
Raja Manilall Singh Roy.
Babu Abanish Chandra Ray.
,, Babu Umes Chandra Chatterjee.
,, Debendra Lal Khan.
Mr. C. R. Das. Mr. H. C. Naskar.
Babus Mahendra Nath Maity, Taraknath Mukerjea, Manmatha Nath Roy.

Bengal Legislative Council

Jan.—March 1924

Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri.
Babu Hemanta Kumar Sarker.
Maharaj Kumar Sris Chandra Nandy.
Mr. D. N. Roy. Mr. B. N. Sasmal.
Babu Sailaja Nath Roy Chaudhuri.
Mr. Kiran S. Roy. Mr. Nalini R. Sarkar.
Babu Manmohon Neogi
Dr. Kumud S. Ray. Dr. Mohini M. Das.
Rai Satyendra Nath Roy Choudhuri Bahadur
Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta. Mr. N. C. Sen.
Babu Akhil Chandra Datta.
,, Satyendra Chandra Mitra.
,, Sudarsan Chakravarty.
,, Jogindra Chandra Chakravarti.
Rai Sahib Panchanan Barua.
Babu Nagendra Narayan Ray.
Dr. J. M. Das Gupta.
Babu Romes Chandra Bagchi.
Mr. P. D. Raikat. Mr. S. Mahboob Aley,
,, H. S. Suhrawardy.
Maulvi Wahed Hossain.
,, Allabaksh Sarkar.
,, Muhammad Yasin.
,, Zannoor Ahamed.
Dr. A. Suhrawardy.
Maulvi Aftab Hossain Joardar.
,, Ekramul Huq, Maulvi Abdul Quadar.
,, Sayyed Sultan Ali.
Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri.
Khan Bahadur Kazi Zahirul Huq.
Maulvi Md Abdul Jubbar Pahlowan.
,, Tayebuddin Ahmed. Mr. Altaf Ali.
,, Saiyed Abdur Rob Chowdhury.
,, Fazlal Karim Chowdhury.
Khaje Nazimuddin. Syed M. Masih.
Maulvi Md. Nurul Huq Chandhury.
S. Syed Emdadul Haq. M. Amanat Khan
Maulvi Asimuddin Ahamed.
,, Abdur Rashid Khan.
,, Sayedal Hoque.
Haji Lal Mahammed.
Khan Bahadur Maulvi Md. Choinuddin.
Maulvi Kader Baksh. M. Abdul Gafur.
,, Basar Mahammad.
,, Mahi-ud Din Khan.
,, Rajib Uddin Tarafdar.
Khan Bahadur Maulvi Musharruf Hossain.
Mr. J. A. Jones. Mr. Edward Villiers.
,, J. Campbell Forrester. Mr. J. A. de Lisle.
,, W. L. Travers. Mr. H. Barton.
Babu Satya Kishore Banerjee.
Mr. Provash Chunder Mitter.
Babu Brajendra Kishore Roy Chaudhury.
Mr. Arun Chandra Singha.
Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray.
Babu Bejoy Krishna Bose.
Mr. A. F. Rahman. Dr. H. W. B. Moreno.
,, Arthur d'Anyers Willis.

Mr. A. Cochran.	Mr. J. Y. Philip.	Raja Reshee Case Law.	
Mr. G. F. Rose.	Sir Willoughby Carey.	„ Byomkes Chakravarti.	
Mr. T. C. Crawford.	Mr. R. B. Wilson.	„ Tarit Bhusan Roy.	
Mr. C. G. Cooper.	Mr. J. Cottle.	Sir George Godfrey.	Babu Badridas Goenka.

Chief Events.

23	Jan	24	Council opened by H. E. the Governor.
25	Jan	24	Mr. Sen Gupta's Resolution on Release of Regulation III Prisoners moved the day before passed after a heated debate—Another Resolution on the Release of Political Prisoners passed by a large majority—Mr. B. K. Bose's resolution on the Repeal of Repressive Laws moved.
28	Jan	24	Resolution on the repeal of Repressive Law's passed by a large majority.
18	Feb	24	THE BUDGET PRESENTED—President gave his reasons for disallowing the no-confidence motion on the Ministers.
19	Feb	24	Mr. J. N. Basu's motion for the abolition of the Post D. P. I. carried. Mr. S. N. Roy's motion on the Meston Award adopted.
20	Feb	24	Dr. P. N. Bannerjea's motion on Amendment of Devolution Rules passed.—Kumar Shib Sekhareswar Roy's motion of No-Confidence on Ministers lost by one vote.
26	Feb	24	Budget discussion continued for the next four days.
29	Feb	24	Close of general discussion on Budget—Mr. C. R. Das laid down a definite Constructive Programme in reply to Govt. Challenge.
12	Mar	24	Mr. Mushraff Hossain's motion on 80 per cent Moslem Representation hotly debated.
13	Mar	24	Mr. C. R. Das's amendment that the motion on Moslem Representation be adjourned *Sine die* carried.
14	Mar	24	Non-Official Resolution on Entertainment Tax defeated, but those on Muslim Pilgrims to Mecca and Hedjaz, and Changes *in the* Bengal Electoral Rules carried. Rent Act Amend. Bill passed.
18	Mar	24	H. E. the Governor suddenly appeared in the Council and made a speech pointing out the dangers of obstruction—Swarajists walk out of the Hall in protest.
19	Mar	24	Mr. Sen Gupta's motion for refusal of grant under Land Revenue carried—Hon. Mr. Guznavi's demand under Excise passed—Mr. Donald's demand under Stamps rejected.
20	Mar	24	Demands under Forests, Scheduled Taxes, Irrigation etc. and General Administration refused; Demand under Registration passed.
24	Mar	24	Mr. Syedul Huq's motion for refusal of Ministers' Salary carried—Sir A. Rahim's demand under Administration of Justice refused.
26	Mar	24	Demand under Jails and Convicts' Settlements refused—Demand under Police partially granted.
27	Mar	24	Demand under Ports and Pilotage refused—Demand under Education granted after short reduction.
28	Mar	24	Demands under Medical and Public Health granted.
29	Mar	24	Supplementary estimates presented and voted.
1	Apr	24	Demand under Industries and ten other demands passed unopposed COUNCIL PROROGUED.
14	Apr	24	Governor certified the rejected Budget grants.

cheerfully answered. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya led the attack by opposing the introduction of the Finance Bill. He dealt with the subject thoroughly and with his usual eloquence. Sir Malcolm Hailey then made a feeble stand against Malaviyaji's condemnation of the Government. This was followed by a short speech from me, and the next moment the Bill was thrown out by a majority. Thus ended the budget discussion but not the Finance Bill; for it came back the next day with a recommendation from the Viceroy to pass it with certain modifications. This was in effect a command which the Assembly was called upon to obey with a loaded pistol pointed at its head. The Government had taken steps to fill vacancies among its supporters and we had the pleasure of seeing a vice-Roy in the Assembly Chamber, I mean the gentleman who was appointed in place of Mr. K. C. Roy absent on deputation to England. When and how Mr. Roy resigned his seat, whether by wire from Bombay or by wireless from mid-ocean, was not explained. These expedients however did not succeed. A faint murmur of "Aye" was heard from the Treasury Benches followed by the roar of 'Noes' from various other parts of the Assembly Chamber and the Finance Bill was finally laid to rest so far as the Assembly was concerned.

Labour Party and Labour Government

There are two charges laid at our door by Moderates. The first is, that it is suicidal folly to estrange "friends of India in England." There are in England, I admit, both true and false friends of India. I am only concerned with the former, and I can assure you that there is not one among them who would be estranged from us by our standing upon our rights and trying our utmost to shake off the chains that bind us. The second charge is that we have not given the Labour Government a chance. I deny this charge also. Those who make it do not know what they are talking about. You may take it from me that the Labour Government's only chance lies in our standing upright. We cannot possibly strengthen them by lying low. There is only one word in the English vocabulary for a man who can hit back but does not do so. That is a word of six letters beginning with C and ending with D. I leave it to you to find out that word. I have faith in the Labour Party, but I have no faith in a Labour Government. As has been pointed out, Labour is only in Office and not in power. It has to speak at one time with the voice of the Tory and at another with the voice of the Liberal, whichever Party it wishes to be supported by. We have heard Mr. MacDonald's threat to us when he was about to enter Office. He said that the Labour Government would not be cowed down by the Swarajists. In that threat I don't hear the voice of Mr. MacDonald the Leader of the Labour Party. It is clearly that of a Tory with but a faint note of Liberalism on it. Where I can easily recognise the Labour Leader is in the letter which he wrote in April 1918 :—

"Whatever form the Government machinery might take, two things must be granted. In the first place the Viceroy's Council must be of the nature of a cabinet and must be responsible to the representative authorities. In the second place India must have control over her own finances. I hope that broad-minded wisdom is to assist both of us to arrive at a happy conclusion."

I can only repeat the hope which I expressed in the Assembly that this broad-minded wisdom would be brought to bear upon the demand presented by us. As to our action meanwhile, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, I said : "With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, we strive on to finish the work we are in." I cannot believe that Labour has gone back upon its principles so soon after entering upon office. The real mind of Labour is not to be gathered from official pronouncements of members of the Cabinet, but from the accredited organs of the party. The "Daily Herald" and the "New Leader" have both supported our claim to the full. If we wish to profit by their support, we can only deserve it by behaving like men.

We have done little. But what is that little? On this solemn occasion of the anniversary of the Jallianwalla, I put it to you in all humility, whether we have not created a crisis such as the Government has never been confronted with before. We have not shed a drop of blood. We have not crawled on our bellies. We have stood erect as men in asserting our birth-right. We have made a brave show of khadder in the citadel of the bureaucracy. We have planted the National flag in the heart of the Council Chamber. We have driven the Government to cast off its mask of governing through the representatives of the people, and have compelled it to carry on the administration by its own autocratic powers.

The National Conference

DELHI—FEBRUARY 22 ND, 1924.

In contrast to these activities of the Swarajists, the Moderates or Liberals held a conference of their own under the auspices of the Besantite National Convention inaugurated last year at Delhi. The second session of this National Conference commenced its sitting on Feb. 22nd at Delhi, under the presidency of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Among those present were Dr. Annie Besant, the convener, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Karandikar, Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, Messrs Khaparde, Natesan, Vedamurti, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Dr. Gour, Venkatapatti Raju, Rama Iyengar, Belvi, Lohakare, Kabiruddin Ahmed, K. C. Neogy, Moulvi Abdul Kasim, K. K. Chandra, S. N. Singh, Bepin Chandra Pal, Major Mahomed Akbar Khan, W. S. J. Wilson, Lady Emily Lutyens and others of the Moderate party.

Sir TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, in opening the proceedings, said that in one word the object of the Conference was to bring about an alteration or amendment in the constitution of the country and of the Government which would satisfy the aspirations of Indians. At the present moment there were some who pinned their faith on a Round Table Conference, others in an official committee and still others, like himself, who thought that a Royal Commission would probably solve the difficulty, whatever be the agency created. Those who believed in constitutional advance felt that they ought to have a voice in the determination of the future of India. One of the functions of this Conference was to focus public opinion on the scheme they would prepare. There was nothing inconsistent between the idea of a convention such as had been suggested by this Conference since last year and the appointment of a Royal Commission. But if this Conference succeeded in focussing public opinion and preparing a scheme, it would not be derogatory to their position nor would it lead to any harm if they placed their scheme for examination by the Royal Commission. They must disseminate in England correct ideas about the aims and objects of Indians, because the ignorance of the English people in matters Indian was simply appalling. Continuing he said:—'While it may be urged by some of us, and it has been urged, that we do not care as to what the English opinion in regard to Indian matters is, speaking for myself, gentlemen, I wish it could be so. But, fortunately or unfortunately, we do not find ourselves in that position, and whatever may be the conclusion arrived at in this body or in any other body here, so long as our progress is to be on constitutional lines, I do not think that we can ignore the existence of the body called Parliament, and of the opinion called English opinion. It seems to me, therefore, that we have got to educate the public opinion on sound lines in England.

They must make earnest appeals to a class of British population who were by no means a negligible factor in British politics. It might be that they have to send an influential deputation to England, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru believed that there was no more urgent occasion for it than the present.

There was already a band of workers under the leadership of the Lady

Emily Lutyens who were doing excellent work in disseminating correct opinion about India and in pushing forward any schemes they might evolve here.

DR. ANNIE BESANT presented the report for the last year. She explained the work done in India and the propoganda abroad, and pointed out that participation in the National Conference was not inconsistent with the pledge to different political parties. As for a Convention, she said that the British people were very fond of precedents. The precedent of South Africa and other Dominions was helpful to India to proceed by the method of Convention. She said that about 120 to 150 members of the various legislatures had taken the pledge of the National Conference, and she suggested that they might meet in a Convention in the third week of April next. In the Assembly this Convention should divide into sub-Committees on various subjects and prepare a scheme for approval by the convention. She was in favour of a new constitution rather than the mere amendment of the Government of India Act. However, that could be decided upon later on. This scheme should be ready for presentation to the Royal Commission and the British Parliament. She believed that the National Conference provided the best platform to all constitutionalists who believed in making the utmost use of the present Act and not merely to destroy it. She said that some other people were also trying to consider the question of a constitution. She hoped that when those people prepared their own proposals and the scheme was drafted by the National convention, these could be examined together with a view to find a common ground.

MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI, in recommending the adoption of Mrs. Besant's Report, made an important observation regarding the national demand in the Assembly and the Govt. reply therto. He said: 'you have seen how the great attempt made in the Assembly during the last few weeks to put forward a National Demand had been met. The Government have given an answer which I do not think it is unfair to characterise as almost *non possumus*. It has caused grave dissatisfaction in most political circles in India. Of course, I leave out the European circles who have their own way of looking at things, but their way of looking at things is very different from ours. Now, from the Indian point of view, the answer given by the Government is utterly unsatisfactory, and, I should say, even unsympathetic. Considering that we have a Labor Government, it must be at the bottom of this answer. It is impossible to conceive that an answer of that character has been given to a serious demand made by the Assembly without the knowledge and without the consent of the Labor Party now in power. The Round Table Conference is not for the moment to be thought of, for the Government is not likely to appoint one after the answer they have given.

'Of course, we have hopes that Lord Olivier, when he speaks next week, may make an improvement on the present situation; we hope he will, but we are not justified in assuming that he will. Let us suppose, however, that it left us where we are, and did not improve the situation, in that case we have to take into account those circumstances, when the Round Table Conference is not to be appointed, and a Royal Commission such as some people desire is not to be

thought of either, by my hypothesis that the Labor Government is behind the *non possumus* answer of the Government of India. If we have neither a Round Table Conference nor a Royal Commission in the immediate future, then, are we to suspend our Self-Government movement in this country? We have to take it up in right earnest, and push on the only idea now in possession of the field, the idea of this NATIONAL CONVENTION. I need not describe it at great length, but you know it is based on the present situation. It is to be relegated to the will of the electorate, and it is to be taken up by the Legislatures now functioning in India. The Legislatures functioning in India are working under the Act and Rules which give to Presidents and to Governors and Viceroy so much power that if they please they can prevent Legislatures as such taking to this question in right legal form; and now it is no longer a case of doubt. It is a certainty. That power will be used to prevent the Legislature from acting as a whole in right constitutional form. We have, therefore, to take it up as a purely non-official Indian movement and it is desired, according to the fundamental idea of the CONVENTION, that the non-official members of the various Legislative Councils should form themselves in a large and powerful organisation and, with other influential people in the country who may be outside the Legislatures, to form a bulk of progressive politicians in the country. It is this selected body, representative of the varied opinion in the country for the purpose of framing a Constitution, which will give to India full Responsible Government that we seek, omitting, as Dr. Besant has already pointed out, the great Department of the Defence of the country and the other great Departments of Foreign and Political Relations.

Now I believe that a Constitution so framed should still be submitted to the public opinion in the country afterwards, and probably be made a subject of discussion throughout the country, especially by the Legislatures who may have been elected. When that Constitution is taken to England, it will in my judgment command the respectful hearing and attention which a Constitution framed otherwise is not likely to do, and we can persuade people in England that if we do not come to them with the *imprimatur* and countenance of the Government of the country, it is not our fault at all but is the fault of the imperfect Constitution, and it is the fault of the narrow-minded policy adopted by those who happen to hold power for the time being. We have done the most constitutional, the most open and the most authoritative thing open to us. Of that I think it would be easy for us to convince the reasonable part of British public. Now that, in substance, is the idea, with perhaps a few alterations that may have to be made underlying this CONVENTION, and it is with that view that Dr. Besant and her colleagues in this matter have been proceeding.'

The Conference then appointed a committee to draft resolutions on the subjects of Royal Commission and of sending a deputation to England. The committee consisted of the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. B. C. Pal, Dr. Gour, Munshi Iswar Saran, Mr. G. A. Natesan Mr. Venkatpathi Raju, Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, Dr. Annie Besant, Mr. H. N. Dutt and Mr. Shiva Rao (Secretary). Office-bearers were then appointed with Mrs. Besant as the General Secretary, Sir Tej Bahadur as the President and Mr. Sastri as the Vice-President.

Next day, February 23rd, the National Conference re-assembled to consider the draft resolutions. Mr. SASTRI moved the first resolution :

MR. SASTRI'S RESOLUTION

"That this Conference, having regard to the keen and widespread desire in the country for immediate revision of the Government of India Act so as to secure full responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature in both the Provincial and the Central Governments, regrets the attitude of the Government in this matter and urges that His Majesty's Government should lose no time in appointing a Commission fully representing all shades of opinion and interests in India so that immediate measures may be taken for the establishment of full responsible government in the provinces and the transference of all departments at present administered by the Governor-General-in-Council to a Cabinet responsible to the elected Legislature except Foreign Affairs including relations with the Indian States and the Defence of the country, suitable provision being made to place the latter department under the control of the Indian Legislature as early as is practicable."

Mr. SASTRI said that the vote in the Assembly was indicative of the fact that all shades of non-official opinion in that House, both advanced and fairly Conservative, stood united in their demand. The only notable persons who voted against Pandit Motilal Nehru's resolution were Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer and Mr. Samarth. He did not know the attitude of Mr. Samarth who had not spoken but he knew that Sir Sivaswamy's speech showed that he voted not against the demand but against the particular method. Even those representatives of communal interests who struck notes of dissent did so not because they were opposed to the establishment of responsible government, but because they wanted a guarantee of the adjustment of their special interests which could now be devised. He was sure that this was the attitude of the bulk of the Mahomedans, non-Brahmins and the Depressed classes.

He said that in regretting the attitude adopted by the Government they could not blame any particular Government in India or in England because both were responsible for the position taken up by Sir Malcolm Hailey in his injudicious speech. He hoped that after the interval that had elapsed, Lord Olivier would make a departure on the 26th favourable to their claim and they hoped to cable the resolution to Lord Olivier to be in his possession before he spoke on the 26th.

Mr. Sastri next proceeded to justify why a Royal Commission had been preferred as the agency of inquiry. He said that a Royal Commission was a thing understood by the British people and would show that they were not making a violent departure from the agency set up in the Government of India Act. Moreover a Commission would be able to sift the evidence of all interests and communities and, as it would have outsiders on it, it would inspire confidence among special communities and interests. A non-official body having no authority to summon witnesses and however good its personnel would not be accepted by all interests in the country and counter-movements might be set up against it. A Royal Commission was a better machinery to adjudicate the conflicting interests. He further pointed out that the appointment of a Royal Commission did not involve giving up the principle of

self-determination because there could still be a Convention or a Round Table Conference and whatever conclusions they arrived at would simplify the task of the Commission. He believed that the Commission's conclusion should give satisfaction, but if the report of the Commission failed to give them satisfaction they could take up the matter themselves in the National Convention.

Continuing, Mr. Sastri mentioned that although Mr. Rangachariar and others had made it clear in their speeches that they wanted to exclude the Army and Foreign and Political relations, Sir Malcolm Hailey repeatedly ignored these assurances in his reply, possibly because the resolution did not especially exclude those departments. Hence his resolution excluded them to remove any doubt. He said that Mr. Rangachariar was about to move an amendment in the form of an addition to urge specifically the Indianisation of the Army and to make it clear that the Army should not be altogether excluded from the legislature. He whole-heartedly agreed with the amendment.

Mr. RANGACHARIAR moved an amendment by way of an addendum to the resolution. The addendum reads: "Such provision includes steps to be taken, in the meanwhile, to bring the subjects of the Indianisation of the Army, the Territorial and Auxiliary Forces more under the influence of the Central Legislature." In moving the addition of these words to the resolution, Mr. Rargachariar said that there was no necessity for justifying his support to the resolution for the appointment of a Royal Commission. The Resolution did not exclude the idea of a Round Table Conference and a CONVENTION, and a Royal Commission could go hand in hand with a Round Table Conference, or with a CONVENTION. It was rather a remarkable feature of the time that Indians, who had been advocating till 1919 appointment of a Royal Commission for every ill, opposed now the idea of a Royal Commission. No doubt this feeling was partly due to the proceedings of the Lee Commission, but Indians should not be guided by one such. For instance, the steps which the Government had taken to carry out the resolutions of Sir Sivaswami Iyer were unsatisfactory, and if there was no Indian to influence the course of action, the process would be slower and more tedious. What he wanted, therefore, was that an Indian Minister should be associated with the Commander-in-Chief, to be in charge of the three subjects mentioned in the amendment and to be answerable to the Legislature for them.

MR. G. A. NATESAN moved the appointment of a deputation to work for the furtherance of the objects mentioned in the resolution asking for a Royal Commission, the deputation to consist of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Sastri, Dr. Annie Besant and some others who would be appointed later. He said that Sir Malcolm Hailey in trying to show that the Liberals and the Swarajists had different ends in view had misrepresented the position. There were fundamental differences between the Swarajists and the Liberals in other directions but on the question of demand for the introduction of responsible Government there was absolutely no differences of opinion between them.

If the Government of India thought that there was difference, it must be completely out of touch with the people or incapable of reading the real pulse of the nation. He hoped Lord Reading would

understand the spirit of men like Lord Minto and Lord Chelmsford and agree to a Commission. He believed the deputation would do valuable service in getting support in England.

The resolution was carried and also the following resolution moved by Dr. Annie Besant:

"That the Convention shall meet for its first session on April 21st and 22nd and such other days as may be necessary at Allahabad."

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU in bringing the session to a close spoke at length on the debate in the Assembly and dealt with the points put forward by the Government. He said that the conditions enumerated by the Home Member as retarding the advance provided the best argument for appointing a Royal Commission or a Round Table Conference with a view to find a solution for them. The debate in the Assembly had left him sad, because it was devoted more to secure dialectic victory over the other than to treat the question seriously.

As to whether the declaration of August 20th, 1917, promised Dominion Status or Responsible Government, he hoped, for the good name and reputation of the Government here and the Government in England, that there was no such seriousness behind the definition of that character (Applause). As for the debate, it showed the remarkable fact that the Liberals and Swarajists stood together in respect of lines for Constitutional Advance, namely, that only the Army and Foreign and Political Resolutions were to be excluded. As to the plea that the Reforms must be worked for ten years he said that the provision of the Government of India Act did not exclude the appointment of a Royal Commission earlier, and he challenged any other legal interpretation, and referred to Mr. Montagu's reply to Col. Wedgwood in the House of Commons in justification of an earlier appointment of a Commission if conditions warranted it. He did not belong to the party who thought that the Government of India Act was a mere camouflage; at the same time the fact remained that a bulk of the people in the country did not accept it, and this fact could not be ignored; the result was that since the introduction of the Reforms, activities have been directed to destructive rather than constructive channels only in this country. Regarding the working of the present Constitution, he said that some Ministers had been making very uncomfortable speeches about the working of Diarchy. Apart from that, so far as the Central Government was concerned, there was no getting away from the fact that an irremovable Executive face to face with an overhelming majority of non-officials could not continue, and the Government under such circumstances could not bring forward measures with any courage because of the absense of any party to fall back upon. He was in favour of finding a formula to get over the communal difficulties, and whatever agreement was arrived at to embody it in a statute. As for the question of defence, the scheme of the Indianisation sanctioned by the Government would mean waiting for some centuries (Laughter). He hoped, therefore, that the Conference or a Commission would lay down a course which would enable Indians, in a resonable course of time, to acquire the control of the Army when sufficient supply of Indian Officers was available. Therefore by postponing the appointment of the Commission they were not solving the question of self-defence, but

delaying it. Continuing, he referred to the appointment of the Lee Commission. He said that the increasing association of Indians and establishment of Responsible Government stood together, and by appointing the Lee Commission without at the same time examining question of the Constitutional advance, they had prejudiced the cause of the advance. Sir Malcolm Hailey had asked that Services would like to know where they stood. His reply was that the people of India would like to know where they stood with regard to the Services. Before the Reforms, the Services were the custodians of all power, and even under the Reforms they possessed large powers. Indians wanted the Services to approximate to the position of the Services in England, and the whole question should have been examined together by a Royal Commission. As it was, he was afraid the Lee Commission's Report might prejudice the cause of the Constitutional advance. He, however, assured the Services of our readiness to meet their legitimate grievances. The Government of India must have received their orders from the Home Government. Indeed, the Home Member had said that that was so. He realised that the Labor Party had not been in office too long and that it had still to find its legs to stand on. He, for one, did not take the present position as reflecting the Lober Party's considered, settled and final decision, and from the observations of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. Trevelyan to show their real views about India, he was sure that under such circumstances it would be suicidal to adopt any tactics in India which might make the position of the Labor Party more difficult in future, so far as India was concerned (Hear, hear). The difficulties might not be understood by those who had not held office (Laughter). Labor must not, therefore, be hustled. Labor was pledged to grant India Self-Government, and now that Labor was in power, it was in a position to deliver the goods. They must not therefore make its task difficult, at the same time they must consider the existence of strong and powerful interests working against India.

National Convention Established

The National Convention was established at Allahabad on the 22nd April 1924. Three preliminary meetings were held for informal discussion arranging the order of business. Everyone present took the Pledge outlining the essentials of the Constitution for establishing in India Dominion Rule or Swaraj, thus placing her in the position of a Free Nation within the Commonwealth, as defined by the Congress Resolution of 1914. The Convention members numbered 241, including the General Council of the National Home Rule League. Every organised body working for Home Rule is included in it. - Liberals, National Home Rulers, Swarajists and Independents are all bound by one common pledge. On 22nd April took place the formal meeting fuller account of which is reserved for the next issue of this Quarterly.

Memorandum to the Prime Minister.

Early in the year the British Auxiliary of Mrs. Besant's National Conference sent out a question to Labour and Liberal candidates to the last General Election in England asking them if they would support in parliament, if elected, the issue of a Royal Commission to India to explore the Act of 1919 for accelerating the Reforms. 150 M. P's pledged to support the proposal. The following memorandum was accordingly sent to the Prime Minister by the British Auxiliary of the Indian National Conference on 8th February 1924 soon after Labour came into office.

Sir.—The signatories to this Memorandum are the Executive officers of the British Auxiliary of the Indian National Conference, and the Memorandum is presented on behalf of the members of the Organisation.

2. The Indian National Conference is an organisation which was formed at Raisina, Delhi, on February 12, 1923; it is composed of members of the Indian Legislature and representatives from Political Associations who are in favour of working the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

3. The object of the Organisation is to secure the recognition of the right of India to be an equal partner in the Commonwealth of free Nations united by the Crown of H. M. George V. and it seeks to establish this right as speedily as possible by Parliamentary means.

4. The declarations of the Labor Party in *Labor and the Social Order* (1918): "with regard to that great Commonwealth of all races, all colors, all religions and all degrees of civilisation that we call the British Empire, the Labor Party stands for its maintenance and its progressive development on the lines of Local Autonomy and 'Home Rule' all round; the fullest respect for the rights of each people, whatsoever its color, to all the Democratic Self-Government of which it is capable, and to the proceeds of its own toil upon the resources of its own territorial home; and the closest possible co-operation among all the various members of what has become essentially not an Empire in the old sense, but a Britannic Alliance"; coupled with consistent support to the principle of granting to India the status of a Dominion as speedily as possible afforded by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Rt. Hon. Col. J. C. Wedgwood. M. P., D. S. O.) and by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. B. C. Spoor. M. P.), lead us to believe that the presentations made in this Memorandum will receive the immediate and sympathetic consideration of His Majesty's Ministers, and be followed by appropriate action.

5. We would draw your attention to the fact that the Declaration of His Majesty's Government of the 20th August, 1917, emphasised by H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught at the opening of the Indian Assembly, stands on record as the considered policy of Britain, and it has been accepted by the mass of the Indian people as an irrevocable pledge. Any policy pursued by H. M.'s Ministers which has the semblance or appearance of stultifying, modifying or weakening the letter or the spirit of this pledge, or which unduly delays its complete realisation, tends to alienate Indian public opinion; and moreover gives color to the statements of those who desire to destroy the British connection with India and who will not neglect the opportunity which such a policy presents them to further their political ends.

6. We have every reason to believe that the overwhelming majority of the Indian people are willing and even anxious to maintain the connection with Britain; but we must point out that if H. M's Ministers fail to realise and to understand the feeling in India in support of a policy of Responsible Self-Rule, the danger of a considerable growth of the present Separatist movement is immediate and considerable. Any talk of resorting to force to maintain the British supremacy merely inflames violent opinion and inevitably leads to disastrous consequences, as has been shown in the case of America in 1776, and more recently in Ireland. We feel convinced that H. M's Ministers would prefer to emulate the examples of Lord Durham and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and so create a bond which will be unbreakable between India and Britain as is the tie between the Self-Governing Dominions and Britain.

7. We have been led to make the foregoing statement because unfortunately the policy which has been pursued of late by your predecessors in office has given rise, and with justification, to a grave suspicion of the good faith of Britain in its relations with India. This suspicion has been reflected in the recent elections to the Indian Legislatures and has been a principal contributory cause of the defeat of the Constitutional Parties that desire to co-operate in the working of the Reforms. It is possible that a serious deadlock may result, which cannot but add to the difficulties of administration, will tend to inflame public opinion, militate against the well-being of the people, and be fraught with grave danger to the British Commonwealth.

8. We would draw your attention to the fact that at present India has got a partial element of Responsibility in the Provinces and no Responsibility in the Central Government. The feeling is growing that the continuance of the principle of Diarchy is no longer tenable and in many responsible quarters it is held that the time has come when full Autonomy should be granted to the Provinces. As regards the Central Government, the position is delicate and unnatural. It has to deal with a large non-official majority in the Lower House, the growing power of which cannot be ignored, yet it must perforce submit to the direction, control and superintendence of the Secretary of State.

9. The power wielded by the Secretary of State is not illusory. An uneasy feeling prevails in India that it is constantly being used against the interests of India, a feeling even shared by members of the European community, as references to the files of Anglo-Indian journals will show. At the inception of the Government of India Act, it was believed that the power of the Secretary of State was a reserved power only to be used in exceptional circumstances, and never when the Government of India and the majority of the Assembly were in accord. (In fact, the Parliamentary Joint Committee recommended that the Secretary of State should not use his over-riding powers in cases where the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are agreed in matters of administration or policy.) The policy pursued by your predecessor has shattered this belief. Obviously, the India Office and the Government of India are silent as to when this power is used, but the belief prevails, in both European and Indian circles in India, that it was used to prevent the adoption of certain recommendations of the Inchcape Commission much desired in India, and on the occasion of the Certification of the Salt Tax.

10. The Certification of the Salt Tax has probably done more than anything else to give color to the propaganda of those who maintained that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were illusory, and who contented that there was no real design on the part of Britain to give complete Self-Government to India. Proposed in 1922, when the Budget showed a deficiency of £21,000,000, it was rejected by the Assembly. The Government of India acted constitutionally and accepted the decision of its Parliament. In 1923, when the deficit was only two and a half million pounds, and despite the fact that the Secretary of State had in hand more than fourteen million pounds being the profit of the Gold Currency Reserve investments, the Tax was again proposed. Decisively rejected by the Assembly, the power of Certification was used and the tax was imposed. This flouting of the considered opinion of an elected body on such a vital question as the imposition of taxation was a negation of every fundamental principle of Self-Government. And it is hardly to be wondered that those who stood for co-operation and the working of the Constitution were defeated at the election.

11. The imprisonment of political offenders, not charged with violent action, and particularly the detention of Mahatma Gandhi, has also aroused deep suspicion concerning the *bona fides* of the British Government regarding its desire to extend Self-Government to India. The Labor Party has unhesitatingly condemned both the Tsarist and the Soviet Governments of Russia for pursuing this policy towards political opponents, and it has always recognised that such methods, instead of destroying the opinions, materially increase the followings of those who are imprisoned.

12. The treatment and status of Indians in the territories of the Crown under the direct control of H. M's Ministers, particularly in the proposed dual standard of citizenship in the Empire for Indians and Europeans as exemplified in the Kenya case, has stirred the whole of the Indian people. This decision has apparently set at naught the declarations of H. M. Queen Victoria and H. M. George V.

13. The despatch of the Secretary of State in 1922 has created profound disappointment and resentment. It would appear as if your predecessors in office had done everything in their power to make difficult the path of those who, relying on the pledged word of Britain, honestly accepted the Reforms as a step on the road to Self-Rule; and attempted to work loyally and sincerely in co-operation with the Government, feeling that by so doing they would hasten the day when India would take her place as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth.

14. We feel sure that a Labor Government has no desire to pursue a policy in regard to India when it is similar to that which lost America and produced such tragic consequences in Ireland, and therefore it will take immediate steps to convince the people of India that it intends to carry out the pledge of 1917, both in the spirit and the letter.

15. The difficulties of the present position may be summarised as follows:

(*a*) Inconveniences and anomalies in practical administration under a system of Diarchy in the Provinces;

(*b*) Difficulty in practice of an irresponsible Central Government controlling and superintending the administration of Transferred Departments by Ministers responsible to local Legislatures;

(*c*) The difficulty of the Central Government having no majority, actual or tacit, in a Legislature with a majority of elected representatives of the people;

(*d*) The control of the Secretary of State;

(*e*) The failure to protect the interests of Indians overseas.

16. To overcome these real difficulties we are of the opinion that full Responsible Government in the Provinces and complete Responsibility in the Central Government, except in the Military, Political and Foreign Departments, should be established without delay.

17. To secure this end we suggest the immediate appointment of a Commission similar to that provided for in the Government of India Act, 1919, for making a full enquiry into the actual working of the present Constitution and making recommendations in respect of future Constitutional Advance. It is not reasonable that India should be condemned to the administration of a faulty Constitution for six long years if immediate reform is possible. The statutory provision for an examination in 1929 should not preclude an examination before that date. Only good can come of it.

18. Further, we suggest that an amnesty be granted to all political prisoners not charged or convicted of actual violent crime, and that even in the case of the latter a review of the circumstances of each individual case be undertaken with a view to a revision of sentence in all suitable cases. We are convinced that the recent unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi will create a good feeling in India and will do much to quell any manifestations of violence.

19. We also suggest that while we, as do the Indian people, accept the responsibilities and implications of Trusteeship for the indigenous inhabitants of Kenya, the decisions of the White Paper regarding communal electorates, restriction of immigration, and the status of Indians be not implemented, and that the Joint Committee of the Government of India and the Colonial Office be appointed as speedily as possible to re-examine the whole question upon the basis of equal treatment for immigrant communities irrespective of colour.

20. As sincere believers in the principles of Self-Government within the British Commonwealth, a postulate solemnly accepted by the Labor Party, we trust that H. M.'s Ministers will seriously take into consideration the statements made in this Memorandum, will act quickly along the lines suggested, and so help to lay the foundation of a lasting friendship between the peoples of Britain and India.

The Khilafat Movement

The outstanding feature of the Khilafat movement since the Cocanada Conference in December last has been the serious set back it has received from the drastic action of the Angora Nationals not only in deposing the Sultan-i-Khalifa, but also in abolishing the institution of the Khilafat altogether. That some such thing was going to happen was greatly apprehended but the Khilafatists hoped to influence Angora by sending strong deputations representing Moslem feeling in India and by joining their forces with similar representations from the other Moslem countries. The proposal for sending such deputations to Angora, Arabia and other Moslem States was mooted so long ago as November last but lack of funds and delay in getting passports sanctioned by the Government of India held them up indefinitely. After the Cocanada Congress Maulana Shaukat Ali accompanied by Drs. Kitchlew and Syed Mahmood toured in South India and Ceylon and collected funds for the purppse. But serious developments took place before they could place their representation before Angora. In this connection a letter written by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Amir Ali and H. H. the Aga Khan to Genl. Ismet Pasha and its publication in the Constantinople papers caused a tremendous sensation. The following is the text of this letter:—

To His Excellency Ghazi Ismet Pasha, Prime Minister of Turkey.—

Your Excellency,

1. As consistent friends of new Turkey and in full sympathy with her aspirations as an independent member in the comity of the free nations of the world, we desire with your permission to invite the attention of the Grand National Assembly to the very disturbing effects the present uncertain position of the Caliph-Imam is exercising among the vast populations who belong to the Sunni communion. We have noticed with the greatest regret that Islam, as a great moral and cohesive force, is losing among large sections of the Sunni population, owing to the diminution in the Caliph's dignity and prestige, its weight and influence. For obvious reasons we do not wish to particularize the facts, but its absolute accuracy cannot be gainsaid.

2. In the Sunni communion, we need not point out, the spiritual headship forms the link which binds the followers of Islam as a vast congregation. When the Caliphate was in peril from outside attacks, Mussalman feeling all over the world was violently agitated, and the Muslims of India gave their sympathy and support to the Turkish nation in the belief that in fighting for their independence they were fighting also for the preservation intact of the institution which symbolized Muslim solidarity. Throughout those critical times we strenuously pleaded for the Turkish cause. And a British Muslim organisation has, ever since the Turko-Italian War in Tripoli and Cyrenaica, devoted its energies in endeavouring to alleviate the untold suffering and distress among the Turkish people. Our observations and suggestions, therefore, we trust, will receive a courteous hearing from Your Excellency's Government regarding a question in which we, in common with all Muslims, take the deepest interest.

3. It must not be supposed for a moment from our remarks that we wish to suggest that the power of the people's representatives should be in any degree curtailed. What we respectfully urge is that the religious headship of the Sunni world should be maintained intact in accordance with the Shariyyet. In our opinion, any diminution in the prestige of the Caliph or the elimination of the Caliphate as a religious factor from the Turkish body-politic would mean the disintegration of Islam and its practical disappearance as a moral force in the word—a contingency which, we are sure, neither the Grand National Assembly nor His Excellency the President, Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, can view with equanimity.

4. In our opinion the Caliph-Imam symbolizes the unity of the Sunni commu-

nion; and the fact that he is a member of the Turkish people and is a descendant of the founder of the Turkish nation gives to Turkey a position pre-eminent among Islamic nations.

5. For 14 centuries it has been the cardinal principle of the Ahl-i-Sunnat, and on this, we believe, is the Ijmaa-i-Ummat, that the Caliphs, the Vice-gerent of the Prophet, is the Imam of the Sunni congregations, and that between him and the general body of worshipers there is a nexus which knits together the Ahl-i-Sunnat. This mystical element cannot be eradicated from the Muslim mind without creating discord in the world of Islam.

6. We need not remind Your Excellency that even when the Caliph-Imam lost his temporal power the great Kings and Chieftains sought and obtained from him investiture in order to validate their title to rule and to lead at prayers, the usual concomitant of secular authority. If Islam is to maintain its place in the world as a great moral force, the Caliph's position and dignity, should not, in any event, be less than that of the Pontiff of the Church of Rome.

7. For these reasons, among others equally cogent, we as the true friends of Turkey, respectfully urge upon the Grand National Assembly and its great and far-sighted leaders the imminent necessity for maintaining the religious and moral solidarity of Islam by placing the Caliph Imamate on a basis which would command the confidence and esteem of the Muslim nations, and thus impart to the Turkish State unique strength and dignity.

This letter was sent to Ismet Pasha in a confidential cover and a week later the writers sent copies to the Constantinople papers. The publication of the letter in Constantinople was followed with dramatic suddenness by the arrest of certain people and of three distinguished editors on a charge of high treason before an exceptional "Tribunal of of Independence," *i. e.*, a tribunal independent of the normal legal procedure of the country, specially despatched from Angora. The Tribunal however soon acquitted the Editors but this sensational affair showed how jealous and suspicious the Turkish Republic was of any thing that came from such staunch friends of Britain as the two august writers of the letter. The basis of the national law of the New Turkish Republic is the separation of the Khilafat from the Sultanate—the religious authority from the sovereignty of the nation. The Khalifa was so long maintained as a religious pontiff but the authority of the Turkish State was vested in the Republic and its Grand National Assembly.

The Aga Khan's letter was a powerful plea for the restoration of the monarchy. There was an almost veiled threat implied in this. The supposed diminution in the Khalif's dignity and prestige, which is but natural from a temporal point of view when he has ceased to be the head of a powerful state, was regretted by the Aga Khan and Mr. Amir Ali who go on to point out that the Indian Muslims have established a claim to speak out on these matters by their services to the Tukish cause. Open support was given to the monarchist movement which challenges the very principles of the new Turkish revolution. Even the 'Times' which cautiously defended the Aga Khan in a leading article declared the publication of it to be an indiscretion. As said Ismet Pasha to an interviewer:—

"The attitude of the Turkish Republic towards the Caliphate has been clearly declared by the law of November 1, 1922. The Grand National Assembly is the pillar of the Caliphate. Their relations are simply these: The Caliphate, which is a sacred institution for all Moslems, has no more rights over Turkey than it has over Egypt, Afghanistan, or any other Moslem country. I have received a letter from the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali which has also been published in the newspapers. I shall never understand this method of publication or the purpose of publishing a letter which was addressed to me. It is also quite an unprecedented thing to publish a letter before it has been received and read by the person to whom it is

addressed. The letter contains observations and suggestions concerning the fundamental law of Turkey. The Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali cannot possibly claim to have the right, the knowledge, and the experience to put forward observations and suggestions about the fundamental law of Turkey. From a religious point of view also their observations have no foundation. Their own publications of a year ago, when the Sultanate was abolished, are in absolute contradiction with their present statements. In short, although I do not deem it necessary to go into the discussion from the religious point of view, it is not difficult to see that their claims have no foundation whatever. It is also a mystery to me what claims the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali have got to make suggestions and observations in the name of the Sunnis."

The discontent arising from the decree of November 1st which did not even allow criticisms about the condition of the Caliphat had been growing steadily more and more outspoken since the Allied evacuation of Constantinople which removed the most pressing need for internal union. Turkey had emerged from her victorious struggle in a terribly exhausted and impoverished condition. The feelings of disillusionment, dissatisfaction and unrest caused by all those inevitable social and economic difficulties had been exacerbated by the political events of the last few weeks. Rightly or wrongly, the "intelligentsia" of Constantinople was thoroughly upset by the unexpectedly swift manner in which the Republic was proclaimed and by the apparently vast accumulation of powers in the hands of the new President, Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha. Above all, that section of the Constantinople Press which had already hinted its discontent with the undefined position of the Caliph was further stung into sharper opposition and criticism by the insulting abuses hurled at the House of Ottoman by some of the republican journals.

Into this heated atmosphere there suddenly came the bomb-shell of the Aga Khan's letter. The Government decided that it was time to call a halt to the ever-increasing stream of what, it must frankly be admitted, was often captious, impatient, and unjust criticism, and acted on the old method of mowing down the heads of the tallest peoples. Further, there was distinct annoyance at the fact that such a letter on such a subject should have been written in English. Consequently the most fantastic theories ran current as to the letter having been, if not actually concocted, at least published with the connivance of the British Embassy in Constantinople, and it was broadly hinted that the whole episode was a British intrigue designed to restore the Sultanate in the persons of either the actual Caliph Abdul Majid or the deposed Sultan, Wahib-ud-din.

It was frequently stated by the older school of Turks in Constantinople that the Anatolian peasant was fanatically devoted to the Caliph and to the conception of his Padishah; that many of the Nationalists Army would never have taken up arms again under Mustapha Kemal Pasha if they had not been convinced that they were fighting for the liberation and honour of the Sultan, and that to this day many of the ignorant peasants of Anatolia do not know that the Caliph had been stripped of his temporal powers. Angora Deputies, however, utterly pooh-pooh such a suggestion as ridiculous. The Anatolian peasant, they declare, is no more attached to the Caliphate than the Russian moujiks proved to be attached to the Tsar. It was ridiculous to speak any longer of Turkish religious fanaticism. Many Turks did not go inside a mosque once in a year. Several Deputies insisted that since the Grand National Assembly had laid down the mode of electing

future Caliphs, and since it voted His Majesty's Civil list, the exact status of the Caliph was a purely internal affair of Turkey.

From the Turkish point of view, there are many enemies of Turkey and of Islam who, under the pretence of anxiety for Islam herself, intrigue against Turkish security, and only aim at having on the Throne of the Caliph some one sufficiently amenable to outside influences to keep Turkey weak and Islam in a state of tutelage. The Sultanate —even the present Dynasty—has acquired a sinister reputation in this respect, and the treachery of the late deposed Sultan (for actively to oppose the Angora movement was treachery in Turkish Nationalistic eyes) was the culminating point. Angora resolved that never more should the old "regime" revive. The Sublime Porte, with its intrigues and inefficiencies, and the Palace with all its degrading entourage of enuchs and all, were to be eliminated. That was why any movement—no matter by whom sponsored—to increase the Caliph's prestige or authority at that juncture became suspect.

Meanwhile King Hussain, "Britains faithful Arab Ally", was moving up and down Arabia throughout the month of January. An appeal was going round to the people of Arabia, started and inspired by whom it is not clear, except that Reuter's and the London Times' disclaimer looked significant, to acclaim Hussain as the "Caliph of Arabic Islam." It should be noted, however, that it was Britain who instigated Hussain to rise in rebellion against Turkey during the late war, and since then the movement of the 'Arab Ally' has always been looked with great suspicion by Angora. The volume of other intrigues that were directed against the young republic of Angora, jealous of the their hard-fought independence secured against the mightiest odds at Lausanne, is of course not known outside Angora. But the exasperated Turks did not wait long. On March 4th the whole Moslem world was convulsed with the news that the Khalifa and ex-sultan Abdul Majid was deposed, banished from Constantinople and the Khilafat as an institution was abolished.

On Feb. 28th Deputy Sarouhan Bey proposed a resolution in the Angora Assembly demanding the suppression of the Khalifate, the exclusion of the Commissay of Religious affairs from the Turk Cabinet, and the total abolition of the theological schools and tribunals. And on the opening of the Assembly Mustafa Kamal Pasha, as President of the Republic, referred in strong terms to the safeguarding of the Republic "at present and in future from all attacks" by "purging religion from all political ties" which constituted "the vital issues of the moment". On March 3rd the deposition of the Khalifa was ratified and his expulsion is thus described :—

'At 2 o'clock in the morning the Vali of Constantinople and the Director General of Public Security, accompanied by the police, proceeded to the Dolmabagche Palace, where they ordered the Khalif to seat himself upon the throne. The decree ordering his deposition was then read, after which the Khalif was ordered to descend the throne and make arrangements for his immediate departure. An hour later, accompanied by his two wives and his son, he was motored to Chatalja on the frontier, where a special train awaited his departure to Switzerland.

This news sent a thrill of anguish throughout the Moslem World. The Central Khilafat Committee at Bombay sent cables to Angora and to Mustafa Kemal to have authentic information.

MUSTAFA KAMAL'S CABLE

An authoritative cable regarding the abolition of the Khilafat was received on March 10th from Mustafa Kamal Pasha. It said:—

"The law agreed to by the Grand National Assembly, Turkey, is as follows:

(1) The Khalifa has been deposed;

(2) The Khilafat office being essentially contained in the sense and meaning of Government and Republic is abolished. The existence of a separate Khilafat office within the Turkish Republic proved to be disturbing to the foreign and internal political union of Turkey. From another side the Khilafat office idea, which has been conserved since ages to realise the basis of a united Muslim Government in the world has never been realised, and on the contrary has been a constant cause of strife and duplicity among the Muslims, whereas the real interests accept as a principle that the social associations may constitute themselves into independent governments. The spiritual and real bond between Muslim nations is understood in the signification of the sacred verse *inna mul mominoun ikhva.*—MUSTAFA KAMAL."

REPLY TO KAMAL PASHA

In reply to the above the following cable was sent by the Central Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, to the President, Republic, Angora:—"In a special joint meeting of the Working Committees of the Khilafat organisation and Jamiat-ul-Ulema it was resolved to communicate the following message to the National Assembly through Your Highness:—Your cable is not clear. Has the National Assembly abolished only the separate office of the Khalifa instituted recently by it and has instead agreed to acknowledge the allegiance to the President of the Republic not only as the head of the Turkish State but also as the "Khalifat-ul-Muslimin", or is the Assembly as the executive of the Turkish Republic not prepared to accept any responsibility for the historic Islamic institution called Khilafat? The news so far received from Turkey regarding the abolition of the Khilafat has caused deep distress and consternation among your Indian Muslim brethren. The Mussalmans of India are not partisans favouring the retention of the Khilafat as a monopoly of any particular family or perquisite of any individual. They entirely dissociate themselves from any desire to intervene in the national affairs of their Turkish brethren who are quite competent to deal with them. But they are deeply concerned with the question of the retention or abolition of the office of the Khalifa itself which is the very essence of Islamic faith and was designed to maintain and conserve the ideal of Islamic brotherhood through a definite and well-established institution.

"It is true that when in the hour of his need the Khalifa called upon the members of the world-wide Muslim brotherhood to assist him and his nation, the response of the Muslim world was very poor, but it is equally true that this was for want of a properly and effectively functioning Khilafat organisation. As a consequence of this not only Turkey but the entire Muslim world suffered grievously. But we learnt our lesson in the terrible school of suffering and awakened at last to a proper sense of the need of a reformed and renovated Khilafat.

The Indian Mussalmans expected that Your Highness after achieving such a well-earned and signal success would revive Islam's fundamental institution of the Khilafat purging it of such excrescences as were not required by the Shariat but were the growth of personal greed and dynastic ambition and re-establish it on a firm and democratic basis. But the entire abolition of the institution of the Khilafat just at the time when the Muslim world was showing unmistakable signs of awakening destroys all our expectations. We believe that the Khilafat and the Republic are not incompatible with each other and that the continuation of the Khilafat after its reform will not only not be detrimental to the internal unity of Turkey but will be a source of strength to the Turkish nation in its relations abroad. We would in any case implore Your Highness and the National Assembly not to belittle the importance and advantages of the continuation of the institution of the Khilafat and its re-establishment on true democratic foundations. The existence of the Khilafat does not of course depend upon the good-will of any particular Muslim nation or State but Turkey as the last great Muslim power is best fitted to remain associated with the Khilafat and this connexion we fervently trust will benefit not only the rest of the Islamic world but Turkey herself. If the National Assembly's decision abolishes the institution of the Khilafat itself, it is bound to cause diversion and dissipation of energy and strength in the Muslim world and will open the door to the mischievous ambitions of hosts of undeserving claimants. Seventy million Indian Mussalmans appeal to their brethren of the National Assembly to reconsider their decision so far as it relates to the abolition of the office of the Khilafat itself and to give an opportunity to the delegation of Indian Mussalmans which desire to visit Angora to make a fuller representation on the subject. Please address reply to Shaukat Ali, President, Central Khilafat Committee, Kifayat Ullah, President, Jamiat-Ulema."

At the same time the Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat issued the following statement to allay public feeling. They said :

"The news received from Turkey regarding the deposition of the Khalifa and the abolition of the institution of Khilafat has naturally caused great consternation among the Mussalmans and surprised and disturbed other communities in India while the avowed enemies of the National and Islamic cause, who are ever seeking an opportunity to give vent to their feelings of antagonism and hatred, have been persistently preaching that the Turks themselves have done away with the institution of the Khilafat which was the *raison d'etre* of the entire Khilafat movement in India. Our Indian brethren in general, and Mussalmans in particular, should realise that the present regrettable progress of events has brought us face to face with a situation which puts our judgment and determination to a very severe test. Moments such as these act as determining factors in the lives of nations and their struggle for greatness. We should therefore face the situation like men possessing the strength, determination and resolution which alone can lead to success and not let ourselves be carried away by the flood of adverse criticism like pieces of straw devoid of any will or judgment, nor should we, at a crisis like this when we should put in the last ounce of energy and effort into the struggle, give up the fight out of sheer despair and hopelessness.

"It is immaterial to us whether or not our opponents desire correctly to understand and appreciate our obligations and the manner in which we try to meet them, but we on our part should be under no delusion with regard to the nature and goal of our activities.

"It is well-known to every Mussalman that Khilafat in Islam connotes State and that it is the duty of every Muslim to sacrifice his all and even to lay down his life for the maintenance and preservation of its integrity when threatened. Four year ago the last great Muslim power was surrounded by enemies on all sides and even the Mussalmans of Africa and India who were in the grip of foreign domination were arrayed in arms against it. We tried to discharge our obligation to the best of our abilities and, praise be to God, our efforts met with success. The question as to the constitution of this last great Muslim State, and whether the men at the helm of its affairs are discharging their duties properly and satisfactorily, is a matter connected with the internal reform and organisation of the Moslem society, and just as it was our duty to safeguard the interests of Islam against outside attacks it is our religious duty to exert ourselves for internal reform also. For centuries past we have been the victims of external calamities. If we mean to live it is essential that we should prepare ourselves to combat, but our goal is clear and our aims are not doubtful. They are not the result of fortuitous circumstances or passing events but are the outcome of recognised and acknowledged religious principles and beliefs. So long as these remain intact there can be no deviation from the path we have chosen for ourselves.

"Not only do we mean to protect and preserve this last independent and powerful Muslim State against its opponents and enemies, but we also desire to see it constituted and organised on proper principles of Shariat of Islam. If the present administration of Turkey are pursuing a wrong course, should it be upset? Should we not rather apply ourselves with greater energy and determination to turn them from the wrong course they are following and devote all efforts towards the rectification of the mistake.

"The members of the Central Khilafat Committee and Jamiat-ul-Ulema are in direct telegraphic communication with the Government of Turkey. The answer received in reply to the first telegram of enquiry sent by the Central Khilafat Committee as to the exact situation and the telegram sent to Angora after the receipt of the above have been published for the information of the public. We are confident our Muslim brethren will wait for the result of these communications with calmness and patience. They should continue their efforts undisturbed, for on the continuation of our efforts depend the realization of the national and Muslim hopes and aspirations. The question regarding our future course and line of action and its details depends entirely on the result of the exchange of communications referred to above. We can however say this much at present that if our representations do not lead to any satisfactory result then the first important step we should take should be to convene a general conference of all Muslim countries in some suitable centre to discuss and find out a solution to this most urgent and important problem. We note with pleasure and satisfaction that our Muslim brethren in Egypt are at one with us in this respect."

THE EX-KHALIF'S MESSAGE

Meanwhile the Ex-Khalif had communicated a message to the whole Moslem world bewailing his lot and the abolition of the Khilafat and characterised the act as highly impious. He also declared that the Turkish electors had expressly charged the Assembly to continue to serve and uphold Islamic traditions. His Majesty, therefore, considered the measure fundamentally sacrilegious and null and void. "By its unanimous approval of my election a year and a half ago to the supreme magistracy of Islam, and the Moslem world having confirmed me in the exercise of that august function, and the lay Turkish Republic having by its infringement of real national sovereignty entirely desisted from all right of participation or intervention, it is now up to the Moslem world solely that the exclusive faculty belongs to pronounce in all authority and with entire freedom upon this vital question." The Ex-Khalif, therefore, invited the most authorised chiefs and representatives of Mussalman communities throughout the world to communicate their proposals and concrete contributions as soon as possible to the assembly of a grand religious inter-Islamic Congress, which he proposed to convoke at an opportune time and place, in order to adopt a decision required by the situation. To secure the support of the Indian Moslems, the Ex-Khalif also sent a cable to Mr. Mahomed Ali at Aligarh, to which the latter replied that while not interfering with the purely national affairs of Turkey, Indian Mussalmans are determined to maintain the sacred Khilafat.

There was a strong rumour also that the British Govt. was scheming with the Ex-Khalif to bring about a state of religious war, and a question of bringing over the Ex-Khalif to India to enlist Indian support was also mooted. All these however proved futile, especially on the strong stand taken by Switzerland, where the Ex-Sultan had taken asylum, not to permit any political intrigue and propaganda by supporters of the Sultan Abdul Majid.

The trouble which the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali foresaw long ago actually arose. Claimants for the Khilafat were put forward from several countries and the enemies of Islam got busy to foment inter-Islamic jealousies. King Hussein of Hedjaz was proclaimed Khalifa in Iraq. The Trans-Jordania Govt. and Mesopotamia also proclaimed him Khalif. Another Khalifa was sought to be pitched up in Egypt. While some wily Britishers even suggested the name of the Nizam of Hyderabad for an Indian Khalif!

Alarmed at these rapid developments the Presidents of the Central Khilafat Committee of India and Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind cabled on the 15th March to the Sharif Sahib of Mecca:—"Indian Mussalmans have read with very great astonishment the announcement in certain quarters of your previous declaration that you did not desire the Khilafat and your acceptance of the principle that this was a matter for the entire Muslim world to decide. Indian Mussalmans agree with a similar view of the Egyptian Ulema and earnestly hope for cessation of such premature announcement. The Khilafat question does not depend on the wishes or opinion of any detached group of men but rests wholly on the considered judgment of the entire Muslim world."

A similar cablegram was sent to the President, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Cairo, and the support of Egypt was sought to the Indian suggestion.

The Calcutta Khilafat Conference

On March 19th the Khilafat Conference was opened in Calcutta in the Halliday Park with Moulana Mahomed Ali as the President. Delegates attended from all over India. The Conference lasted for 3 days. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Maulana Abdur Rauf, in the course of his Urdu address deplored the action of the Turks and suggested that a Conference of the whole Muslim world should at once be held either in Egypt or in Persia to settle the question of the Khilafat.

The President, Mr. Mahomed Ali, gave a historical resume of the Khilafat movement during the past five years and laid bare the position of Indian Mussalmans. Regarding their support of the Turks during the war which had been adversely criticised in Angora, he said :

'Circumstanced as we were, it was not possible for us in India to render any military assistance to our Turkish brethren and since the Government was hostile to our aspirations towards religious solidarity, the richer men in the community, who have mostly been lacking in courage where Government is concerned, could not assist the Turkish brethren with funds, so that it was only the poor who could assist them even with money. But everything that was possible for a subject nation to do was being done by us, and the contributions of Indian Mussalmans in money, although not great enough to provide munitions of war to continue the fight for any considerable length of time, indicated our moral support, and the pressure that we brought upon the Government could not be considered unappreciable. No one can accuse me of overrating the contribution of India to Turkish success, in war or in diplomacy, because I have always said that in the main the battle was fought and won by our Turkish brethren alone. But whether our own contribution was in effect great or small, there can not be the least doubt of our true, heart-felt sympathy with the cause of the Khilafat.'

TREATY OF LAUSANNE.

'When the Treaty of Lausanne was signed two things remained for us to do. One was the restoration of the Jajirat-ul-Arab through the Mussalmans and the Khilafat. And the other was the re-establishment of the Khilafat itself on a firm democratic basis with a representative council of the Mussalmans of the world to assist the Khilafat in its great task which had been neglected for generations past but which we could not afford to neglect any longer if we are to save the Khilafat from repeated attacks by non-Moslems and save Islam itself from internal decadence.'

After discussing the question of restoring the Holy Lands the Moulana referred to the present position of the Khalifat and said :—

'It was decided that delegations should go from India to Angora and Constantinople as well as to the Hedjaj and Najd. Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine had arrived at a common understanding with our Moslem brethren abroad with regard to the future of the Khilafat. The most disquieting feature of the situation with regard to

this was that indications were not wanting that many of the Turks who had been educated in Europe had lost a good deal of Islamic spirituality and were heedlessly rushing into the materialism of Europe.

To-day we are face to face with the fact that the Island of Arabia is still in non-Moslem hands and that we cannot rely upon the rulers set up by England in portions of that island to assist in freeing our Holy Land from non-Moslem domination and control and that the very champions of the Turkish Khilafat are alleged to have discontinued their four-centuries old connections with that Khilafat. It may seem that we are more Arab than the Arabs and more Turkish than the Turks but if our Islamic obligations are understood it will be apparent that all that we are is Moslems. As Moslems we who are not Arabs cannot let the Arabs hand over the dominion over the Island of Arabia to non-Moslems and as Moslems, once more we cannot countenance a section of the Turkish nation disconnecting its national Government from the Khilafat.

Proceeding to expound the Khilafat policy as he understood it, Moulana Mahomed Ali said:

Islam, as preached and practised by the last of the prophets, was the culmination of all prophecy. Mussalmans are to preach this faith to mankind and to persuade the world to conform to the tenets of Islam, and since practice is essential for faith and mere belief is not sufficient, there must be an organisation which should see that freedom to preach as well as to profess is preserved and there must be at least a part of God's earth where our professions should be practised without any let or hindrance.

The Khilafat is such an organisation with the Khalifa as the personal centre and the Jajirut-ul-Arab as its local centre. Every Musalman is a soldier in God's peace-loving army and the Khalifa is the Commander of the Faithful and the Generalissimo of that army. That army was about to be crushed and its chief commander was to have been retained as a captive but our Turkish brethren by their sacrifices saved Islam from this disaster. The citadel of Islam, however, where even a beaten army would take refuge and prepare for recommencing hostilities, is in the enemy's hands and until and unless we restore the Jajirut-ul-Arab to the Khalifa our victory is incomplete and our future is insecure. But the reported action of some of our Turkish brethren with regard to the Khilafat would mean that the largest section of God's army refuses to serve God and to realise his kingdom on earth and this disaster would be far greater for the Mussalmans of the world than anything that had hitherto happened. It is true that for generations past the Khilafat has not been functioning properly and effectively as we told our Turkish brethren in our cable to them recently. But the revival of the Khilafat is to-day, as it has always been, our ideal and the moment we cease to retain that as our ideal we cease to be Moslems as well.

EUROPE'S DARKEST HOUR.

Materialism is at its height to-day in Europe so much so that even some of the governing classes in Turkey do not seem to have escaped it, but there are not wanting unmistakable signs to indicate

that this is Europe's darkest hour before dawn and that the dawn itself will not any longer be delayed. Men like Mr. H. G. Wells have given expression to their own faith which they call modern, and but for a few remnants of their early upbringing as Christians and of their more recent materialism and overweaning confidence in their own knowledge their modern faith is no other than the most ancient faith of Islam, the genesis of which forms repeatedly a chapter of the Koran. It is nothing but the recognition of the sole sovereignty of God, the resignation of the human to the divine will or rather the realisation of the identity of the human with the divine purpose of life which is summed up in the well-known creed of Islam: 'There is no God but God.' For a world so situated it will be the greatest disaster if any section of Mussalmans discard the ancient faith of Islam and instead of re-organising the institution of Khilafat with a world-wide brotherhood above all national rancour and ill-will and with the ideal of dethroning War and substituting Peace decides to discontinue that institution itself.

The President next dealt with the question of the Khilafat activity so far as it concerned Government and emphasised that the restoration of the Jajirut-ul-Arab was necessary before Indian Mussalmans as Khilafatists could make their peace with Government.

MAULANA SAHID HOSSAIN AHMAD

On the Conference meeting the next day Maulana Sahid Hossain Ahmad, an ex-president of the Khilafat Conference, gave a religious exposition of the Khilafat, and in the course of a long urdu speech said:—

The Prophet has said that the best kind of jehad is to speak the truth to an oppressive king. In India where to raise a voice in defence of the Khilafat is a heinous crime, still the Moslems have not budged an inch. They have done the best of jehad. In the teeth of all oppression by Govt. they have helped the Turks with money and moral support.

SHUDDHI AND COW-KILLING.

Referring to the counter-meeting of other moslems under the inspiration of the Bengal Ministers and Europeans who wanted to create a split amongst the Congress-Khilafat party, he said: The traitors are trying to destroy the Khilafat and eradicate its very spirit from the world. A meeting of Moslems, apparently called by the ministers, was held day before yesterday on the Maidan, to consider Shudhi, Sangathan, cow-killing and the other problems. The real motive underlying was to create discord between Hindus and Moslems. But, I ask, why no action has been taken against the Christian missionaries who are daily converting thousands to Christianity?

When in Mecca, I enquired of Sharif Hossain if he ever assisted to

to say that if a man can be the son of God, why cannot be as well his vice-regent on earth.

KHILAFAT KHASSA.

Khilafat Khassa (special) is given to one person, who is enjoined to see to the peace of the world and see that people put under his care carry out the commandments of God. But this Khilafat must be like the Papal authority which is impotent and thrives on the sufference of the people but has no power to punish even an ordinary thief. To keep up the splendour of Islam, to make provision for the administration of the State, and take up arms in defence of religion and country is the duty of the Khalifa Khassa.

We all know what Sharif Hossein has done and we know that he cannot as a consequence rightfully claim the Khilafat. So long as the Arabs were true, the whole Moslem World sided with them, but now, when they have broken the traditions of the Prophet, they cannot command, and rightfully claim, obedience from the Moslems. Because the Turks have so long been carrying out the onerous duties of the Khalifa very justly, the Khilafat naturally remained with the Turks for six centuries. One and only one person can be a Khalifa at a time, and there is a 'Hadeth' of the Prophet to the effect that if in the lifetime of one Caliph another claims it, and has got himself declared, then the second one should be killed.

A DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION.

The Khilafat is not a personal property. It is an essentially democratic institution. The acid test as to any person's claim to the office of the Caliph is whether the claimant is a fit person for it, according to democratic principles. If a man is elected by the representatives of the people to be the Caliph, he is to be regarded as such. Similarly if by the consensus of opinion of the elected representatives of the people the Caliph is found wanting, he may be deposed. It is said that the Caliph must be elected by all the Moslems, but this is imposible and impracticable as all Moslems cannot gather at one time and place for recording their opinion. Grave responsibilities are attached to the post of the Caliph and perhaps it has not always been possible for the latter Caliphs of the House of Ottoman to acquit themselves well.

It is said that the Indian Moslems have so long been fighting for the Khilafat and the Turks, but to-day those very Turks for whom they have been agitating have abolished this institution. We were fighting against the dismemberment of the Khilafat and against the enemies of Islam who were trying their best to bring about the destruction of Turkey. The history of Afghanistan will show you the intention of the English to destroy all Islamic States. So long as Russia was strong and a menace to India, England tried her best to maintain Afghanistan as a strong power, for as a buffer state between Russia and India, she would best serve England's interests. But to-day when the menace to India from Russia is eliminated, we find the British at once pouncing upon Afghanistan and trying to bring it under her subjugation.

Europe has for long been trying to alienate the Indian Moslems from the Turks. In the internal administration of Turkey we should not interfere, and without knowing the real situation we should not be carried away by the news spread through the agency of enemy propagandist.

ADVICE GRATIS.

Referring to the sudden exhibition of solicitous concern of Anglo-Indian journals for the deposed Khalifa the Moulana said: The very papers who not long ago were abusing the Khilafat propaganda here are now coming out with long pitiable tales of the danger to Islam from the abolition of the Khilafat by the Turks. You should understand the real motive of this propaganda. People like Mr. Ghuznavi and others, who had never joined the Khilafat before, are now giving advice gratis to the people to accept Sharif Hossein as Caliph. To me Shaukat Ali is a thousand times better qualified man for the post of Caliph than Sharif Hossein. The Arabs have neither railway, nor posts, nor telegraphs, nor are they economically self-sufficient. How then can such a person as Sharif Hossein claim the Khilafat for himself? After all this, I must tell you that the Turks are the only people fit to be the guardians of Islam and the dignity of the Caliph."

The speaker then appealed to the Muslims for contributions to keep up the Khilafat to its old glory.

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were adopted at the second and third day's sitting of the Conference on the 20th and 21st March last:—

THE TURKISH REPUBLIC AND THE KHILAFAT.

(1) The Calcutta Khilafat Conference earnestly invites the attention of the Mussalmans of India in particular and the Mussalmans of the world in general to the delicate situation created by the declaration of the Turkish Republic with regard to the Khilafat. This conference believes that the crisis which has so unexpectedly arisen is a severe trial of their judgment and prudence and of their unity of thought and action, and that undue haste and precipitancy are as likely to produce dangerous results as undue delay and neglect. This conference considers it essential that Mussalmans should act with patience and prudence instead of becoming unduly excited and permitting themselves to be too readily influenced, and that the views and objects of the men in authority at Angora which are not yet clear and need further elucidation should first be ascertained beyond a shadow of doubt and in full detail. This conference declares its approval of the representations jointly cabled by the Central Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema at Angora and appeals to all Mussalmans that until and unless a conclusive result of these communications is arrived at, they will abstain from forming a final opinion and will refrain from doing anything likely to disturb unity and jeopardise the solidarity of the Mussalmans of the world.

THE JAZIRAT-UL-ARAB.

(2) The Calcutta Khilafat Conference proclaims that according to Islamic injunctions, it is the religious and national duty of the Mussalmans of the entire world, at all times and in all circumstances, to keep the Jazirat-ul-Arab free from every form of alien and non-muslim influences and domination. This Conference, therefore, declares that so long as the Jazirat-ul-Arab is not completely freed from such influences and domination, it will remain the religious and national duty of the Mussalmans of India to continue to use all possible means to attain this object and that the situation that has recently arisen with regard to the Khilafat question does not in the least affect this duty whether judged by the canons of Islamic law and those of sound policy.

SHARIF HUSSAIN CONDEMNED

(3) The Calcutta Khilafat Conference expresses its regret and anxiety with regard to the declaration in certain circles in Palestine concerning the declaration and assumption of the office of Khalif by Shariff Hussain and declares on behalf of Indian Mussalmans that they are not prepared to accept any action taken by any particular group or country without consultation with the Mussalmans of the whole world.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE KHILAFAT.

(4) The Calcutta Khilafat Conference confidently declares that Islamic Khilafat signifies Islamic Government, the object of which is the defence of Islam and of the Muslim community and the head of this Government is the Khalifa and he is called the Chief of the Faithful. At present when all other Islamic Governments have ceased to exist and only a few scattered Muslim states remain, existence of Islamic Khilafat means that the Islamic Government which is the strongst in all the Islamic world and possesses amongst them the greatest degree of temporal power for the championship and protection of the Muslim community and the Islamic shariat and is eager to undertake it, is accepted as the Central Islamic Government. Since, at present the Turkish Government possesses these qualifications in a greater measure than other Islamic Governments, naturally it is the only one that deserves to retain this central position. This Conference declares that if the men in authority in the present Turkish Government desire to follow a course which is apprehended to be prejudicial to this acceptability of the Turkish Government, then it is the duty of the Muslims of the world to invite the attention of the Turkish brothers to the necessity of reformation and to take all possible steps in this behalf. Mussalmans of India trust that Muslims of the world will co-operate with them in this great endeavour and will concentrate their efforts at the present juncture in the furtherence of this object.

THE DRAFT HINDU MUSLIM PACT.

(5) The Calcutta Khilafat Conference fully supports the draft Hindu-Muslim Pact which the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the Bengal Provincial Khilafat Committee have after joint consultation and deliberation adopted. This Conference however desires to elucidate the fact that in determining the communal shares in representation and other privileges in this pact, it is not intended that effect should be given to this distribution of shares by means of any measure to be adopted by the existing legislature or through the instrumentality of the present bureaucratic Government. This Conference declares that all that is intended is that a clear and satisfactory decision should be placed before the country with regard to the representative and other privileges of Hindus and Mussalmans respectively, to which the future national Government of India would give effect when it is established. This Conference, therefore, views with great disfavour the regrettable efforts which some Mussalmans of the Bengal Legislative Council have made with regard to this distribution of communal shares in that Council and for which they have attempted to seek authority in the Bengal Hindu-Muslim Pact.

सत्यमेव जयते

The Akali Movement

Since its baptism of fire at the Jallianwalla Bagh the Punjab has had two similar, though much smaller, ordeals to pass through. One was at Nankana Sahib in 1921, and the other so late as in February last at Jaito in Nabha. The history of the earlier Sikh movement will be found recorded in previous issues of the *KAGISTKH*. Of late the Akali Sikhs have attracted more and more attention and now they virtually sway the whole community. The name "Akali" is derived from *AKAL*, meaning God, the Death-less.

After the massacre at Nankana, the volume of Sikh feeling rose to a high pitch and the hands of the Akalis were strengthened by a great influx of public sympathy and funds. It was at this juncture that Mahatma Gandhi's ideal of sacrifice and suffering and non-violence was impressed upon the Akalis and they adopted that ideal as their creed.

The last great Akali martyrdom was at Guru-ka-bagh. This was a shrine 14 miles from Amritsar where the Mohunt in possession was as immoral as a Mohunt could be, and the Gurdwara Prabhandhak Committee failing to reform him, came to a settlement with him allowing him to retain the house attached to the shrine while he had to leave the shrine to the Committee. Close to the shrine, was a piece of waste ground covered with scrub which had always been used for cutting fire-wood to cook the food for the pilgrims that visited Guru-ka-Bagh. It was "No Man's Land," untaxed for revenue purposes, and of no value to the priest himself—a bit of "jungle." The pilgrims had obviously to be fed each day whoever held possession of the shrine, and it had been an immemorial custom to cut the wood from this bit of jungle. But the ejected priest had been nursing vengeance in his heart ever since the day of his ejection. He found an occasion, in this cutting of the wood from the jungle, to invoke the protection of the law. He claimed the waste ground as belonging to the house and not to the shrine. And Government officials at once sided with him and ordered the wood-cutting to cease and established a cordon of military police to protect the disputed plot of ground. Then began the famous passive resistance drama at Guru-ka-Bagh the news of which travelled not only over the Punjab but to the rest of India as well, making the name of this place famous in the history of modern times. From every side the Akali Sikhs came pouring into Amritsar in order to go out to Guru-ka-Bagh and take part in the cutting of the wood, and preaching non-violence, to disobey the order and thus court arrest.

They were composed chiefly of ex-soldiers who had served in the Great War, in Flanders, in Mesopot, in East Africa, in Palestine. But there were also with them mere youths below the military age, and also old veterans who had served in many frontier campaigns and had long ago retired from military service. First of all, on their arrival at Amritsar, they presented themselves at the Golden Temple in companies, called Jathas, and spent the night there in singing hymns to the praise of God. Their cry "Sat Sri Akal" (Glory to the true, the death-less) used to go up the whole night through. They spent the whole time in the precincts of

the Golden Temple. Each company of Akalis took the solemn vow of non-resistance before the Sacred Book of the Sikhs, called the Granth Sahib, which contains the hymns of the Gurus. Then, when their own turn came in the list, they marched out with a garland of white flowers encircling their black turbans and with the light of devotion in their faces. As each company passed through the streets of Amritsar the cry went up from men, women and children "Sat Sri Akal," and each company replied with one voice, "Sat Sri Akal."

The Police Brutality.

Mr. Andrews who was an eye-witness to the scene thus describes it :—

"In the first instance the police officers who were on the spot with detachments of military police, arrested those who committed trespass while attempting to cut the fire-wood. The sentences after arrest were usually six months rigorous imprisonment. But when the Akali jathas came pouring in from Amritsar and the arrest ran into many hundreds the order came down from Simla that no more prisoners were to be made, but that the "minimum of force" was to be employed in order to prevent the Akalis from cutting wood. The military police employed were chiefly and purposely drawn from the frontier tribes. These very soon got out of hand, and some very serious injuries were given. Then further orders came down from Simla that blows on the head must be avoided. The police who had been called in from other districts were getting more and more out of hand. There were brought to me immediately for investigation some bad cases of police assaults upon villagers, and I found on inquiry that they were true in the main and reported them to the Deputy Commissioner.

"When the companies had reached Guru-ka-Bagh I was allowed to go into the inner shrine with them and to hear them take the vow of non-violence over again. After this they presented themselves, about twelve at a time, in front of the line of military police. They came up to within about a foot and a half, with their hands placed together in an attitude of prayer. They were silent and absolutely passive. At this stage the police officer gave an order and one after another of the Akalis were knocked down with heavy blows. They rose again from the ground and stood silent as before and were knocked down again. There was a huge crowd of villagers looking on, of whom a large proportion were women. I was standing on the edge of the crowd and could see the horror and at the same time the religious rapture with which they witnessed the blows that felled to the ground the Akalis. They were all praying, and the muffled cry arose, like the murmur of an approaching storm, "Sat Sri Akal." I saw the blows given by the military police becoming more and more brutal and turned away at last sickened at the sight.

"The Government brought to an end, immediately after this, the use of force, and returned to their previous policy of arrest. Soon the number of the prisoners taken, if I remember rightly, exceeded a thousand; and yet the enthusiasm among the Akalis daily increased. At last an ingenious move was made by a Government supporter. The piece of land from which the fire-wood was needed was purchased from the mahant by Sir Ganga Ram and presented to the Akalis gratis for the uses of the shrine. Thus the trouble ended."

The Abdication of the Maharaja Nabha

Then came another blow. In June 1923 Government deposed the orthodox and popular Sikh Prince, the Maharaja of Nabha, a Phulkian Prince, and inflicted another deep wound on Sikh hearts. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh had rendered meritorious services to Government during the Great War but he was too independent to brook the hauteur of British officials, and thus incurred the serious displeasure of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his band of 'strong men'. The Maharaja was a highly educated man, and as a Member of the Imperial Council had stood against Government and for popular measure. He was also a great religious reformer, and it is said that of all the Sikh Princes he was the only one who had by heart the sacred verses of the Gurus. His intimate and open connection with the Gurdwara Reform Committee was looked on with great suspicion by Government and the myrmidons of Michael O'Dwyer were waiting for an opportunity to pay off old scores. The Sikh Committee now challenged the action of the Government and asked it to publish the whole truth. The S. G. P. C., which is the elected Sikh representative committee managing all Sikh temples, issued a public statement and sent telegrams challenging the right of the Government of India to depose an independent Sikh Chief. For, according the treaties between the British Government and the Phulkian States Government has no power to depose any Sikh Chief. The S. G. P. C. further challenged that the alleged voluntary abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha was a specious camouflage and that the Maharaja had been the victim of a cleverly conceived and relentlessly carried out official scheme for depriving him of his birth-right—the throne of Nabha. In accordance with the promise of the tenth Guru of the Sikhs, made to the house of Phulkian "Your House", the Maharaja of Nabha is looked up on with religious sentiment. Government retaliated by declaring the S. G. P. C. and the Akali Dal as unlawful Associations and arrested the first Committee wholesale on 13th October 1924. After a protracted trial during November to January '24, the Akali leaders were convicted. A second committee took its place and on January 7th Government arrested its 62 members through an armed force of police officers and constables in uniform who tried to force their way into the Sikh Holiest of Holies, that is, Sri Akal Takhat of Amritsar—a place where no non-Sikh or a man with the vanities of worldly power, or the insignia of wordly authority, or even a Sikh not strict in the observance of his religious duties, can enter. Thousands of Sikhs flocked to the place and remaining perfectly non-violent offered to die in front of their temple rather than allow the desecration of the holy place. On 15th January the offices of the S. G. P. C. were raided by armed police for full 8 hours and all papers etc. were taken away and the place thoroughly ransacked.

The Akalis on their side went on sending a continuous stream of Jathas of 25 each to visit the Gurdwar Gangsar at Jaito in Nabha to pray for the Maharaja, and for this purpose an Akand Patha or a continuous reading of the Granth was started. Batches of Sikhs were arrested everyday at Jaito in Nabha State and at Bhai Pheru in the District of Lahore. These men arrested in the pursuance of their religious rights were being treated like ordinary criminals and felons

in His Majesty's jails. They were made to live on repugnant food unfit for human consumption, sleep in dirty jail blankets and live in solitary cells. Some of them have since died in Multan and Montgomery jails on account of the severe beating and the inhuman treatment of the jail authorities.

As summarised by Sardar Didar Singh of Amritsar in a cable to the Prime Minister dated 15th February 1924, "the Government has been guilty of :—

"1. Forcible deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha under the false plea that he has abdicated voluntarily. 2. Interference in the management of Sikh temples or sacred ceremonies conducted therein with a view to suppress the ligitimate exercise of religious rights. 3. Banning of the sacred Sikh symbol Kirpan which every baptiscd Sikh must carry on his person. 4. Incarceration in jails of thousands of innocent Sikhs who have protested against the high-handedness of Government in a perfectly non-violent manner, and inflicting inhuman tortures on Akalis in Jail and outside. 5. Sikhs have been the most loyal friends and supporters of the British Government since the mutiny of 1857. They furnished more than 1,25,000 recruits in the War and have fought valiantly for the King Emperor on all occasions.

"In 1923 when the Prince of Wales visited the Punjab some Government Officials expressed to me their suspicion that some mischief mongers had made a secret plot against the sacred person of the Prince. I, as a member of the S. G. P. C. gave a written assurance for the personal safety of the Prince and deputed Akalis to keep watch over the person of the Prince. Futhor, during the Hindu-Muslim riots at Amritsar the S. G. P. C. rendered unique service in maintaining peace, which was recognised even by Government."

The Firing at Jaito.

Failing to make any impression and resolved to undergo a huge sacrifice of life, if necessary, the Akalis then decided to send bigger Jathas to Jaito. On February 9th, a Jatha of 500 Akalis started from Amritsar. Throughout the previous week a large number of Akalis were coming here as it had been given out by the Jathedar Akal Takht that this Jatha would after reaching Jaito either lay down its life or resume the alleged interrupted Akhand path at Gurdwara Gangsar. For this purpose an Akhand path was also started at Akal Takht. At about 12 noon, before the usual jatha of 25 leaving for Jaito and thence to Bhai Pheru every morning had been despatched, the Jatha of 500 led by an Akali band and a batch of about 10 Nirmala Sadhus was hailed in front of the Akali Takht. The Jathedar Akal Takht then offered a final sermon and prayers impressing on the jatha to adhere to non-violence even if Government resorted to tortures and prayed for the successful accomplishment of their object. He said that this jatha was going out to complete 101 Akhand paths in the place of one which had been interrupted at Jaito. One member of the Jatha then read out its parting message to the people saying that it would never return home unless Akhand paths were completed.

The Jatha reached Nabha on the 21st and were at once met by a fusillade of fire. Words fail to describe the horrors that followed. Here are some eye-witnesses' account.

Eye-Witnesses' Account

Messrs. Mahindar Singh, Harban Singh, M. A. and Professor Bhagat Ram Singh, B.A., B.T., gave a very vivid account of the tragedy. They say:—

"We feel it our duty to place before the public true facts about the tragedy relating to the Shahidi Jatha and the Sikh Sangat which took place at Jaito on February 21, 1924.

"We started from Amritsar on the evening of February 20th and reached Bhatinda at 12 in the night. We started back from Bhatinda in the morning train and having learnt that passengers who got down at the Jaito Railway Station were not allowed to proceed to the town we bought tickets for Romana Albel Singh. Ordinarily the train stops at Romana, but on the morning of February 21 the train did not stop there. We had to get down at Kot Kapura at about 4 a.m. We travelled on foot to Bargari village where we were told that the Jatha was stopping and reached there at about 7 a.m.

"The Jatha was encamped in an open place. The recitation of "Asaki-Var" was over at about 9 A.M. No speeches were delivered on any topic whatever. By 11 the Jatha and Sangat took their morning meals at the local Gurudwara. Within an hour, i. e., at about 12 noon, the Jatha started for Gurudwara Gangsar which is about 5 miles from Bargari. At the lowest estimate the public following the Jatha numbered more than 25 thousand consisting of old men, women, children, both Sikhs and non-Sikhs. The Jatha moved slowly. More Sangat from the neighbouring villages joined later on. The whole gathering was moving in an atmosphere of reverence and peace. The non-violent character of the Jatha and the Sangat can well be realised from the fact that all the time we were with the Jatha we did not notice anybody in possession of any weapon. Although the public moving with the Jatha was very large, yet there was not the least element of disorder. The Jatha was moving with the public on its right and left, 5 Nishan Sahibs in front and Guru Granth Sahib in the middle of the Jatha.

"Goli Chalaga" !!

"When the Jatha reached a distance of about 150 yards from the Gurdwara Tibi Sahib, a European officer approached and said, "Thahro, Goli chalaega, fire karega." His voice must have only been heard by a few The Jatha continued to proceed in the same orderly manner. No provocation of any sort whatever was offered by word and deed and there was no indication of violence. The European Officer rushed towards the military and gave a signal, and fire was opened from all three sides. Firing was resumed thrice at short intervals. The firing was quite indiscriminate and as a result several fell down dead and a very large number were wounded. The number of casualties in our estimate could not have been less than 40 dead and 80 wounded. Some of the spectators turned back, but the Jatha with 3 or 4 thousand people reached Gurdwara Tibi Sahib under fire. The dead and the wounded from amongst the Sangat were seen scattered in the corn fields while those belonging to the Sahidi Jatha were carried by their

comrades to the Gurdward Tibi Sahib. Medical staff travelling with the Jatha and the store of medicines, etc., were taken in custody. No one was allowed to attend to the wounded. The dead bodies were not allowed to be removed and some persons who had succeeded in picking up a few of the wounded and dead were maltreated and the bodies were forcibly snatched. Water was not allowed to be taken from the well near by. A squadron of the cavalry was seen galloping towards the running people with naked swords.

"It seems that the authorities of the State had used all their skill in strategy in order to stop all access to Gurdwara Gangsar. Barbed wire fences had been made. Rows of bullock carts filled with thorns were fixed with heavy chains across the way to Gurdwara Gangsar.

"After depositing the wounded and the dead in the Gurdawara Tibi Sahib, the Jatha proceeded towards Gurdwara Gangsar. Our party decided to go back. We had gone only a short distance when we saw Tibi Sahib, in which the Sangat had taken shelter, being surrounded on all sides by the Military. At this stage our party was also pursued by the cavalry and we were separated. Prof. Harban Singh reached the boundary line of the Nabha and Faridkot territories where he met Mr. Zimand. Just when he reached that place a mounted officer who was said to be Sardar Fateh Singh of Faridkot approached them and having enquired Mr. Zimandi's name asked him what he intended to do, whether he wanted to enter the Nabha territory or go back. Mr. Zimand replied that he wanted to enter Jaito but as the authorities had not permitted him he intended to go back. He said that he was waiting for his car. The officer definitely informed him that the car would not return. Mr. Zimand was then led by that officer in the direction of the Jaito Railway Station on foot. The Officer asked Prof. Harbans Singh to leave that place. He also wanted to know Prof. Harbans Singh's name, but the latter did not think it advisable to disclose it. Prof. Harbans Singh and his companions walked some distance and met their car. They got into the car and motored back to Amritsar. Prof. Bhagat Ram Singh and Sardar Mahinder Singh of Madan and Co. Amritsar, walked up to Kot Kapura on foot and on their way they learnt that the Jatha after being severely beaten was tied hand and foot and conveyed in carts to the barbed wire enclosure.

Sardar Mahinder Singh, Librarian, Khalsa College, Amritsar, and Bhai Tera Singh Giana reached village Ram Singh Wala on their way to Kot Kapura. They stayed at Ram Singh Wala for the night. They saw two sowars who had come to the village in search of a wounded person conveyed to that place. The sowars demanded the wounded person from the villagers. In case the villagers failed to hand over the wounded person their properties would be confiscated by the State authorities. At Kot Kapura they came across an old woman who was an eye-witness of the whole tragedy. She related to them the fate of the Jatha which she said was very severely beaten and tied hand and foot. As to the treatment meted out to the ladies she told them that while they were under custody in Gurdwara Tibi Sahib they had the foulest language used to them and were roughly handled. Two of the young ladies were outrageously insulted. Two ladies died in the Tibi Sahib Gurdwara."

MR. GULAB SINGH'S STATEMENT

And here is another account given by Sardar Gulab Singh M. L. A. who issued the following statement:—

"A great tragedy has occurred at Jaito, Nabha State. Though the number of casualties so far ascertained is less, yet the moral significance is greater because the perpetrator of this tragedy was not an irresponsible and immoral Mahant employing badmashes but a civilized Power with high professions and well informed about the object and methods of its victims. At the same time the sacrifice is more precious to the Sikhs as the suffering Jatha was not caught unawares but from the very beginning of its march knew that the supreme sacrifice might be required of it, and knowing this voluntarily and cheerfully went to meet that fate, rather than surrender its dear religious right of freely visiting and worshipping in its beloved Guru's Gurdwara.

HISTORICAL

"The British Administration of Nabha, carried on by a civilian officer of the Government of India since the forcible deposition of the Maharaja, had stopped all access to the Gurdwara, Jaito, since the end of August 1923, and on the 14th September had arrested the whole congregation assembled there for the purpose of listening to the continual recitation "(Akhand Path)" of the Holy Guru Granth Sahib. Not only this, even the Granthi actually reciting at that time and the attendants on the Holy Scripture were dragged away from before the Holy Book and arrested and the recitation interrupted. This was the greatest desecration according to Sikh belief.

"The news spread quickly abroad and from the very next day, i.e., 15th September, parties of Sikh pilgrims began to arrive at Jaito for the purpose of visiting the Gurdwara and running the Akhand Path. But, as before, the Gurdwara was kept closed against them on the baseless plea that the Sikhs wanted to gather in that Gurdwara for the purpose of political agitation, while the fact is that all those arrested in the Gurdwara were doing nothing but either reciting the Holy Book or listening to the recitation. It is preposterous to hold that protesting within the boundaries of the Nabha State against the grievous wrong done to the Master of the State is sedition against his State and disobedience to his orders; it is still more preposterous to hold that reciting the Scriptures and praying for the Maharaja in the Gurdwara was anything political or seditious. Yet the British Administration of Nabha has been preventing the Sikhs from visiting the Gurdwara and praying therein for the last 5 months and more. About 5000 Sikhs had walked hundreds of miles to Jaito, and suffered untold hardships at the hands of the authorities without being able to visit the Gurdwara or re-open the Akhand Path.

"Seeing that all this sacrifice seemed to have no effect on the callous officials and to put an end to the prolonged agony of the Sikhs by an extreme sacrifice, it was decided that a congregation of 500 devoted Sikhs should walk on foot to Jaito and remaining perfectly non-violent to impress the authorities by their sacrifice about the sincerity and depth of the religious feeling of the Sikhs. The Jathedar of Sri Akal Takht issued an announcement to this effect in very clear terms full two weeks before the

departure of the Jatha. Only those Sikhs were allowed to join the Jatha who could be relied upon to remain perfectly non-violent under all circumstances. On February 9th, the Basant Panchami day, the Jatha assembled before Sri Akal Takht, Amritsar, and took the pledge of non-violence, the Jathedar again exhorting them solemnly to fulfil their vow. As instructed, the Jatha during its progress to Jaito abstained from making any speeches and confined itself to singing hymns or reciting from the Holy Scripture. The affection evoked by the Jatha on its way was a clear proof of the fact that it was going with the blessings of all Sikhs to fulfil their heart-felt desire.

"The composition of the Jatha itself was another proof of the support of all Sikhs. There were men drawn from all districts. There were men of different professions, and even a number of meek Sadhus. The Jathedar of Sri Akal Takht and a Granthi of the Golden Temple also accompanied the Jatha.

The March to Jaito

"After 13 days' marching the Jatha, composed of only those who had started oath-bound from Sri Akal Takht, reached Jaito on the afternoon of the 21st February, the anniversary day of the great tragedy of Nankana Sahib. The authorities, as they had already announced, informed the Jatha that only 50 of its members could be allowed to enter the Gurdwara and complete Akhand Path on giving an undertaking that they would leave the Gurdwara immediately after. The Jatha already stated its position on the way and repeated it to the authorities at Jaito that it had come only for the purpose of visiting the Gurdwara and restoring the Akhand Path, and that submitting to the required conditions about the number of visitors and the time of stay would amount to surrendering the religious right of freely visiting, congregating and worshipping in a Gurdwara. On this it was asked to disperse. Fire was then opened. The Jatha remained unmoved and undeterred. It marched on until it reached Gurdwara Tibbi Sahib, which is about 400 yards from Gangsar Gurdwara, the destination. Here the dead and wounded were deposited and the Jatha again moved on singing hymns. The police and military then fell upon them with lathis and beat them down senseless, carried them bound with ropes as prisoners to the fort near by. It is also learnt that the authorities did not spare even the sight-seers and many casualties from firing are reported from among the crowd. The total number of casualties so far known is about 15 dead and 55 wounded.

"Sedulous attempt was made by the authorities to prevent important persons from watching the happening so that they might be free to do what they liked and afterwards manufacture any version they pleased. Mr. S. Zimand, an American journalist, who had come as a special correspondent of the "New York Times", was not allowed to enter into the Nabha territory and was ordered to quit the Faridkote territory at once. Members of the Assembly and the Punjab Council, like Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. S. Chetty, Sardar Partap Singh, and S. Tara Singh, were detained at the Railway Station, Jaito. Dr. Kitchlew and Principal Gidwani were arrested on their arrival near Jaito. All this is a proof that the authorities had much to conceal and now fancying themselves secure from light have issued a statement from Delhi that the Akalis resorting to violence, had fired shots before the authorities

opened fire. This is absolutely false, and a sufficient number of respectable witnesses will be forthcoming to expose the statement.

"The attitude of the authorities is further evident from the fact that Dr. Kehar Singh, in charge of medical arrangements of the Jatha, was also arrested and all the medical stores and provisions, besides the tents and baggage, were seized.

"The Sikh Community is prepared to have the truth sifted by an independent inquiry and challenges the Government of India to substantiate the truth of its allegations, not through the farce of a magisterial inquiry but by a Committee of persons on whom the public may rely for truth and impartiality.

A S. G. P. C. communique issued about this time said:—

"The Shahidi Jatha accompanied by about 30 thousand Sikhs (both men and women) from different villages reached Jaito on 21st February at about 3-15 P.M. The State authorities had prepared a narrow passage leading to the fort and the temple of Gangsar. The passage was bounded on one side by a border of barbed wires and on the other by rows of several hundred bullock carts filled in with thorny bushes and barbed wires. At the end of the passage there was a barbed wire enclosure concealed behind some houses into which the Jatha was to be driven presumably for beating and arrest. But the Jatha turned to the right and marched to Gurdwara Tibi Sahib where they had to take leave of the Sikh Sangat and march by themselves to the Temple of Gangsar.

THE FIRING.

"On their way to Tibi Sahib they were accosted by the Administrator of Nabha State who ordered them to halt or he will open fire. The Jatha and the Sangat held up their hands and began to recite, 'Sat nam Sat namjee, Wahiguru Wahiguruji'—'True is the name of God, All Hail to the Wonderful Lord.' They had hardly gone a few steps when the soldiers stationed on the eminence of Tibi Sahib and the cavalry on the left opened fire, causing heavy casualties, but the heroic Sikhs did not waver and made straight for Tibi Sahib. About four minutes later the soldiers in the fort fired volleys. The Akalis were falling fast but they marched onward undaunted carrying their dead and wounded with them. Rounding the Tibi Sahib, the Jatha was proceeding in the direction of Gangsar when its progress was checked by a strong column of cavalry and infantry. A strong detachment of cavalry rushed on the Sikhs who were following the Jatha and galloping after scattered groups chased them out of the Nabha territory.

UNPROVOKED BRUTALITY.

"The Jatha was next surrounded by the soldiers and mercilessly beaten with heavy sticks mounted with iron spikes till they all became senseless when they were bound with ropes and removed to the fort in bullock carts. Doctors and dressers attached to the Jatha were arrested, and the bullock carts carrying beds, medicines and other necessary material were seized. Some ladies and gentlemen who had carried the dead and the wounded to Tibi Sahib and were tending the wounded were beaten outrageously and arrested. Doctor Kitchlew and Principal Gidwani were also arrested. An American gentlemen who had come as a special correspondent of the 'New York Times' was not allowed to step into the Nabha

territory and was ordered to quit the Faridkot territory at once. Members of the Legislative Assembly and Council like Mr. Raizada Hansraj, Messrs. Shanmugam Chetty, Jamandar Pertap Singh and S. Tarasingh were detained at the Railway station.

"The number of casualties so far ascertained is about 70-150 dead and about 55 wounded. This does not include a number of dead and wounded persons who had been carried away to the neighbouring villages by their own men.

SACRILEGIOUS FEATS.

"The sacred person of Guru Granth Saheb was fired at and treated with shocking disrespect. The sacred Gurdwara of Tibi Sahib was used as shooting ground and the sacred precincts were covered with the blood of Sikh martyrs dying for the God-given right of free worship. By firing on a mass of peaceful, non-violent, religious people moving to a temple for performing religious ceremony of great sanctity, our civilised Government has in an era of enlightenment performed an administrative feat which has seldom been surpassed for cold-blooded brutality by the most barbarous ruler in the darkest period of Indian history.

THE NEXT JATHA.

"It has been decided that the next Shahidi Jatha of 500 shall start from Amritsar on the 28th instant."

The Government Version.

A Government communique issued on the 22nd February from Delhi however gave an altogether different version and has since been found to be made up of deliberate lies. It runs : —

"The recent order issued by the administration of Nabha State regarding the conditions of admission to the Gurdwara at Jaito has been disregarded by the Akalis inspite of the frequent intimations and the jatha of 500 left Bargiri in the Faridkot state shortly after noon yesterday and advanced on Jaito screened by a body of some 6000 other Akalis who moved on six hundred yards front in great depth armed with lathis, chhavis, spears and firearms.

"The Administrator with five State Officials advanced about 100 yards to meet the Akalis, gave them full warning and called on them to halt and explained that if they did not comply with the order he would be compelled to open fire. This warning was utterly disregarded by the Akalis who hotly pursued the Administrator and his party. At this point a Nabha villager received a wound from a bullet by the Akalis. The Administrator gave order to fire three rounds buckshot at leaders who were within a few yards. The line of Akalis then swerved to the right where a platoon of Nabha infantry was in position. Order to fire three rounds controlled fire with service ammunition was given by the Administrator. Akalis and Jatha then made for a small outlying Gurudwara called Tibi Sahib and one Squadron cavalry moved over to try and head them off. Akalis at this moment increased their fire and delivered determined attack led by a mounted Akali who gave orders in English to his comrades to charge. Fire from ten dismounted cavalry checked the Akalis but the Jatha advanced under Tibbi Sahib. Whilst about 2,000 Akalis swarmed in the Tibbi Sahib Gurudwara the remainder were already moving off and the party of 2,000 gradually broke up leaving only about 106

men who are now under arrest at Jaito. Medical assistance was promply rendered to the wounded, after the firing. Dr. Kitchlew and Professor Gidwani arrived on the scene in motor and were taken into custody. The total casualties so far ascertained are fourteen dead and thirty four wounded. The Jatha itself was not fired on and no member of it was injured. Great care was taken not to interfere with Granth Sahib which has been deposited with due respect in the Dharmsala. Special enquiry by a Magistrate has been ordered."

That this statement of the violence used by the Akalis was absolutely false has since been proved to the hilt. The American Press Correspondent, Mr. Zimand, who was turned away from Nabha on the eve of the massacre and who knew the actual facts, however, kept long silent, presumably from official pressure, but prior to his departure to America he wrote a letter to Mahatma Gandhi in which the whole truth is told. This letter is reproduced below.

The S. G. P. C. Communique.

The reply to the above the Secretary of the Gurudwara Prabhandhak Committee issued the following Press communique on February 24th last:—

"In a Communique issued from Delhi on 22nd February the Government of India has made an utter misstatement of facts in order to whitewash the heartless doings of their agents at Jaito on February 21st.

"The Shahidi Jatha is alleged to have advanced on Jaito "screened by a body of some 6 thousand Akalis armed with lathis, chhavis, spears and fire arms." The Jatha was in fact marching in the following order: half of the Jatha was in the front, Guru Granth Sahib in the middle, and the other half brought up the rear, the Sikh Sangat moving on the flanks was reverentially keeping itself behind Sri Guru Granth Sahib. No man in the Sangat was carrying any chhavi, spear or firearm. Akalis have shown wonderful restraint and self-control under most trying conditions; and the allegation that they carried firearms and fired is another instance of giving a dog a bad name in order to hang it. The Akalis disregarded the warning of the Administrator which was nothing more than an order to halt and retire because they recognise no temporal authority in matters connected with religion and because they were proceeding on a perfectly non-violent and peaceful mission. The Administrator of Nabha has no right to impose conditions for admission to the Gurdwara Gangsar of Jaito and arrogate to himself the position of a religious dictator of the Sikhs.

"The Akalis never pursued the administrator or his party. That a nameless 'Nabha villager' received a wound from a bullet fired by the Akalis is another curious myth invented for the justification of the massacre. The Akalis could not evidently increase fire because they had no firearms with them, and they were all moving in a non-violent and deeply religious atmosphere. The Jatha had been marching for twelve days through the British territory and not a word of its carrying firearms, chhavis, spears etc, appeared in any official communique or the press.

"The question of a mounted Akali giving orders in English is another invention of official imagination. No Sikh can ride a horse

ahead of Sri Guru Granth Sahib when the Sangat is on foot. Numerous eye-witnesses report that the State authorities did not allow the Sikhs to attend to or help their wounded brethren, and many people died for lack of timely medical assistance and water. The Doctors and dressers in charge of the party were arrested and their medicines etc were seized. Even the ladies nursing the wounded in the Gurdwara of Tibi Sahib were insulted and arrested. The Government communique states that the Jatha itself was not fired on and that no member of it was injured. No baser attempt to make an utterly false statement could ever be made. Firing from Tibi Sahib was particularly aimed at the Shahidi Jatha. The rifles and Lewis guns fired indiscriminately, and casualties from the Shahidi Jatha so far known are 19 wounded and 7 killed. Five wounded from among the Shahidi Jatha have since reached Amritsar and are under treatment in Sri Guru Ram Das hospital. As regards Guru Granth Sahib it was in the midst of the Shahidi Jatha during the time of firing and the beating. No regard at all was given to its sacred presence at that time.

"The casualties have been very heavy: the number quoted in the Government communique is absurdly low.

"The Government has tried to throw dust into the eyes of the people by declaring that a special enquiry by a Magistrate has been ordered. A subordinate Magistrate cannot be expected to sit in judgment on the actions of the administrator of the Nabha State. The public can easily sift the facts by appointing a non-official commission of enquiry composed of responsible persons without any further delay. The Nabha administrator ordered wholesale firing on a religious Jatha and Sangat who have solemnly kept their pledge of non-violence, who were marching to a Sikh Temple for a sacred purpose under the lead of Sri Guru Granth Sahib and who have laid down their lives for the Sikh birth-right of free congregation and free worship. They have died fighting a non-violent, spiritual battle for their religious ideas and for no political ambition. No community can give a more convincing proof of its sincerity and earnestness.

"The ocean of Sikh religious fervour is in floods and the heroic disciples are eager to offer their lives in the cause of religious liberty. Another Jatha of 5 hundred will leave Amritsar on 28th February. They will probably meet the fate of their predecessor. We invite all God-fearing and pious men, whether Hindus, Mohammadans or Christians to appoint a representative committee of respectable men of independent position. This Committee should search the Jatha before it enters the Nabha territory and after satisfying themselves that no member of the Jatha is carrying "firearms, chhavis, spears or lathis" should issue a general certificate for the information of the public and the Government to the effect that the members of the Jatha do not carry any offensive weapon on their persons. They should further obtain permission from the Government of India to be present at the Morcha in order to watch the behaviour of the Sikhs and the State authorities. The Sikh community is determined to the last man to fight for their religious liberty in a peaceful manner by suffering all hardships and tortures inflicted on them in a meek and humble spirit even to the extent of making their bodies the targets of bullets and machine guns."

Mr. Zimand's Version

Mr. Zimand's accounts of the march of the Shahidi Jatha was given in a letter, which he wrote to Mahatma Gandhi long after the event, on April 9th last. He says :—

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

On the eve of my departure from India I want to tell you again how fortunate I consider myself to have had the opportunity of visiting your land. I want to use this opportunity of thanking through you your innumerable friends and countrymen for their gracious hospitality, unfailing courtesy and generous help they have rendered to me during my whole stay in India.

At my interview with you at Juhu, Bombay, you asked me a few questions about the occurrences at Jaito on February 21 of this year. I feel that in my anxiety to find out your views on the different political and social problems, I monopolised the long time which you kindly gave me and neglected to give a coherent description of what actually occurred at Jaito. I shall therefore try to tell you now, as truthfully as I know, about the incident at Jaito. I am especially anxious to send you my version of the incident because my name has repeatedly been mentioned in this connection by the press.

On the morning of February 20th I arrived in Amritsar. According to my previous arrangements I was to leave on the morning of the next day for Peshawar. A few hours after my arrival I decided to proceed to Jaito. I started from Amritsar by motor with Mr. Gidwani, Dr. Kitchlew, and a Sikh gentleman whose name I cannot recall at present. We motored the whole day and after dusk we reached Bargari village where the Jatha was encamped. It was in Faridkot State territory.

After the evening meal in a tent which was put at our disposal, I visited the different tents where the Jatha was resting. All was very peaceful and orderly. I went back to my tent and about 10 p. m. I walked out again. I noticed that a religious service was being held and that about 2000 villagers (from near-by places and also from Bargari village) were listening to the recitation of the Sikh Scripture. I passed the night together with Mr. Gidwani and Dr. Kitchlew. These two gentlemen were with me all the time. They did not address the crowd and as I followed them step by step I can say that they held no conferences whatever with the Jatha. All three of us retired at the same time.

On the morning of February 21st we went out to see the village. I saw a number of policemen and officers near the camp. I went back to the place where the Jatha was encamped and looked very carefully over the whole body of men, Jatha and Sangat, assembled there. I had the opportunity of observing practically the entire Jatha and the crowds accompanying the Jatha. I did not see anyone carrying fire-arms or any other weapons.

THE MARCH TO JAITO

The recitation of what the Sikhs call "Asi-Ki-ver" was over a little after 2 a.m. No speeches were delivered. By 11 o'clock the Jatha and Sangat took their meals at the near-by Gurdwara. About the same time I took another look around the open place where the Jatha was encamped and went into the interior of the village. Near the open space groups of good-humoured people were amusing themselves.

About twelve noon the Jatha started for Jaito. I suggested to Mr. Gidwani and Dr. Kitchlew that we might proceed in our motor ahead of the procession. First we walked for a mile and the car went ahead. On the way I noticed crowds of people waiting for the Jatha with

refreshments and others were clearing the roads from branches and leaves. We entered the motor again and drove for nearly two miles. I again asked that the car be stopped that I may again observe the Jatha in their marching order and also those who were accompanying the Jatha.

I would estimate the crowd following the Jatha at about 7000 men and women of all ages and children. Those following the Jatha and the people who were waiting for the arrival of the Jatha were shouting "Sat Sri Akal". There was no element of disturbance anywhere.

As soon as the Jatha got near we got into the car again and drove ahead near the Nabha frontier. As yet none of us had entered the Nabha State. At the frontier there were a number of uniformed officers and one in plain clothes on horse-back. One of them approached and asked us to stop the car. This request was immediately complied with. Then the officer handed over to Dr. Kitchlew a paper which Dr. Kitchlew read. It was an order from the Administrator for the Jatha. Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Gidwani said that the paper was not meant for them because they did not belong to the Jatha. I stood up in the car and said: 'I am here merely as an observer'. The officer in plain clothes asked my name and gallopped towards Jaito. That was the last I saw of him. While there had been no direct order stopping any of us from entering, I said that I should await the answer of the authorities, thinking all the time that the officer who had gallopped towards Nabha would bring back some word.

At 1-50 p. m. the Jatha passed into the Nabha State. No official presented to them the paper from the Administrator which was handed over to Dr. Kitchlew. In fact, by this time, there was no officials at the frontier. The Jatha moved closely. The crowds were moving mostly in the rear and on the right of the Jatha. There were only a few people in front. Five Nishan Sahibs were in front and Guru Granth Sahib was in the middle of the Jatha. The crowds were shouting "Sat Sri Akal". The whole procession passed in front of me and again I saw no one carrying fire-arms or weapons of any kind. I saw the usual Sikh Kirpan and about 500 in the crowd had sticks. The latter were of the usual sort carried by farmers. We waited for some time on the Nabha frontier and then Mr. Gidwani sent a joint note to the Administrator asking him if we might proceed to Jaito. No answer came to this note.

THE FIRING

At 2-45 p. m. the first firing started. The firing was in regular volley and there were no desultory shots. This lasted for fully two minutes, i. e. from 2-45—2-47 p. m. At 2-55 p. m. I heard the second firing. It sounded like the first. It lasted till 2-58 p. m. That was all the firing I heard. None after and none before.

A short time after the second firing a young chap brought the news that there were many deaths and casualties and said that no arrangements had been made to take care of the wounded. It was at this juncture that Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Gidwani decided to motor to Jaito in order that they might take care of the wounded. Up to this time Mr. Gidwani had been saying to me that he would not enter the Nabha State without permission from the authorities. Only after the bad news came of the wounded being left uncared for, he felt that it was his duty to go to help and to make adequate arrangements. I am convinced that had it not been for the news which aroused his concern for the wounded people Mr. Gidwani would not have entered the State. I did not enter Nabha territory because while there was yet no order stopping me from entering, I was waiting to hear what the authorities had to say.

At about 3-30 p. m. a mounted officer, who told me that his name was Sarder FATEH SINGH of Faridkot accompanied by six or seven policemen approached me at the boundary line of the Nabha and Faridkot territory where I was waiting. Sardar Fateh Singh enquired my name and asked me "whether I still intended to enter Jaito." I replied that I wanted to enter Jaito and waited to hear from the authorities.

He replied that I "was ordered to leave the State territory at once."

"But," said I, "I have not entered Nabha territory at all."

"You are asked," said he in reply, "to leave both Faridkot and Nabha territories at once."

I then told Mr. Fateh Singh that I was waiting for the car.

"That is just out," said he "I did not want to let you wait indefinitely because the car will not return."

I was then led by the officer in the direction of the Jaito railway station. We had walked only a few steps when I sighted the motor in which I had come. I said that I preferred to go back by car. The officer assented to this and asked me to sign a paper saying that I was leaving the State territory at once. This I did.

I asked the Sardar if he would tell me who was responsible for the order. He gave me no direct reply to this question. "But," said he, "if you want to explain your position you had better write a letter to Colonel Minchin, Agent of the Governor-General for the Punjab States." I wrote the letter on the spot and handed it over to him.

THE STORY OF THE APOLOGY

In connection with this letter I read in a statement printed in the "Bombay Chronicle" of March 28th that the Administrator of Nabha told Dr. Kitchlew "that Mr. Zimand had apologised." What I did in the very hurriedly written letter was to explain my position and I ended up with the words: 'if in my ignorance I have committed any offence I wish to apologise.' The authorities knew very well that I had committed no offence and that this last phrase was a mere sign of courtesy. If there were to be any apology the apology should have come from the other side. But it never came.

Before I departed my chauffeur said to the Sardar that he had in the car Dr. Kitchlew's luggage and asked if he (the Sardar) would be good enough to have it handed over to Dr. Kitchlew, because the latter had nothing with him. The Sardar turned and said to me; "I am sorry; I can not take back with me Dr. Kitchlew's luggage"

In connection with this incident a Punjab Government press communique issued at Lahore on March 3rd to contradict certain false (sic) statements with regard to the Jaito affair said that "Dr. Kitchlew's luggage was accidentally carried off in the car in which he and Mr. Gidwani had arrived and which took Mr. Zimand back to Amritsar." (quoted in the "Leader" of Allahabad March 5th 1924.)

A few days later while visiting Lahore I received the following note from the Senior Assistant Superintendent of Police of Lahore:

"Would you be good enough to proceed to Nabha State and report to the Administrator who requires your evidence in the enquiry re. the recent affair at Nabha. For any further particulars would you ring up either Mr. Clarke A. S. Police No. 588 or Mr, Stead S. S. Police No. 375. (Signed) SENIOR A. S. POLICE

As I did not go to Nabha State the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, Mr. Emerson, asked me to testify before him concerning this. I did so under oath and the salient points mentioned in this letter are to be found in my testimony before the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore.

I have tried to tell you in this letter as truthfully as I can the history of the Jaito incident. The letter is rather a long one and there might be some danger of the main point being obscured. I want therefore to repeat again that I observed carefully the Jatha and the crowds following the Jatha from February 20th 7 p. m. till February 21st 2 p m. when they entered Nabha territory and that to the best of my knowledge "the Jatha and the crowds following the Jatha were not armed, and behaved in a peaceful and orderly manner."

This statement has not since been challenged or contradicted by the authorities. An official enquiry was however ordered and held by Mr. Balwant Singh, a Punjab magistrate, and as usual an immaculate white-washing report substantially corroborating the first Government report was issued on 12th. March last (see *poste*).

Mahatma Gandhi's Letter to the Akalis

On February 25th. Mahatma Gandhi addressed the following letter to the Akalis asking them to stop the 2nd Shahidi Jatha of another 500 Akalis which was being got up to march to Jaito on the 28th Feb. :—

Dear Countrymen,—It was with great distress that I heard about the shooting of an Akali Jatha on the orders of the Administrator of the Nabha State resulting in several members being killed and many more wounded. In reply to telegrams, beyond sending a message of sympathy, I had no wish to say or do anything more. It is contrary to the wish of Col. Maddock who has covered me with every form of kindness during my illness that I am undertaking a moderate amount of activity in the shape of informing myself of the prevailing situation in the country.

The following telegram just received from Zira, "Come unmindful health condition soon, Akali Jatha" compels me to say something in connection with the tragedy just mentioned. I do not happen to know the sender of the telegram, but had it been at all possible for me I would certainly have gone down in reply to the message. The wound being yet unhealed any such journey is a physical impossibility. I am therefore doing the next best thing.

I need hardly assure the Akali Sikhs of my sympathy in the loss of so many brave men and many more being wounded. Without full facts before me I am unable to say whether the march of large number of men in order to pay devotion to the shrine of Gangasar at Jaito was or was not justified. But I would ask the Akali Sikhs not to send any more jathas without further deliberation and consultation with those leaders outside the Sikh community who have hitherto been giving them advice. It would be well to stop and watch developments arising out of the tragedy. One of the telegrams received by me tells me that the jatha remained throughout strictly non-violent. You have from the very commencement claimed that your movement is perfectly non-violent and religious. I would like every one of us to understand all the implications of non-violence.

I am not unaware of the fact that non-violence is not your final creed. It is therefore doubly incumbent upon you to guard against any violence in thought or word creeping in the movement. Over 25 years' practice of non-violence in the political field has shown me as clearly as day-light that in every act of ours we have to watch our thoughts and words in connection with the movements in which we may be engaged. Non-violence is impossible without deep humility and the strictest regard for truth, and if such non-violence has been possible in connection with movements not termed religious

how much easier it should be with those like you who are conducting a strictly religious movement.

I have deemed it necessary to reiterate what I used to say about non-violence before my imprisonment because I have observed during my brief study of the events of the past year that we who claim to be engaged in a non-violent movement, have not fully in thought and speech confined ourselves to our creed during the past two years as we certainly did not during the previous years. I am sorry to have to say that what I wrote about ourselves in the pages of "Young India" during the three months prior to my arrest holds truer to-day than it did then. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that had we practised non-violence in the sense I mean during all these five years we would not only have achieved our common goal but there would be to-day no differences and quarrels between Hindus and Musalmans.

In drawing your attention therefore to the necessity of non-violence in your special struggle above your Gurdwaras, I do not wish to be understood to mean that there has been greater disregard of the essentials of non-violence amongst you than amongst the other communities. But a word of caution is more necessary in your case because you have never flagged. You have been incessantly active in the pursuit of your special goal. I would therefore have you to search yourselves and if you find that you have not been true to the standard you set before yourselves to cease further demonstration for the time being and perform the necessary cleaning process before beginning a new. I doubt not that your efforts will be crowned with success."

Lala Lajpat Rai, who was about this time with Gandhi, also addressed a letter to the S. G. P. C. begging them to postpone sending further Jathas to Jaito, so that the national leaders may have time to consider the whole matter and then advise the Akalis as to their future course. The Akalis however could not accept the advice tendered for reasons stated below. The Secretary, S. G. P. C., issued the following Press communique in reply :—

S. G. P. C's REPLY

"The message of Mahatma Gandhi besides conveying his sympathy with the Sikhs on the loss of so many brave men, has raised certain points which the S. G. P. C. takes the earliest opportunity to explain. Be it said to the credit of Mahatma Gandhi that with his unfailing love of fairness he has confessed his limitation by declaring that he had not got full facts before him and has therefore opined with the difference necessary in such a condition. He says 'without full facts before me, I am unable to say whether the march of a large number of men in order to pay devotion to the shrine of Gangsar at Jaito was or was not justified.' It may be at once explained that the sheet-anchor of the Akali hopes is and has been perfect non-violent and unretaliatory suffering. The idea of enhancing the numbers is to impress the Government and the public about the depth and sincerity of Sikh religious feeling by the intensity and vastness of our sufferings. The question is one of principle. If it is right for one Sikh to assert the religious right of visiting and worshipping in a Gurdwara, after fulfilling the necessary conditions of non-violence, then it is equally right for a large number to do the same if they fulfil those conditions. Therefore the issue is whether the Sikhs were satisfied or not that the Shahidi Jatha fulfilled those conditions before its departure and carried them out in practice on its arrival at

Jaito. With the grace of God the Jatha has remained perfectly non-violent and undeterred in the face of firing. This truth is recognised by the whole public and the S. G. P. C. notes with satisfaction that the false and perverted version of the authorities is being effectively exposed and will be finally exposed by an independent inquiry for which the Sikhs and all India have raised their voice. In this connection it may be noted that this very idea of trying to move the opponent's heart by the intensity and vastness of our suffering was at the basis of the sending of a Jatha of 100 oath-bound Sikhs every day for thirteen days to receive the inhuman beating at Guru-ka-Bagh. The agony of that suffering moved the revered Pandit Malaviyaji, Mr. Andrews and H. Ajmal Khan Saheb and other leaders to tears and the whole world bears witness to the meakness with which the Akalis took the beating. The question of large numbers of the Jatha no doubt creates the obligation of greater and stricter discipline and vaster powers of collective endurance. The S. G. P. C. claims, and events have fully proved it, that the Shahidi Jatha possesses that dicipline and that endurance. It is a terrible responsibility to justify the marching of hundreds into the jaws of death without raising a little finger, but the cause is so dear and the training of suffering through which the Akalis have passed in the last years so severe that that responsibility can no longer be shirked.

As for consulting other leaders, the S. G. P. C. has the satisfaction of carrying the best opinion of India with it in the present struggle as it had in the Guru-ka-Bagh and the Kenya affair struggles. Mahatmaji is right in pointing out that as non-violence is not the final creed of the Sikhs it is doubly incumbent upon them to guard against any violence. The S. G. P. C. has more than once solemnly declared that having adopted non-violence as their policy, the Akalis will honestly and sincerely stick to it as if it was their creed. They have always been anxious to improve their practice of non-violence.

In the present case it has been found that the fact of a large Sangat accompanying the Jatha out of love and reverence had been used by the Nabha authorities to invent the lie of an Akali attack towards which they claim to have opened fire. While the testimony of one witness has convinced all, that not only the Jatha but also the Sangat remained absolutely non-violent and made no attack, yet to eliminate all possible chances of complication or embarrassment it has been decided that nobody except a few indispensable helpers such as doctors, reporters, etc, should accompany the Jatha on its march and its arrival at the destination.

The S. G. P. C. with a clear conscience feels satisfied that the Sikhs are acting up to the standard that they have set before themselves, and confidently hopes that with the mercy of God they will continue to do so.

From the above explanation and with the further precautions taken, Mahatmaji will see that there was no reason for postponing the departure of the Jatha. The rest lies in the hands of God.

The Second Sahidi Jatha.

The Communique further states that the Second Shahidi Jatha which will leave Sri Akal Takht on the 28th February to resume the interrupted Akhand Path in the Gurdwara Gangsar, Jaito, feels deeply pained at the

loss of life and the injuries sustained by the Sangat which accompanied the first Shahidi Jatha on 21st February out of love and reverence. As the basic idea of these Shahidi Jathas is to confine all suffering only to themselves, therefore they earnestly wish that the Sangat should not suffer on this account. On the request of the Jatha the Jathedar of Sri Akal Takhat has decided to enjoin on all Sikhs the duty of refraining from accompanying the Jatha on its march. All Sangats of villages by which the Jatha passes should content themselves with bidding farewell to the Jatha, just outside their villages, and should not march on with the Jatha, so that the Jatha may reach its sacred destination attended by no body except doctors, Press reporters and such other indispensable helpers. The cause is so sacred that Sikhs should learn to control even the legitimate aspirations of their hearts so that the irresponsible and callous Nabha authorities finding themselves thwarted may not invent any story they like to justify their doing.

The Committee also sent two representatives to Poona to see and explain to Mahatma Gandhi the situation.

The Second Shahidi Jatha

On February 28th the 2nd Jatha marched from Amritsar. A very large crowd of Sikhs assembled in front of the Akal Takht to watch its departure. Like the first, it was composed of 500 Akalis dressed in yellow shirts, black turbans and kirpans, with small pouches for provisions on the way. The ceremony before the Takht was much delayed as great precaution was taken that non-violence was strictly imposed. The Jatha took a course different from the previous one and reached Jaito on the 14th March.

At Jaito Pandit Malaviya, Sardar Kartar Singh and Gulab Singh, and Messrs. D. P. Sinha, K. S. Bhatt, Rangaswami Iyengar and Vedamurthi had arrived previously with the permission of the authorities.

Immediately on arrival they, along with some Punjab M. L. C.'s, Messrs. Jawahar Singh, Maqhbool Mahmud and Duli Chand, had a long conversation with the Administrator. Pandit Malaviya and party also visited the Gurdwara Gangsar and agreed that the hall of the Gurdwara could accommodate 400 people and the court-yard, into which the doors of the hall opened, was spacious enough to accommodate 1,000 people. Pandit Malaviya and party were of the opinion, of which they apprised the Administrator, that at one time only one Akhand Path could take place with due propriety but that if it was desired to hold simultaneous Paths 3 could be held without impropriety. In this way it would take 10 months if one Path were performed after the other, while 3 at a time would occupy about 3½ months for 101 Akhand Paths which the Shahidi Jatha were pledged to complete. The Administrator said that the duty he owed to the subjects of the State made it impossible for him to allow an invasion of the State territory by outside people for a period of ten months or even for that of 3 months. He said the only basis on which a compromise could be considered or negotiations opened was a precedent guarantee from the S. G. P. C. that the Akhand Paths would be finished in a very short definite period, say seven days. Mr. Johnston proposed for this purpose the holding of 101, or at least 50 Paths simultaneously. As a result of the discussion

he was willing to admit the Jatha into the Gurdwara but only on the condition that Pt. Malaviya would give the required guarantee on behalf of the S. G. P. C. This the Pandit was not in a position to do. The latter emphasised that the only possible basis of solution could be the unconditional admission of the Jatha into the Gurdwara, since they were pledged to start the Akhand Path, and then to carry on negotiations with the S. G. P. C. He hoped that in view of the establishment of the principle of religious liberty by the unconditional admission of the Jatha, the S. G. P. C. would be persuaded to instruct the Jatha so as to finish the 101 Paths within a short time, although he was not prepared to admit that any time-limit can be legitimately placed on a fellow's worship, which he is entitled to carry on uninterruptedly even for the whole of his life. Mr. Johnston's main objection, however, was time.

Pandit Malaviya and party met the Jatha, which was preceded all along by about 100 fully equipped mounted troops and about 80 infantry men. The 500 faces beamed with the happiness of expected martyrdom ; all unarmed, except for the Kirpans, and there was not one spectator accompanying them except, two press reporters and their red-cross brigade. Pandit Malaviya and Sirdars Kartar Singh and Gulab Singh talked to some of the Jatha and were told that they were pledged to begin the Akhand Path that day and had no desire to hold simultaneous Akhand Paths. They were, however, always prepared to obey the orders of the Akal Takht.

The Pandits' party came back and again discussed the situation with Mr. Johnston but he was not prepared to enter into any negotiations unless the requisite guarantee were forthcoming. Thereupon Pt. Malaviya and others wrote out a letter to the Administrator embodying their view of the situation and presented it to the Administrator who however said that he was not prepared to take it at that time.

The Arrest.

Negotiations failing, the Administrator then proceeded to arrest the Jatha. The fields on both sides of the Kachcha path presented the sight of a veritable field of battle with observation posts, flash signal stations, small squadrons of troops lying behind copses and bushes, cavalry people riding restlessly hither and thither across the cultivated fields, and couriers coursing along the path with "important" messages about the movements of the Jatha.

An hour or so later the Jatha was sighted, and the danda police, military men, and the cavalry were stationed at the bifurcation of the roads to meet it. The Jatha arrived at 3-10 p. m. On Mr. Johnston calling a halt, they halted and were immediately surrounded on all sides by the police. Mr. Johnston then spoke to some of the Jatha men and offered to allow them all to start the Akhand Path in Gurdwara Gangsar provided they promised to come out of the Gurdwara after the first Path had finished and await the result of the negotiations with the Akal Takht (which he was told by the Jatha men was the proper authority and not the S. G. P. C.). This the Jatha men resolutely refused to agree to. For them to leave the Gurdwara without completing 101 Paths was as sacrieglious as to break the continuity of one Akhand Path. They also definitely refused to bide time, voluntarily, till some settlement was arrived at. They said they had taken a vow to commence the Path that day or die

in the attempt. They were prepared for bullets, beating, and in fact anything.

All this parleying took about two hours after which time the Jatha having resolutely refused to accept any compromise they were placed under arrest and were led, happily without the use of any force, to a pen inside the Fort. They also insisted on taking the Sowara Sahib with them and were permitted to do so. A shamiana and a Takht were provided for Guru Granth Sahib inside the pen.

The Third Shahidi Jatha.

This was followed by a third Jatha which marched from Amr on the 22nd March and reached Jaito on April 14th. A fourth followed on the 27th and a fifth was made ready to start on the following Baisakhi days. On the 22nd March many outsiders came to witness the scene. Among those present to extend cordial good wishes were Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr. Kitchlew, Mr. Phookun of Assam, Dewan Daulat Rai C. I. E. of Rawalpindi, Mr. D. Chaman Lal M. L. A., Mr. Deep Narayan Singh of Patna and Mr. K. L. Panikkar. The Jatha collected in the Golden Temple below the Akal Takht at about 12 noon. The whole place was crowded with pilgrims from all parts of the Punjab. Overflowing the premises of the temple the crowd which was estimated at more than 50,000 had spread into the streets and open spaces surrounding the Durbar Sahib. Women and children of all ages came to see the martyrs go off and the neck of each was heavy with garlands with which his wife, children and other relations had wished him god-speed.

After the preliminary speeches in which the situation was carefully explained, the Jathedar of Akal Takhat read out the "Hukam-nama" to the Shahidi Jatha. In it the Jatha was called upon to go and resume the Akhand Path of Guru Granth Sahib at the Sri Gangsar shrine at Jaito. They were asked to observe non-violence in thought, deed and action and every one of them was asked to take a solemn vow for that purpose before the Takht. Amidst resounding shouts of 'Sat Sri Akal' the whole Jatha to a man vowed to do this. Then the Jathadar, a noble looking old man and an ex-soldier, was asked to come forward and he was given a Kirpan which had been specially blessed. Then his second and third in command underwent the same ceremony.

The procession started from the Golden Temple at about half past two. The enthusiasm among the people was indescribable. The streets were covered with flowers, and flowers were showered from every house-top. The Jatha carried the Granth Sahib in the middle and followed by a crowd of over 10,000 people passed along the narrow lanes of the city. The whole population demonstrated its strong sympathy with the Akali cause by crowding all the house-tops and throwing more flowers and 'attar'. When the Jatha reached the city gates it was past six. Separate kitchen, a special ambulance corps under the charge of a qualified doctor and provisions for the way accompanied them. It was just like a regiment marching to war, with flags and bands but only with no arms. The Jatha took a circuitous route and marched in slow stages reaching Jaito in about two week's time.

The Official Report

The following is the report issued on the 8th. March by Mr. Balwant Singh of he Punjab Civil Service, Magistrate, First Class, who was deputed to enquire into the incidents that took place at Jaito on the 21st February, 1924.

Under the orders of the Local Government, I have held an enquiry into the unfortunate incident that took place on the 21st February, 1923 at Jaito in the Nabha State in connection with the arrival of the Shahidi Jatha of 500 men, with the announced object of resuming the alleaged interrupted Akhand Path in Gurudwar Gangsar. I have examined so many as 56 witnesses, including the Administrator of the Nabha State, Mr. J. Wilson Johnston, the President and two members of the Faridkote Council of Regency, the Military Officers in charge of the operations that day, Lt, Col. J. C. Coldstream, D C. Ferozepore, Lt. Col. E. G. Gregson, Superintendent of Police, Ferozepore, several Raises and villagers of the Nabha State, and some Akali members of the Shahidi Jatha.

The Shahidi Jatha

Before going into the evidence given by the witnesses, it may be explained here that a batch of about 25 Akalis is being daily arrested by the Nabha State authorities at Jaito on their way to the Gurudwara to resume the Akhand Path. They are usually non-violent in their character, but the declared object of the Shahidi Jatha, as the name implies, was a different one. It was to enter the Gurdwara, and to resume the Akhand Path at all costs, and not to sheepishly surrender themselves like other Akalis, to the usual arrests only on their way to the Gurdwara, and even if they are once turned out, they would again and again come. In the attempt, they would even go to the extent of losing their lives. So, the object of the Jatha was unusually strong, and a different one at least. It is obvious enough that a marked distinction did really exist. From the evidence recorded, it seems that the announcement of the formation of such a Jatha was indeed a great news for the Akali public, and for the Nabha people it was an opportunity for daring ones to come to the forefront, get themselves enlisted in the ranks of the Jatha, and do something practically. It was also a welcome one for the Extremist section of the Congress, as is shown by the presence of Professor Gidwani and Dr. Kitchlew with the Jatha.

Visited by Large Crowds

So, the arrival of such a Jatha naturally attracted large crowds at every waiting place all along their way. Some of them brought sweets and refreshments for them; others came as mere spectators, paid their 'darshan' to the Jatha, and went away, but many more accompanied them, encouraged them, and openly declared their intention of using force against those who happen to intercept the onward march of the Shahidi Jatha, and a member of the Shahidi Jatha, Jagat Singh, relates the incident of an offer of a subsidy of 500 men to the Jatha.

The Droli Jatha

There is evidence to show that at Hari Ke Patan, the Droli Jatha visited the Shahidi Jatha, but they were told to go away, and they replied that they would go away then, but would join the Shahidi Jatha either at Lande or Bargari. It appears that, at Landee a large number of the Droli Jatha arrived, including many who visited Hari Ke Patan in a Dewan held there. In the evening, a member of the Droli Jatha is said to have visited the Shahidi Jatha saying that he had brought 500 men for their safety, but the Shahidi Jatha must arrange for their food in their Langar, which was separate from that which was provided for the ordinary people coming to see the Jatha, and which had, until then, been exclusively used by the members of the Shahidi Jatha. Accordingly, the Shahidi Jatha fed them in their Langar. Further, there is also evidence that on their way from Bargari to Jaito, the Chief Jathadar halted the Jatha and addressed the Droli Jatha that the time for their work had come. There is evidence to show that the Shahidi Jatha, instead of proceeding to Sialsar, according to their published programme, went to Lande village in Moga Tahsil, to which the principal members of the Droli Jatha belong, apparently with the object of obtaining help of all sorts from the members of the Droli Jatha.

"Armed with Revolvers"

Lt. Col. Coldstream, Deputy Commissioner, Ferozepore, states that he received reports from the Tahsildar of Moga, after the Jatha had left its last camp in

Ferozepore District, that the Droli men had left with the Shahidi Jatha, and some of them were armed with revolvers. In spite of the statement that they were so mixed up with the crowd that it was hard to distinguish them, there is overwhelming evidence to show that they were really the leaders of the most noisy, yelling, and disorderly majority of the mob following the Jatha. Ultimately, at Bargari in Faridkot territory, the last halting place of the Jatha, the number of the mob swelled up to between 8 to 10,000. There is evidence to show that at bargari, a large number of the men belonging to the Nabha State waited upon the Shahidi Jatha to reason with them, and to dissuade them from coming in such large numbers, and in that military formation. A member of the Faridkot Council and other witnesses state that the mob, after they had left Bargari, armed themselves with TAMDAS (cudgels) freshly lopped off from trees on their side.

PREPARATIONS AT NABHA

The Nabha State officials were making preparations for the reception of the Jatha. Their arrangements, as is stated by Mr. J. Wilson Johnston, were all for the convenient handing of these 500 men and their Sewadars, which were expected to be not more than 200 to 300, by splitting them into small parties by the use of barbed wires and barriers in order to facilitate their arrest. Even in spite of the various reports which the Administrator received from time to time that a mob of Akalis were flocking round the Jatha in large numbers, he seems to have never thought that all this mass of uncontrolled individuals would really accompany the Shahidi Jatha. A deputation of villagers of Ilaka Nabha, as above mentioned, requested the Shahidi Jatha to send away these big crowds, and especially the irresponsible Drolis whom they feared most, and also that they were welcome to enter the Gurdwara in batches of 50 at a time, but all this was to no purpose. There is evidence to show that the members of the Deputation were not only ridiculed, but were treated with considerable rudeness by the mob.

THE ADVANCE ON NABHA

On the morning of the 21st, a mob of about ten thousand Akalis, ranging on a front half a mile in length, started from Bargari. It may be noted that the mob was met by the State officials at the canal distributory within the Nabha Territory and a notice was read out to them asking them not to proceed in such large numbers, but that they should come accordingly to the Proclamation issued, that is, 50 at a time, on the condition that they would leave the Nabha Territory after the Akhand Path had been finished, but they refused to listen to them, and moved on. It may also be pointed here that up to Bargari, the Granth Sahib (Sikh Scripture) was in front of the procession, but from Bargari onwards, it was removed to the centre, and the band, which had accompanied them, was dismissed. There is evidence to show that this arrangement was deliberately made to protect a sacrilege in case of conflict, and the Droli Jatha took up the position on their flanks. As the Administrator never imagined that he would ever be in need of using troops in arresting the Jatha, he had only some villagers, the Police, and some men of the State Infantry with him. With the exception of 20 police men, who were armed with smooth-bored guns, all the rest had dangs. It was a little time before the Jatha came in sight that one of the Sowars and Mr. Lizat Rai, a member of the Faridkot Council, warned him of the seriousness of the situation. He ordered a platoon of the State Infantry to go and change their lathis for rifles. Col. Muirhead meanwhile arrived.

MILITARY SUMMONED

The clouds of dust and the consequent enormity of the numbers of the mob coming in advance of the Jatha thus greatly excited in mood the disorderly way in which they were advancing and brandishing of all sorts of weapons with which they were armed made the Administrator change his former arrangements, and he issued orders to the villagers to withdraw from the scene. Realising the seriousness of the situation, Col. Muirhead also called in a squadron of Skinners' Horse and stationed them on the left of the road from Bargari to Jaito to command a more central position, while the six Platoons of the Gurkhas were called closer in reserve. The Shahidi Jatha was, at this time, totally screened and hemmed in by this disorderly rabble, who seemed to be prepared for an onslaught.

ADMINISTRATOR'S WARNING

The Akali mob was at a distance of about 200 yards from the first barrier, when Mr. J. Wilson Johnston, along with some other State officials, advanced to

meet them, and with out stretched arms shouted at the top of his voice asking them to halt and to disperse, and repeatedly warned them of his being obliged to open fire in case they refused to do so. But they did not listen to him, and defied him by making a wild display of their various weapons, and told him that they had come there to die, so much so that he had to run back to the barriers. The mob followed him recklessly, and seems to have absolutely forgotten the sanctity of the proposed non-violent object of the Shahidi Jatha.

THREE ROUNDS OF FIRING

The leading men of the mob were at a distance of eight to ten paces from Mr. J. Wilson Johnston when he issued orders to the Police to fire three rounds. He controlled fire now in order to judge whether this firing was justified or not.

MOB'S VIOLENT INTENTIONS

We must reiterate some of the events already mentioned. The Jatha, as usual, started on the instructions of the Shri Gurdwara Prabandak Committee, and had sworn to remain non-violent under the circumstances of the gravest provocation, but their amalgamation with the violent Jatha, that is Droli Jatha, etc, and the huge crowds armed with all sorts of weapons which they could catch hold of was certainly a breach of the precept. The lopping off TAMBAS from trees on the way is a proof of the mob's preparation to use force in case an attempt was made to stop them. Had the Jathadar of the Shahidi Jatha tried in earnest to send off the gathering crowd, he could do so by vigorously appealing to the mob and by expounding the sanctity of their mission.

NON-VIOLENCE—A SUBTERFUGE

The way in which the Shahidi Jatha men encouraged the Droli Jatha and others to accompany them, accepted all offers of sweets from them, had a common Langar at Tarntaran and Bargari, did not check them from lopping off cudgels from trees on the way, allowed them to make all sorts of noises round the Granth Sahib, and changed their way from Smalsar to Lande, is sufficiently incriminating; but, on the other hand, the repeated requests of the Shahidi Jathadar in asking them to allow his Jatha to proceed on unattended to Jaito, and also his statements that they had taken the solemn vow of remaining non-violent, both in words and in action, makes one believe that this was merely a subterfuge, especially in view of his action I have noted above, of calling on the Droli Jatha to do their part when the mob was nearing Jaito. Thus, it is obvious that the mob, as a matter of fact, accompanied the Jatha with its connivance, if not with its expressed consent, and so the members of the Shahidi Jatha, by their unpardonable conduct, put the Nabha authorities in such an awkward position that they could not have saved the situation without firing on the mob.

THE BEHAVIOR OF THE MOB

As already shown, they ridiculed and rudely treated the Panchayat, and kept on advancing towards Jaito. They did not care for anything and went on with all their characteristic rowdyism. They defiled the Administrator and the State Officials, and even threatened him by closely following him at his heels, and wielded their weapons in a way which clearly showed their intention of breaking through the barriers and making short work of all that fell in their way. The mob seemed to be determined in the course they had adopted. As is shown by their subsequent conduct, they went on even when they were warned that they will be fired upon.

FIRING AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY

The Administrator, after doing all that he could really do to peacefully ward off the danger to the Gurdwara, the village, and the villagers of Jaito, became helpless. The situation in which he was thus placed was simply hopeless, and the only solution to the impending danger was to disperse them by the use of force. The efforts of the officers of the Ferozepore District at Talwandi Bhai to bring them to reason, of the Faridkot authorities in forbidding their subjects to join them, the waiting of the Panchayats upon them, the offer of the authorities that they could come to the Gurdwara in batches of 50 at a time, and finally, the loud warnings of the Administrator, Mr. J. Wilson Johnston, are all sufficient proofs of the cool-headed way in which they were handled, but they seemed to be bent upon what they did, and so it was, I believe, as an absolute necessity that the Administrator opened fire, and that none too soon. Even after this short burst of fire, the mob showed no signs of retiring. They swerved on to their right, and made a dash-

towards the Tibbi Sahab. The situation being grave and critical once more, Mr. J. Wilson Johnston had to order the State Platoon to fire three rounds of controlled fire again, which was accordingly done.

FIRING BY AKALIS.

There is evidence to show that fire-arms were also being used on the Akali side. One Imamuddin, a resident of Dubri Khana, a village in the Nabha State, received a shot under his left thigh. One bullet passed through the turban of Hazure Sawn Singh (No. 13). Another pierced through a door of a cattle-shed belonging to a resident of Jaito, and several others whissed past by various British Officers and Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh, President of the Faridkot Council etc. The Akali Shahidi witnesses also tell us about the use of a D. R. gun by one Jagat Sing of the Droli Jatha. Imamuddin, Hazura Singh, Sardar Bahadur, and Sardar Inder Singh, the witnesses above referred to, were behind the firing party. So, it is highly improbable for these shots to have come from any other side than the Akalis. There is no denying the fact that the Jatha was accompanied by a large mob under the leadership of the Droli Jatha, whose ring-leaders were Sucha Singh and Dulla Singh, Badmashes. But the evidence given before me, that the number of guns with the Akalis ranged from 5 to 10, or 12, does not seem to be convincing. For the purpose of this enquiry, however, I think it is not necessary for me to determine the exact number of the guns the Akalis possessed or used. All that I have got to determine is whether they did use any fire-arms. Giving thoughtful consideration to this, I am of opinion that they had a few guns and they used them aright at the time. To the question who began the firing, I consider that whichever party began the firing does not matter, in as much as there is overwhelming evidence to show that the mob was prepared to achieve its end by all possible means, and were so constituted that a prudent man under the circumstances had no option but to open fire to repel their menacing advance in military formation.

AN ABSOLUTELY VIOLENT MOB

Now, when the Akali mob became absolutely violent, as is shown by their conduct in openly exchanging shots with the State Forces, the authorities were free to deal with them in the way that most befitted their conduct. Had they dispersed and resorted to their usual peaceful way, the authorities, who, as has been shown above, were ill-prepared for an onslaught, would have certainly stopped firing, but the unfortunate mob made a battle of the whole show. They shouted on to their right in full force in order to capture the Gurudwara Tibbi Sahab by a general assault. The Administrator, once more observing the frantic rush of the mob to the left, ordered another three rounds of controlled fire. In the meantime, Major Bell-Kingsley, finding that a mass of Akalis was trying to reach the Tibbi Sahab from the side where he had taken up his position with a platoon of the 1st-4th Gurkhas, fired upon them. He states that his men were also exposed to a great danger, and some of the bullets from the Akali side actually fell at a distance of a few paces from him.

A DESPERATE CHARGE

After this, the mob faltered for a few moments but when they had once gone out of control, there was no receding back. They swept on furiously under the leadership of Sucha Singh, mounted on a white pony, with a drawn sword in his hand, and issuing orders in English. This was the most desperate charge which they made, but Major Lorrimer and his ten dismounted Sowars completely dispersed them. After two short bursts of fire, the Akalis broke up finally, and had to be pursued for a distance by Col. Muirhead to stop their rejoining the party that had reached the Tibbi Sahab. No violence was used in their final dispersal by the Sowars, and it was simply done to stimulate the flying Akalis into further efforts to vanish.

USE OF LESSER FORCE

The suggestion that it would have been much better had the authorities used some other force, say the use of lathis instead of firing, is suggesting something, which in my opinion, could not meet the exigencies of the time. The mob was, as has been already said, armed with all sorts of weapons, including fire-arms. How was it possible to stop them by the use of a corresponding and rather unsuitable use of a force like that of the lathis? It would have been still worse, and still

more impossible to disperse them in this way. From the evidence before me, I gather that 14 Akalis were found shot dead and 34 wounded on the evening of the 21st, out of whom 5 died next day, the total number of casualties thus coming up to 19, and 29 wounded in all, 3 wounded were brought in from Ferozepur by the Police on the 3rd day. Keeping in view the comparatively small number of casualties out of such a huge crowd, I believe that the force used was the minimum, and the firing was considerate. This view is strengthened by the fact that the party in charge of the Granth Sahab was deliberately left to proceed unharmed to the Tibbi Sahab. Had the State forces directed their guns to the palanquin containing the Granth Sahab, I think it highly improbable that it could have reached the Tibbi Sahab unmolested. This undoubtedly shows that the State officials had no intention to fire upon the Shahidi Jatha, if they did not resort to any violence. The Shahidi Jatha lost a few of its members only on account of its being thoroughly hemmed in and screened by the stampeding mob, who were trying to capture the Gurdwara by a general assault.

TREATMENT OF WOUNDED

The evidence of all the witnesses, from the Administrator downwards, including the Akali Jatha men, and the medical attendants on both sides shows that after the firing had ceased, all the wounded were all conveyed to the camp after first aid had been rendered to them. The statement of Sub-Assistant Surgeon Kehar Singh, who had accompanied the Jatha, throws sufficient light upon the good treatment the wounded were meted by the authorities. He also tells us that he was provided with all the necessary dressing materials by the State authorities, and that he was in no way deterred from rendering medical aid to his men, nor he or any of their medical staff was beaten or ill-treated.

ARREST OF SHAHIDI JATHA

The authorities then arrested the Shahidi Jatha on the skirts of the mound on which the Tibbi Sahab stands, but they did not touch those who were in immediate charge of the palanquin of the Sowari Sahab, and requested the party to convey the Granth Sahab either to the village Dharamsala or to the Gurdwara to save it from the disgrace of its being placed on unclean ground. The party refused all terms, but they voluntarily withdrew at about 10 P. M., when some of the selected Sikhs of the State took the Granth Sahab to the village Dharamsala with due respect and ceremony.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, it is abundantly clear that the mob and the Shahidi Jatha defied all the efforts on the part of the people and the authorities of the Nabha State to reason with them, and chose an unreasonable course; that the mob was in an excited mood, and armed with all sorts of weapons, including fire-arms, and prepared to see through the game; and that they all knew what the game was, and even went to the extent of insulting and assaulting the Administrator, and after brandishing the weapons, they actually used the fire-arms. It was but natural, and the only course left to the Administrator was to order firing, which was done not too soon. The small number of the casualties in such a big mob shows that the firing was controlled, and did not exceed the exigencies of the moment. The wounded were attended to at once, and but for the complicity of the Droli Jatha the unfortunate events could not have happened.

The Non-official Sikh Report

Soon after the official report was published the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee issued their own report on the Jaito massacre, tracing the recent events that led up to the formation of the Shahidi Jatha. This report says :—

After the Guru-ka-Bagh affair the atmosphere was cooling down and there was a good prospect of peace between the Government and Sikhs. But the Government again plunged the Sikh Community into a turmoil of agitation by deposing the Maharaja of Nabha in July 1923 on account of his sympathy with the Gurdwara movement.

The Government began to suppress all expressions of sympathy even by the subjects of the exiled Maharaja. When arrests were made in a diwan held at Jaito in the Nabha State, the Sikhs assembled sat down to do nothing else but to recite Holy Granth night and day and pray for the Maharaja. But this also they were not allowed to do. The place of meeting and the Gurdwara were both blockaded and no food or water was allowed to go in. The Shiks began to starve and as they were obliged to ease themselves close to where they sat, insanitary conditions began to prevail and many fell sick. In this condition when the Akhand Path, or the continuous reading of the Holy Granth, became impossible outside the Gurdwara, they asked the Sikhs in the Gurdwara so start the Akhand Path inside and they themselves contended themselves with the ordinary reading of the Holy Granth. This was on the 14th September 1923. The officials who were determined not to allow even holy reading and praying for the Maharaja came with a military force and arrested the whole congregation assembled round the Holy Granth outside the Gurdwara. Then the armed soldiers in uniform were taken inro the Gurdwara itself, where the Sikhs sat listening to the Akhand Path. The whole congregation, including the reciters and the attendants, was arrested and what was an unprecedented sacrilege, the Granthi actually reciting at the moment was caught hold of by his arms and dragged away and arrested. This interference with the sacred reading was a grave desecration according to Sikh religion.

The news of this desecration spread like wild fire, and the very next morning a party of Sikhs gathered from the neghbourhood to go and restart the Akhand Path. The prohibition against freely visiting the Gurdwara had been enforced, according to official admission, from 31st August, 1923, but from 14th September, the day of the desecration, it was made absolutely rigid. Sikh pilgrims from all quarters began to pour in to assert their religious right of freely visiting the Gurdwara and performing the Akhand Path and other acts of worship.

From 15th September 1923, Akali Jathas of 25 each have daily marched on foot to Jaito, after taking a pledge of non-violence in thonght and deed before Sri Akali Takhat at Amritsar. The aim of those Jathas is: (a) to resume the interrupted Akhand Path at the Gangsar temple. (b) to suffer all hardships and tortures inflicted on them by the proud officials in a meek and humble spirit for the sake of establishing the Sikh birthright of free congregation and free worship in all Sikh temples. But the callous authorities arrested and removed these Jathas to distant places where they were set free. Once free, the heroic Jathas travelled back to Mukatsar to court arrest a second time. The Sikhs have been prevented from visiting and praying at the Gurdwara of Gangsar for the last five months and about 5,000 Sikhs have suffered untold hardships at the hands of the authorities for removing this unreasonable ban on their religious freedom. The hunger of the Sikh heart for sacrifice in the cause of religion has become proverbial.

When all the sacrifice failed to move the callous officials, it was decided that a congregation of 500 Sikhs remaining perfectly non-violent should walk to Jaito to visit Gangsar and resume Akhand Path. Only those Sikhs were allowed to join this Jatha who could be relied on to remain perfectly non-violent under all circumstances. The Jatha was fairly representative. Men were drawn from all districts and professions including a number of meek Sadhus.

THE VOW OF NON-VIOLENCE

On the Basant anniversary on 9th February 1924 the Shahidi Jatha, or the "Band of Martyrs" who had resolved to lay down their lives in the cause of religious freedom, took a solemn pledge of restarting the interrupted Akhand Path at Gangsar, before the sacred throne of Sri Akal-Takhat. The Jathedar or the religious superior of Akal-Takhat exorted them to remain perfectly non-violent in thought and deed : "Dear Kalgidhar Satguru our Father! We thy children lay down our lives for Thee. The honour and prestige of the Panth lies in Thy hands. Brave and saintly souls! You will be beaten mercilessly with sticks. You will be shot dead with bullets. You will be thrown into dark and solitary cells. Your steadfastness will be tried by the most violent and inhuman physical and mental tortures. Keep yourselves perfectly non-violent. Your sole aim is to pay homage to the Gurdwara of Gangsar and resume the recitation of Akhand Path. From the moment of your departure from Akal Takhat and on the way, feed your body, mind and soul on the life-giving words of the Guru and do not harbour ill against any person in thought, word, and dead." (See the declaration of orders to the Shahidi Jatha by the Jathedar, Akal Takhat on 9th February 1924).

The Jatha left for Jaito on foot on 9th February amid the loving adieus of the Sikh Sangat of Amritsar. It met with tremendous enthusiasm where-ever it went. Morning and evening Dewans were arranged at all halting stations and the attendance at these Dewans sometimes rose to 25 or 30 thousand, while an eager concourse of Sikhs always marched along with the Jatha. Sikhs came from long distances to have the darshan of the Martyrs and went away deeply impressed with their noble spirit of love and sacrifice. Many made up their minds to witness the resumption of the Akhand Path at Jaito.

The Jatha halted at Bargari in the Faridkot territory on the evening of 20th February. At the conclusion of the morning Dewan of 21st, the Jath and Sangat took their meals at Bargari and left for Jaito at about 12 noon. Jaito is six miles from Bargari. Sowars had been stationed at short intervals all along the way, and through them the Faridkot State officials frequently sent reports of the movements of the Jatha to the Administrator of Nabha State. The cavalry and a big party of village men and Chachhi Police armed with heavy lathis had taken their first position near the boundary line of the Faridkote and Nabha States, but when they heard that the Jatha was accompanied by a large congregation they dropped the idea of stopping the Jatha at that place, and withdrew. Before the Jatha reached the boundary line, the State officials had stopped the motor in which Dr. Kitchlew, Principal Gidwani and Mr. Z.mand, the representative of the "New York Times," were travelling to Jaito and showed them the order restricting admission into Gurdwara to bands of 50. On remonstrance the officials sent a messenger to the Administrator for further orders. By this time the Jatha and the Sangat arrived on the Nabha boundary and the State officials informed them that they could allow a batch of 50 men to proceed to Gurdwara Gangsar, on the understanding that they would quit the Nabha territory as soon as they

had finished their Path, and that another batch of 50 would be admitted after the first batch had cleared out. But who has given the Administrator of Nabha the right to restrict the number of worshippers at a Sikh Temple to 50? Why should 50 be allowed and not 500, or why should the Sikhs be prevented from sitting in their temple in religious worship as long as they like? Why should the Administrator of Nabha arrogate to himself the position of a religious dictator of the Sikhs? The Jatha took this as an unreasonable and unauthorised limitation on their religious liberty and refused to bargain for the God-given right of entering a Sikh temple for worship.

MARCH TO JAITO.

The Jatha and the Sangat now approached the city of Jaito. The State authorities had very cunningly narrowed the passage leading to the Gangsar Gurdwara and the fort by barbed wire barrier on one side and a long row of about two hundred chained bullock carts filled with thorny bushes and masses of barbed wire on the otherside. Near the end of this passage, in the immediate vicinity of the Guardwara of Gangsar, and behind some buildings, they had erected a special barbed wire enclosure to serve as a trap for the Shahidi Jatha. The authorities could easily separate the Jatha from the Sangat by allowing the Jatha to pass through the narrow passage and preventing the Sangat from following. The Jatha could then be driven into the barbed wire enclosure, (which by its peculiar position is concealed from the public gage) and be beaten or arrested in the privacy of this trap. On the top of the bullock-carts and behind them men from villages armed with heavy sticks were stationed in a triple row to prevent the Jatha from breaking through the line. The State officials had recruited a large number of these men from the surrounding villages—one from each family, on the threat of confiscating the property and turning out any family which did not send its representative, or whose representative did not beat the Akalis severely. The men were drunk and had been prepared for their brutal work. Amongst them were a number of Mohammaden Policemen from Jhelum and Attock Districts, who had to their credit a brilliant record of similar services rendered in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair.

But from the sandy mound where the telephone pole was erected the Jatha and the Sangat moved to the right in the direction of Gurdwara Tibbi Sahib which was about four furlongs away. Half of the Jatha was in the front in rows of four, Guru Granth in the middle and the other half bringing up the rear. The Sikh Sangat walked on both flanks, keeping well behind the palanquin of Guru Granth out of reverence. The official statement that "the Jatha advanced screened by a body of 6,000 Akalis armed with chhavis, spears and fire arms, and moved on a broad front" is absolutely false. A platoon of Nabha infantry had dug trenches and taken up its position on and near the sacred eminence of Tibbi. Beyond Tibbi Sahib there was the camp of the Faridkot Sappers and Miners with the camp of Col. Minchin in the middle, and in front of this camp were stationed two detachments of cavalry. Lewis Guns were fixed at various places.

ORDER TO DISPERSE

The Administrator with some officials accosted the Jatha and asked them to disperse. He declared that he would order firing in case they did not comply. The Jatha had taken the pledge of visiting their sacred temple, and recognised no temporal authority in matters of religion.

As the Jatha advanced in the direction of Tibbi Sahib, they were followed by a big sangat among whom were many ladies who were distributing food and drink to the sangat. The Sikhs were in a very calm and devotional

mood. They had no chhavis, spears or fire arms. There was no firing from the Sikhs, but as is usual in processions some crackers were occasionally let off. The allegations "that the Administrator was hotly pursued by some Akalis, who fired bullets on him, and that a nameless Nabha Villager received a wound from a gun fired by the Akalis, and that the Akalis increased their fire and delivered a determined attack led by a mounted Akali" are absolutely groundless. These mendacious statements attempt to give the dog a bad name in order to hang it, and are meant for home consumption in England, and are also designed to capture the easy credulity of those "peaceful" and "law-abiding" people whose submissive support is a valuable asset and consolation in times of trouble. It is not strange that with all the Chhavis, lathis, fire arms and spears which the Akalis are said to have carried, with their hot pursuit of the Administrator of Nabha, and with their increased fire and a determined attack led by a mounted Akali there has been no casuality on the official side except one by a solitary bullet which is said to have caused a wound to a nameless Nabha villager. The result of the so-called "determined attack," and "increased firing" becomes all the more ridiculous when we remember that many of the Sikhs who were fired upon were retired soldiers and military officers.

But the Jatha had taken a pledge of non-violence before their holiest shrine. The non-violence of Sikh Jathas has been repeatedly tried by many ingenious troubles in Guru-ka-Bagh and other places. The Sikhs have shown wonderful forbearance and restriant under conditions most trying and provoking and not a single Sikh has ever betrayed the cause of his community by showing the slightest tendency towards violence.

From the preparations made, it is quite clear that the Administrator had made up his mind to beat and shoot down the Sikh Sangat long before the Sikhs entered his territory and he gave his signal by waving a small flag without the stightest provocation or cause of alarm from the Sikhs.

A Scene of Courage.

Then followed a scene unique in the history of the world for the calm restraint, cool courage, and remarkable capacity for suffering in a righteous cause displayed by Sikh victims of official fury. The big procession of Sikh devotees including women and old men sang hymns of glory, and marched on with uplifted hands towards their temple under a shower of bullets. Many of their comrades dropped dead or seriously wounded. But not a single person wavered. Lifting the dead or the wounded they made straight for the sacred mound of Tibbi Sahib, and came so close to the position taken up by the Nabha infantry, who were firing, that the infantry were compelled to break up. But bullets poured upon them from other directions and many eye witnesses report that Lewis Guns were also fired. A bullet struck a baby carried in the arms of its mother and the poor thing expired. The Sikh lady stepped aside, put the little thing gently on the ground, rejoined the Jatha, and moved on with the Sangat. Another Sikh had his bowels thrown out by a bullet that struck him in the belly. He was heard muttering thanks with his last breath, "Glory to the Guru, Wahi-guru. The great Guru has accepted this impure body of mine for the service of His Faith!" The Sikhs took great care to keep the palanquin of the Holy Granth in the middle. Under the circumstances the authorities could hardly show any tenderness for the sanctity of Guru Granth. The firing ceased after four or five minutes. The Sangat entered the enclosure of Tibbi Sahib

Gurdwara. Many went to the neighbouring fields to bring the dead or the wounded to the Gurdwara. Some ladies began to nurse their wounded brethern. The Sikhs succeeded in removing only a few of their dead or wounded brethren, for they were soon checked by the Military who snatched away the bodies from their hands. Many of the wounded died for lack of attendance and water.

The Sikhs paid their homage at the sacred shrine of Tibbi Sahib with their precious lifeblood, under a shower of bullets which left the neighbouring fields densely littered with the dead or wounded Shahids—martyrs. Once more the sikh spirit soared high above the shackles of political bondage, and the disciples marched to the street of their beloved, carrying the supreme offering of their life on the palms of their hands.

After depositing the dead and the wounded at the Gurdwara the Shahidi Jatha rounded the eminence of Tibbi Sahib and marched in the direction of Gangsar, but their progress was checked by a detachment of cavalry which blocked the way. A squadron of Cavalry rushed on the Sangat congregated about Tibbi Sahib and the sowers chased Sikh parties for miles scattering them in all directions. This relentless hunt of old men, children and women must have resulted in heavy casualties and many must have been trampled under the horse's hoofs. The Shahidi Jatha was next surrounded by the Cavalry, and a strong party of Chhahhi Policemen and country recruits excited by drinks started the beating of Sikhs. Every Sikh was surrounded by a group of 5 or 6 desparadoes who encouraged by the State Officials plied their sticks freely, beating the heroes of the Shahidi Jatha to senselessness, and tying them into tight bundles with strong ropes, huddled them into bullock carts to be transported to the barbed wire enclosure. From the enclosure they were subsequently removed into the Fort.

The Delhi communique assures that great care was taken not to interfere with the Granth Sahib which was deposited with due respect in the Dharamsala. The communique does not enlighten us as to the persons who carried the Holy Granth, to the name of Dharmsala where it was deposited, and the circumstances under which this was done, whether it was done before or after the firing. The fact is that while the Shahidi Jatha was being mercilessly beaten, Mr. Ogilive asked some members of the Jatha to carry the Holy Granth to some place under his directions, but they refused to carry the Granth Sahib to any other place but Gangsar temple. At this he ordered some of his own men to remove the Granth Sahib to some unknown place.

The few Sikhs who were lingering in the vicinity of Tibbi Shahab and some ladies, 20 or 30 in number, who were tending the wounded, were outrageously beaten and arrested. A lady who was serving the wounded Sikhs was abused by the soldiers and ordered to leave the place. On her refusal, she was rudely pushed down from the mound of Tibbi Sahib to a place 20 feet below. The wounded were left to their fate and many died for lack of water or proper medical aid. The doctors and dressers in charge of the Jatha were arrested. Provisions, beds, and medicines belonging to the Jatha were forcibly seized.

VISITORS TURNED BACK

And in order to be free to give any version that they please, the authorities took great precaution to prevent the transmission of reliable reports to the press. Principal Gidwani, Dr. Kitchlew, Mr. Zimand, a correspondent of the "New Yerk Times", were stopped at the boundary. When they heard bullets being fired, Dr. Kitchlew and Principal Gidwani could no longer remain at a distance. They entered the State territory

and were arrested. Respectable gentlemen, members of the Legislative Assembly, like Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, members of the Legislative Council like Sardar Tara Singh Vakil of Mogrg, and Jamedar Partap Singh were detained at the Railway Station under a close custody. A photographer was severely lashed by a European Officer who ordered some soldiers to turn him out of the State territory. The photographer reports that the same officer mercilessly whipped a Sikh lady who did not get up from behind a bush at his order.

These precautions clearly prove that the authorities had much to conceal and after providing against all danger of contradiction from reliable persons, they have now issued a statement that the Akalis resorted to violence and had fired shots before the authorities opened fire. This is absolutely false and if a non-official enquiry is conducted many respectable witnesses will be forthcoming to expose this statement.

Medical Aid

The State authorities neither allowed the Sikhs to attend and give medical aid to the wounded, nor offered any assistance themselves before full 24 hours after the shooting, with the result that many precious lives were lost for lack of timely help and attendance The wounded Sikhs thirsted for water which was brought from long distances. The medical party in charge of the Jatha was arrested and medicine and their necessary materials belonging to the Jatha were forcibly seized. In order to give to the beating the appearance of a "civil fracas" between the Sikhs and the State population, men from the villages had been recruited by bribery and threats, and were carefully drilled in the use of lathis and were excited with wine. The Shiromoni Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee estimates the number of casualties, so far ascertained at more than 300, the number of dead being above 90. The three doctors from Amritsar report that they saw 45 wounded at Jaito, 22 were sent to Ferozepur in their presence. Twenty two dead were cremated near the fort with 8 tins of Kerosine oil. But they say that they were admitted to one of the camps only. Eleven wounded have since reached Amritsar. It was later on reported that the number of the wounded removed to Ferozepur has risen to 38. Out of these, 13 have been sent to the Indian Hospital, Ferozepur Cantt. From the bodies of these 13 Sikhs 16 bullets have been extracted. Of these five are said to be Lewis Gun bullets and the remaining 11 of ordinary military rifles. One of the wounded Sikhs died on the way from Jaito to Ferozepore and another, Bhai Banta Singh, died while he was under operation at Ferozepore. Bhai Soban Singh of the Shahidi Jatha had received a bullet in his chest and has since died at Ferozepore. The authorities have tried their best to keep the scene of tragedy and in fact the Nabha territory quite inaccessible, and therefore the exact number have not been ascertained so far. The above is a estimate. Out of the total casualties a considerable number belongs to Shahidi Jatha. It is believed by some that a large number of dead bodies has been removed by train and some have been buried. Further reports show that the Government dug deep pits covered with straws and earth all round the Gurdwara of Tibbi Sahab and many people received serious injuries by falling into these pits. They had also dug a trench near the entrance of Gurdwara Gangsar and had treacherously filled it with water and covered it up with straws and had stationed Machine Guns and soldiers in the Gurdwara itself. More than 700 people are under arrest at Jaito. The members of the Shahidi Jatha in the fort are given blankets in the day but these are taken away in the night. They are being subjected to all sorts of hardships.

WANTED AN IMPARTIAL COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY

The State authorities have not only violated the sanctity of Gurdwara Gangsar but have also used the sacred mound of Tibbi for military and tactical purposes, have arrested Sikh ladies tending the wounded from within the precints of the Temple and have thus committed another sacrilege of the darkest character.

The Sikh community is prepared to have the truth sifted by an independent enquiry and challenges the Government of India to substantiate the truth of its allegations, not through the farce of a magisterial enquiry but by a committee of persons on whom the public may rely for truth and impartiality. The moral significance of the Jaito massacre is great because the prepetrator of the tragedy was not an irresponsible Mahant employing badmashes but a civilized power with high professions and well-informed about the objects and methods of its victims. The sacrifice is precious to the Sikh as the suffering Jatha was not caught unawares but from the very beginning of its march knew that the supreme sacrifice might be required of it and knowing this voluntarily and cheerfully went to meet that fate rather than surrender its dear religious right of freely visiting and worshipping in its beloved Guru's Gurdwara.

THE SECOND JATHA

The Second Shahidi Jatha has started for Jaito on 28th February and will probably meet the same fate. Over 40 thousand people assembled to bid farewell to the Jatha. The river of Sikh religious sentiment is in floods and Sikhs from all classes and professions have displayed an eager rivalry for enlistment in the second Shahidi Jatha.

PLEA FOR ENQUIRY

All God-fearing and honest men, Hindus, Muhammadans or Europeans, who can sympathise with men who are sacrificing their lives for an idea, are requested to organise a commission of respectable men of independent positions and members of the Legislatures, for the purpose of searching the members of the Jatha or the Sikh Sangat entering the Nabha State territory and issuing a general certificate for the information of the public and the Government that the Sikhs carry no fire arms, chhavis, spears or lathis. Kirpan being the religious symbol of the Sikhs must be regarded as an exception. These gentlemen should also obtain special permission from the Government of India to be present at the scene of action in order to form an unprejudiced opinion about the conduct of the Sikhs and the State Officials on the occasion of the visit of the Jatha and watch whether the bullets are fired from the imaginary fire-arms carried by the Sikhs or by the State troops and machine guns carefully arranged for the purpose by the State authorities. Falsehood can never stand before the searchlight of public enquiry. Questions relating to the massacre of the first Shahidi Jatha at Jaito have been disallowed in the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council Punjab, on the plea that no question relating to the administrative policy of Native States can be discussed in these bodies. Is it not a fact that since the forced abdication of the Maharaja, the Nabha State is being ruled by a Civil Service Officer appointed by the Government of India and that the Government of India and the Punjab Government have both issued communiques in support of the action of the Administrator of Nabha and that District Officers in the Punjab are carrying on a propapanda in support of the policy of repression at Nabha ? When the Government has taken over the administration of the Nabha State and has openly identified itself with

the policy of repression ruthlessly carried on by the Administrator, this punctilious stand behind the letter of the law and refusal to discuss the Jaito affair in the Punjab and in the Indian Legislative Council is highly unfair and unreasonable. Is it because the Government does not like to face the verdict of the chosen representatives of the people ?

Dr. Kitchlew's Statement.

The following Statement was issued by Dr. Kitchlew as soon as he came out of the Nabha Jail on the 21st March last.

"On the morning of the 20th Mr. Gidwani, Mr. Zimand and myself started from Faridkot State. On our way our car was stopped in a few villages because Mr. Zimand wanted to see if the villagers were interested in Khadi. In the evening after sunset we reached the Akali camp. We passed the night in tents and then on the morning of the 21st we went to see the village. We saw some Policemen of the Faridkot State and there were also some officers posted near the Akali camp. We walked about a mile and got into the camp to have ourselves absolutely satisfied that the Jatha and the Sangat had no firearms or chhavis, except Kirpans, or any other instruments. After motoring about two miles we stopped again on the way because Mr. Zimand wanted to see the Jatha march along. When the Jatha got near us we got into the car again and drove straight away into the Nabha frontier. On our way we saw crowds of men and women waiting for the Jatha with sweet-meat, milk, etc.

At the Nabha frontier there was a police officer and a magistrate along with him and one or two sowars. The police officer asked us to stop our car which we did and brought us a paper. It was an order from the Administrator addressed to the Jatha. So we told the officers about it and he had to admit there was no order stopping us. At the same time he made a personal request to us to stay till he communicated with the administrator and got definite orders. Merely to oblige him we stopped there.

After about half an hour or so the Jatha came up and passed on to Nabha. They were shown the orders but they did not take any notice of it. Even at this time we did not see any firearms with the men, the Jatha or other people in the crowd. Some of the outsiders carried sticks, some of which were lopped off the trees. Just before the Jatha entered Nabha we saw the Jathedar addressing outsiders who were along with the Jatha. On enquiry we were told that the Jathedar was giving his final instructions to the crowd to keep non-violent and to keep behind, if they wanted to come at all.

After the Jatha passed the Nabha frontier we found that the magistrate, policemen and every one quitted his post and we did not know what to do. After waiting for some time, we sent a joint note to the Administrator telling him that we were staying there on the request made by the officer. We wanted to know if there were any definite orders. We sent that note through a Sowar who was going to Jaito.

The Firing.

After some time we heard the firing. It was certainly more than once. It might have been three times. I am not sure as to how long the firing went on. But it was certainly more than five minutes. After this we thought of entering Nabha territory but the driver of our car was missing. A few minutes afterwards we saw people rushing back and we got some information about what actually happened. Our driver also came back and we got into the car and drove at once to Jaito. Zimand was left behind as he had to catch train at seven to keep an appointment at Peshawar and besides he did not want as a foreigner to get himself entangled.

On our way to Jaito we saw some wounded who had received shots. We also saw some men more or less in a dying condition. Then we got into an open place where there was military stationed and also some police officers. We met one of the medical attendants sent by the S. G. P. C. who was complaining that no arrangements were made to render immediate medical assistance.

At that place the police officer asked us to stop our car and told Mr. Gidwani that he should consider himself under arrest and that his old sentence was renewed. His things were taken down and Mr. Gidwani too got down. As for myself the Administrator would like to see me at the fort but there was no order of arrests at the time. Since I was going to the fort and on enquiry I was told that Gidwani would also have to go to the fort, I asked Mr. Gidwani to be allowed to go with me. This was done and we were taken into the fort which was guarded and sent into the room there. We saw just outside our room in the compound there was some sort of wiring put up in the form of an enclosure and afterwards we saw that the arrested people were brought in there. We also saw some Jatha people being dragged and after regular search being pushed into the enclosure.

Starved in Gaol.

The Administrator came to us long after sunset. He looked very much upset and told us that he had made all possible arrangements for the arrest of the Jatha people but that our presence there had upset all his plans and he had to resort to firing. He used threatening language to Mr. Gidwani and the latter naturally resented it. The Administrator then at once cooled down. About me, the Administrator said that I should consider myself under arrest. He also said that Mr. Zimand had apologised. I asked about the car and my things. We were told that the car had gone back to Amritsar. The Administrator told us that he was going to make arrangements for our food. Food was ordered from the Bazar. We spent the night there. Next morning no food was given to us in spite of our repeatedly asking for it and the whole day we had to go without any food. This was on the 22nd.

On the 22nd morning I also noticed something else. I was just having a walk on the verandah and at one corner of the court-yard I saw a number of bullock carts in which there were dead bodies of the Akalis including Jatha people. The corpses were huddled over one another in the most outrageous manner. I could still see all the blood marks on their bodies. I also saw some wounded being removed.

Gidwani and Kitchlew Handcuffed.

The Administrator came again with two other Englishmen, one was a Military officer, and we were told that we are to be removed from Jaito to Nabha that night. At about nine p. m. we were both handcuffed together. There was a rope tied on to the handcuffs and the policeman behind holding the end of the rope. This Mr. Gidwani remarked was real Hindu-Muslim unity. There were also some other Akali prisoners and we were made to walk up to the Railway station in that condition. We got into the prisoners' van. I had just the clothes I was wearing and a borrowed blanket from Mr. Gidwani. We were handcuffed even in the van.

At Bhatinda junction the Akalis were shouting Jais. Some people on hearing the shouts came to the carriage. They were kept at a respectable distance by the police. But any how we came to know that the people who were coming from the outside were not allowed to enter Nabha territory. At Jaito I tried my best to get more information from the Police officers. I asked them particularly if any one of them had received any wounds. They admitted no.

In Bhatinda Jail.

After Bhatinda our handcuffs were removed and we were able to lie down just after 2 o'clock. In the morning we got down at Nabha. We were again handcuffed and ordered to march to the police lock up. There was no arrangement for cots and other things.

On 23rd morning I was offered Jail food. It was so objectionable and the vessel in which it was brought was so revolting that I refused to accept it. So, on the 23rd we had to go without food. On the 24th I was told I could have my own food. No arrangements were made for my baths and the latrine was unspeakably dirty. I was still wearing the same clothes. I ordered some new clothes. On the 26th I was removed to the Central Jail. In the Central Jail I was locked in a cell meant for solitary prisoners. There was a little court yard 8 paces long and 5 paces broad; in the one corner there was the latrine. The only door was locked and no one was allowed to enter. Only the jailor used to come daily. I was given a cot and a few blankets. I had to buy some plates. No writing materials were allowed. I could get a few religious books. The cell was full of mosquitoes. I could not see Mr. Gidwani at all but I came to know that he was treated strictly as an ordinary prisoner.

The Second Remand.

On the 9th of March the Magistrate came to see me and I was shown a document which contained the sections under which they wanted to take action against me. They were asking for a second remand. When asked as to when the first remand was taken, he smiled. Obviously they had no evidence. I wanted to get a copy which was promised but never came.

My wife came to see me once. She told me that it was after great trouble that she got a chance. On the 21st. I was released and was told not to enter Nabha territory again. I was taken to the Railway station but was not allowed to send even a telegram."

The Legislative Assembly

Jan.–March 1924.

The Legislative Assembly—Jan.—March 1924—Summary.

31	Jan	24	Assembly opened by the Viceroy.
1	Feb	24	Important Interpellations—Bills to amend the Penal Code, the Coinage Act, Income Tax Act, Cotton Cess Act introduced.
4	Feb	24	Amending Acts on Cotton Cess and Penal Code passed.
5	Feb	24	Non-Official resolutions. Mr. Rangachariar's resolution on further Reforms formally moved—Mr. Raju's on Indian Territorial force passed.
6	Feb	24	Official Bills amending Tariff Act, Merchant Shipping Act, Passport Act and on Central Board of Revenue introduced.
7	Feb	24	Mr. Neogy's resolution on duty on South African Coal passed.
8	Feb	24	The SWARAJYA DEBATE on Mr. Rangachariar's resolution on further reforms—Pt. Motilal Nehru's Amendment.
11	Feb	24	Official Bills to amend I. P. C., Cr. P. C. and Tariff Act considered. That on Passport Act defeated.
12	Feb	24	Non-Official resolutions on Railway Passages and Answer to questions in the Assembly adopted.
13	Feb	24	Debate on Constitutional Advance resumed.—Dr. Gour's amendment defeated.
14	Feb	24	Non-official resolutions on Mail Contracts, Purchase of Stores, Greetings to Labour Party adopted.
18	Feb	24	Last day of the debate on Constitutional Advance—Pt. Motilal Nehru's amendment for a Round Table Conference passed by 76 votes to 48.
19	Feb	24	Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed's resolution on a "Government Pact" and not Hindu-Moslem Pact adjourned 'Sine die'.—Mr. Patel's resolution on recall of Mr. Horniman passed.
20	Feb	24	Supplementary grants.—Debate on.
21	Feb	24	Mr. Rangachariar's bill on use of Fire-arms considered—Mr. Rama Iyyengar's bill on Indian Registration Act and Dr. Gour's Bill on raising of age of consent and another on Religious Trust introduced.
25	Feb	24	The Jaito massacre adjournment moved by Pt. Malaviya—Official Bills on Sea Customs Act and the Coinage amendment considered.
26	Feb	24	S. Gulab Singh's resol. on Sikh grievances, S. Kartar Singh's resol. on release of S. Kharak Singh, and Mr. Sadiq Hossain's resol. on release of Hasrat Mohani passed.
29	Feb	24	BUDGET PRESENTED.
5	Mar	24	General Discussion on the Budget.
6	Mar	24	General discussion on the Budget continued.
10	Mar	24	REFUSAL OF SUPPLIES—First four major demands on Customs, Salt, Income and Opium refused by the Assembly.
11	Mar	24	Voting on minor Budget demands.
12	Mar	24	Further voting of the Budget—Malaviya moved adjournment on Jaito massacre.
14	Mar	24	Voting on Budget demands contd.
15	Mar	24	Ditto ditto.
17	Mar	24	THE FINANCE BILL THROWN OUT.
18	Mar	24	Recommended Finance Bill thrown out again.
20	Mar	24	Motion for Repeal of Repressive laws passed against Govt.
25	Mar	24	Private bills introduced—Adjournment motion on the refusal of Passports to Angora Deputation carried.

Assembly adjourned to 27th May.

Members:—Legislative Assembly 1924

PRESIDENT:—The Honourable Sir Frederick Whyte, Kt.,

NOMINATED—excluding President—(40)

(a) OFFICIALS (25)

Hon' Sir Malcolm Hailey, K.C.S.I.
,, Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I.
,, Sir B. Philliott Blackett, K.C.S.I.
,, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, C.I.E.
Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith, KT., C.I.E.
Mr. M. S. D. Butler, C.I.E., C.V.O.
,, E. Burdon, C.I.E.
,, E. B. Howell, C.S.I.
,, A. A. L. Parsons, C.I.E.
,, G. R. Clarke, C.S.I., O.B.E.
,, A. R. L. Tottenham
,, J. A. Richey, C.I.E.
Prof. L. F. Rushbrook-Williams, C.B.E.
Mr. W. T. M. Wright
,, T. E. Moir, C.S.I.
,, J. M. Turing
,, P. E. Percival
,, L. S. S. O'Malley
,, H. E. Holme
,, Rustomji Faridoonji
,, B. C. Allen
,, H. Calvert
Babu Girish Chandra Nag
Rai Bahadur Shyam Narayan Singh M.B.E.
Lieut.-Col. F. C. Owens

[FROM BERAR—(1).]

Madho Shrihari Aney Esq.

(b)—NON OFFICIAL—(14)

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer K.C.S.I.
Dr. Surendra Kumar Datta
Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad
Sardar Romanji Ardeshir Dalal
Prince M. M. Akram Hussain Bahadur
Hony. Captain Ajab Khan O.B.E.
,, ,, Hira Singh, Sardar Bah.
Mr. K. C. Roy C.I.E.
,, N. M. Joshi
,, W. S. J. Willson
,, N. M. Samarth
Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum K.C.I.E.
Lieut.-Col. H. A. J. Gidney
[Vacant]

ELECTED—NON OFFICIALS—(105)

Diwan Bahadur Tiruvenkata Rangachariar
Bhupatiraju Venkatapatiraju Garu
M. Diwan Bah. Ramachandrarao Pantulu
M. R. Ry. K. V. Ramana Reddi Garu
M. R. Ry. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar
Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty
Mr. M. K. Acharya
,, A. Rangaswami Iyengar
,, K. Rama Ayyangar
M. R. Ry. K. Sadasiva Bhat
Dr. H. S. Abdul Khader Sahib Jeelani
Mahmood S'Chamlad Saheb Bahadur
Sir Gordon Fraser
C. K. T. Kunhi Kummaran Nambiar
Sir M. C. T. Muthiah Chettiyar
Sardar Mahaboobalikhan Md. Akbarkhan
Dr. K. G. Lohokare
Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas Kt.
Sardar Vishnu Narayan Mutalik
Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai
Babu Amarnath Datta
,, Khitish Chandra Neogy
Khan Bahadur Md. Shams-uz-Zoha
Khwaja Abdul Karim
Maulvi Muhammad Kazim Ali
Sir Campbell Ward Rhodes
Babu Surendra Chandra Ghose
,, Rang Lal Jajodia
Pandit Motilal Nehru
,, Shamlal Nehru
,, Madan Mohan Malaviya
,, Krishna Kant Malaviya
,, Harkaran Nath Misra
Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel
,, Nowroji Manekji Dumasia
,, Harchandrai Vishindas
,, Jamandas Madhavji Mehta
,, Narsinha Chintaman Kelkar
,, Dattatraya Venkatesh Belvi
,, Mahomed Ali Jinnah
,, G. M. Bhurgri
,, Mahomed Ibrahim Makan
,, H. R. Dunk
,, H. G. Cocke
,, Bipin Chandra Pal
,, T. C. Goswami
,, Bhabendra Chandra Rai
,, Kumar Sankar Ray
,, Yacoob C. Ariff
,, Alimuzzaman Chowdhri
,, Kabeerud-Din Ahmed
,, Darcy Lindsay
,, Narain Dass
,, C. S. Ranga Iyer
,, M. Yusuf Imam
,, Chaman Lal
,, Syed Ghulam Abbas
,, B. Das
,, M. V. Abhyankar
,, Shambhu Dayal Misra
,, M. Samiullah Khan
,, T. R. Phookun
,, Kamini Kumar Chanda
,, E. Joseph
,, E. G. Fleming
Dr. Kishan Lal Nehru
Haji Wajih-ud-din
[Vacant—2]
Nawab Ismail Khan
Dr. L. K. Hyder
Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon, V. D.
Raja Amarpal Singh M.B.E.
Lala Duni Chand
Lala Hans Raj

Mian Abdul Haye
S. Sadiq Hasan
Khan Sahib Maulvi Ghulam Bari
Chaudhuri Bahawal Bakhsh
Mr. Makhdum S. Rajan Baksh Shah
Sardar Kartar Singh
,, Gulab Singh
Baba Ujagar Singh Bedi
Babu Shyama Charan
,, Gaya Prasad Singh
Pandit Nilakantha Das
Babu Ambica Prased Sinha
Rai Hari Prasad Lal
Kumar Ganganand Sinha
Babu Devaki Prashad Sinha
Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hosain Khan
Maulvi Ahmad Ali Khan
,, Mohammad Yaqub
,, Miyan Asjad-ullah
,, Syed Murtaza Sahib Bahadur
,, Muhammad Shafee
Raja Raghunandan Prasad Sinha
Dr. H. S. Gour
Seth Gobind Das
Maung Tok Kyi
,, Kun
,, Ba Si
Lala Piyare Lal
Rai Sahib M. Har Bilas Sarda

MARSHAL OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
Captain Suraj Singh Bahadur.

Members of the Council of State 1924

PRESIDENT :—The Hon' Sir Alexander Muddiman, Kt.

NOMINATED—(26).

(A) OFFICIALS (15).

H. E. General Lord Rawlinson
Hon' Dr. Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi
,, Sir B. Narasimha Sarma
,, Mr. J. Crerar
,, Maj. Genl. R. C. Mac Watt
,, Mr. A. C McWatters
,, Mr. A. H. Ley
,, Major G. D. Ogilvie
[Vacant]
,, Mr. C. A. Barron
,, Mr. W. C. Shepherd
,, Khan Bdr. Amin-ul-Islam
,, M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha
,, Diwan Tek Chand
,, Mr. E. H. Berthoud

[FROM BERAR (1).]

Hon' Mr. G. S. Khaparde

(B) NON-OFFICIALS (10).

[Vacant]
Hon' Sir Leslie Miller
,, Sir Dinshaw Wacha
[Vacant]
,, Maharaja Shoshi Kanta Acharyya Chaudhuri
,, Khan Bahadur Nawab M. Muzammil-ullah Khan
,, Nawab Sir Bahram Khan
,, Raja Sir Harnam Singh
[Vacant]
,, Major M. Akbar Khan

ELECTED—NON-OFFICIALS (33).

Hon' Sir S. R. M. Annamalai Chettiyar
,, Mr. K.V. Rangaswamy Ayyangar
Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri
Hon' D. Bdr. V. Ramabhadra Naidu
,, Sir A. K. G. Ahmedthamby Maricair
,, Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas
,, ,, Phiroze C. Sethna
,, ,, R. P. Karandikar
,, Khan Bah. Ebrahim H. Jaffer
,, Mr. Ali Baksh Md. Hussain
,, Sir Arthur Froom
,, Raja Pramada Nath Roy
,, Sir D. P. Sarvadhikary
,, Mr. Dwarkanath Mitter
[Vacant]
,, Haji Chow. Md. Ismail Khan
,, Sir Robert Watson-Smyth
,, Raja Sir Rampal Singh
,, Lala Sukhbir Sinha
,, Raja Moti Chand
,, Nawab Md. Abdul Majid
,, Saiyid Raza Ali
,, Rai Bdr. L. Ramsaran Das
,, Sardar Jogindra Singh
,, Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan
,, Col. Sir Umar Hayat Khan
,, H. H. Maharajadhiraja Sir Rameshwara Singh of Darbhanga
,, Maharaja Bahadur Keshav Prasad Singh of Dumraon
,, Khan Bdr. S. Zahir-ud-din
,, Sir M. B. Dadabhoy
,, Mr. Chandradhar Borooah
,, Mr. Sevasila Vedamurti, and
,, Sir Edgar Holberton

The Viceroy's Opening Address.

In welcoming the new Assembly, His Excellency assured the members of his high regard and the strength of their influence and then passed on to the famous Lausanne Treaty with Turkey which, he said, had been welcomed by Indian Moslems, and next referred to the Indian Frontier situation. The Afghan tension, vague rumours of which had for some time been agitating the Indian public, was, he said, nothing more than strong representations made to the Afghan Govt. on the subject of the recent outrages on British soldiers and subjects on the Frontier. Turning next to the position of Indians overseas, His Excellency said :—

INDIANS IN THE EMPIRE.

"The results of the labours of the Secretary of State, the Maharaja of Alwar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Imperial Conference have undoubtedly improved the situation. The Premiers of four Dominions have shown deep sympathy and expressed their earnest desire to remove disabilities affecting Indians. There is good ground for hope that the attainment of a solution acceptable to India is only a matter of comparatively short time, except possibly in the case of Canada where there are some special difficulties. India most cordially appreciates their sympathy and encouragement; and I speak for India when I say that this recognition of India's position in the Empire is the source of high satisfaction to her.(!!)

IN SOUTH AFRICA.

"The position in South Africa, however, is different. The Union Government has re-affirmed its unwillingness to adopt the attitude of the other Dominions; and in addition proposals for legislation which are expected in practice to affect Indians adversely have been brought forward. The Natal Township Franchise Amending Act, vetoed on previous occasions by the Governor General of South Africa in Council, has again been passed in the Natal Legislative Council; and a Class Areas Bill has been published by the Union Government. Vigorous representations have been made by my Government which, we trust, will have success in regard to the Township Act. The Union Government have given an assurance that it is their desire and intention to apply the measure, the Class Areas Bill, if it becomes law, in a spirit of fairness to the interests and reasonable requirements of Indians. My Government, however, whilst welcoming the assurance, cannot rest satisfied with this position; and we shall continue our efforts to persuade the Union Government to incline to our view. We are aware of the strength of public opinion in India upon this subject and shall strive to give effect to it by all legitimate means within our powers.

"The position as regards the Crown Colonies has materially changed owing to the acceptance of the proposal for a Crown Colonies' Committee to be appointed by my Government which will confer with the Colonial Office on all pending questions including Kenya.

"The late Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, has promised that there shall be full consultation and discussion between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Committee appointed by the Government of India upon all questions affecting British Indians domiciled in British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated territories. I hope for nothing but benefit from these discussions, and we shall gratefully take the fullest advantage of the opportunity offered.

ON KENYA.

"As regards Kenya the views of my Government were explained at length by me in my last address to the Legislature and formed the subject of a Resolution issued by my Government in August last. While acknowledging the difficulties of the issues and the great care and attention His Majesty's Government devoted to India's claims, we did not conceal our feelings of disappointment at the result; and we reserved the right to make further representations, with a view to re-opening these decisions, when a legitimate opportunity offers.

"At the Imperial Conference His Majesty's Government have given an assurance that, while they can offer no prospect of the decisions being modified—'Careful attention will be given to such representations as the Committee appointed by the Government of India may desire to make to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.'! This assurance gives us the opportunity we have been seeking and is a substantial gain.

"Following upon the decisions, statutory action has been taken as regards the Franchise question in Kenya. The Kenya Government has treated Indians on the same lines as Europeans and granted adult suffrage. Given communal franchise, this method of working may be accepted, and it has now become law. It is open to our Committee, however, subsequently to make representations setting forth our contention that there are grounds for an increase in the number of seats to Indians and that in our view all voters should be registered on a common electoral roll. We shall continue to press our views by the constitutional channel opened to us by the assurance of His Majesty's Government.

"As regards immigration, the decision of His Majesty's Government was stated in the White Paper in the terms of a general principle only; and His Majesty's Government issued in addition an instruction to the Governor of Kenya to "explore the matter further on his return to the Colony and in concert with the Governor of Uganda to submit proposals to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for giving effect to that amount of control of immigration which the economic interests of the Natives of both dependencies require."

"When we received copy of the Ordinance, which had been drafted by the Governments of Kenya and Uganda and submitted to the Imperial Government, we took immediate steps to urge the postponement of the introduction and consideration of the Bill until the Government of India were able fully to present their objections; at the same time we strongly pressed that the Colonies Committee appointed by the Government of India should also have an opportunity of examining the question of the restrictions on immigration embodied in the Bill. These representations were accompanied by a preliminary statement of our objections to the provisions of the Bill. We received in reply an assurance by telegram from Lord Peel, the Secretary of State, that the introduction of the Bill had been postponed at the instance of the Duke of Devonshire, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. His Majesty's present Government have now informed me that the late Secretary of State for the Colonies found the Ordinance unsatisfactory and returned it to East Africa to be redrafted. At the same time he called upon the Government of Kenya for certain information regarding immigration and for an explanatory statement respecting the method proposed for the administration of immigration measures.

"His Majesty's present Minister for the Colonies will await the reply to these inquiries and the revised draft of the Ordinance and will be guided by further information received when these documents are before him. Meanwhile he has given me an assurance that ample opportunity will be afforded to my Government to express their views, and that he will give his earnest attention to any representations which the Colonies Committee appointed by the Government of India may desire to make regarding the measure whether in the form of a Bill or of an enacted Ordinance.

"I desire to express my deep obligations to the late and to the present Secretary of State for the Colonies for the consideration given to the representations of my Government which have received the continuous support of Lord Peel and his successor. The steps taken are strong testimony to the sense of justice and fairness with which His Majesty's Government have been animated in dealing with the proposals.

MURDER OF EUROPEANS & REG. III.

'As regards events in India, the two murderous outrages which have recently occurred in Bengal have caused as deep concern to my Government as they have excited reprobation and abhorrence in the minds of all good citizens of every community. It is the primary duty of Government to vindicate the law against such outrages and to bring their perpetrators to justice; and my Government is entitled to look for the moral support and active co-operation of all sections of the public in the task. We owe to the families of those who have been victims our deep and respectful sympathy, but we have an even wider duty—the duty to safeguard others from similar calamity. My Government have for some time been aware of the existence of conspiracies having as their object the assassination of public servants and of the correspondence of persons implicated in these conspiracies with communist agencies directed by organisations outside India. It was out of question to permit these sinister designs to advance on their way to results that no process of law can remedy. Our officers, on whom devolve the dangerous task of the prevention and detection of crime, must look to us for at least that measure of safety, so far as the law can give it, which their own services secure to the public. Punishment in cases of outrages of this nature is not an efficient substitute for prevention. It became necessary to take steps to confine certain of the persons concerned in these conspiracies under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818. The necessity of these measures has recently received tragic confirmation in the murder of Mr. Day and the injuries to three Indians who attempted to stop the flight of his assailant. I trust that these steps to combat an evil which not only destroys innocent lives, but is a menace to society as a whole and a grave obstacle to political progress, will command the approval of all those to whom security and progress are objects of vital and common concern.

"Need I assert that it was only with the greatest reluctance that I assented to the use of these measures for the protection of the public and in the public interest. I am firmly impressed by the consideration that it is essential strictly to confine these special and extraordinary measures to extreme cases of emergency; and I fully appreciate and sympathise with the views of those who wish to protect the liberty of the subject with strict exactitude. In these days the strong light of publicity, both in the Legislatures and the Press, is brought to bear upon the use of emergency measures of this

character; and this in itself acts as a safeguard against their abuse. Before any action is taken, I and my Government submit these cases to a scrupulously careful examination. If we decide that a case for arrest has been established and no other course is possible, in view of the serious character of the emergency, a warrent is issued. After the arrests in Bengal were made, as you are aware, all the documents and evidence relating to each individual have been placed before two Judges of the High Court for the purpose of thoroughly sifting the material on which action was taken, of submitting it to the technical tests of judicial knowledge and experience and of framing recommendations regarding each case. I shall myself re-examine the case of each man concerned with the greatest care in the light of the recommendations of the Judges in each case and with the assistance of their detailed scrutiny of the evidence and the documents. In this manner the greatest possible precautions will be exercised to secure that no individual shall run the risk of suffering injustice because of the gravity of a situation; and his right to an impartial investigation of a charge will never be imperilled by the immediate necessity for measures of prevention."

After making a brief reference to the Civil Laws Committees and Retrenchment, His Excellency then said that owing to the change of Government in England (the Labour Govt. had just before come into power) he refrained from making certain observations until he had had time to consult the new Secretary of State, but referred to the Reforms as follows.—

THE REFORMS.

"As you are aware, the policy of the Reforms in India was introduced with the approval of all political parties in England and all stand committed to it as the fundamental policy in relation to India of His Majesty's Government, however constituted, and apart from other political controversies which mark lines of division in Parliament. It is not uninstructive in this connection to pause for a moment and reflect upon the succession of Prime Ministers and of Governments that has taken place in England since I became Viceroy nearly three years ago. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who has so recently attained his present exalted office, is the fourth Prime Minister with whom I have served during my period of office as Viceroy. None of these Governments has wavered for one moment regarding the policy of the Reforms in India. Each in succession has immediately accepted the policy of the Reforms as the rock-foundation of British policy in India. Governments may, and doubtless always will, vary as regards details of administration and may differ in opinion regarding the stages of progression and periods of advance; but the cardinal policy of the Reforms remains the same for all. It is the policy of the British nation and not of any party. I commend these facts to the consideration of those—if there be any—who may still regard the promises held out as illusory and never to be fulfilled.

"I came to India charged with the solemn duty of carrying out those reforms, inspired by the earnest desire to make them a success and imbued with the firm determination to carry forward the conception along the road to further stages in its ultimate development. I have anxiously watched a consolidation of the foundation. I have seen the first courses of the edifice of parliamentary institutions and traditions and I stand pledged to carry onward the erection of the structure and to continue the building in the full hope of its ultimate completion. But be it remembered that the successful issue of

the Reforms cannot depend solely upon the intentions and actions of His Majesty's Government, or the Viceroy, or the Government of India, or of all combined. The future must largely depend upon the people of India and the actions of the Legislature.

SELF-GOVERNMENT IMPOSSIBLE

"A first stage was passed when the first Assembly was dissolved. My own appreciation of the value of the achievements of the first Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State was expressed in my prorogation speech. We have now entered upon a second stage by the election of the new Assembly. I look and hope for continuity of the new Assembly of the same valuable tradition, for continuity is an essential condition of well-ordered political progress. A considerable advance has been made on the road. Many difficulties have been successfully overcome and obstacles surmounted by the Legislature. Differences have occurred, but I am convinced that these have left no bitterness in their wake. Opinions varied but there was a common objective, the advancement of India. To day marks the opening of a new stage; it chances to happen at a specially important moment and when the future actions of this Legislature will be fraught with the deepest interest and significance to India. There is now a Government in England which numbers among its members some of the most ardent supporters of the Reforms and the most sympathetic friends of India.

"There is now a spirit in India, if I am to credit all I read, which is bent upon destruction of the Reforms unless it immediately attains that which it is impossible for any British Government to grant forthwith, that is, complete Dominion Self-government.

"I am well aware that words are often used in the heat of political conflict which perhaps convey more than is really intended. Moreover, it is but natural that when faced with the responsibility of action there should be deeper reflection upon its true significance and probable consequences. I cannot foretell the future; I do not know what it holds; but I cannot conceal from you that the political situation in India in its constitutional aspects causes me some anxiety for the future of the Reforms. I should be doing a disservice to India if I failed at this moment to give expression to my views formed not upon a hasty or cursory survey, but as the result of as profound study and reflection as I can bring to bear upon a subject of supreme interest to me.

WITHDRAWAL OF REFORMS—THE THREAT!

"In October last I sounded a note of warning which I must now repeat in the friendliest spirit but with all gravity. I spoke with the object of presenting the picture of the future, as I then saw it, to those in India who had not failed in their support of the Reforms policy, although they had on occasions felt bound to oppose the actions of Government. You may remember that I adverted to the possible prospect, according to the then indications of events, of a check, which I deplored in the onward progress of the Reforms. The possibility of this check has come nearer to us, indeed it is in a degree already with us in some aspects, although, it has not yet happened and, I devoutly trust it will not happen in the Central Legislature.

"If the position should become more acute in the Provinces, the Local Governments may rely upon my fullest support, I still wonder —as I wondered in October—what purpose beneficial to India will be served by any course destined to destroy the continuity of progress in the Reform movement. No change in the Constitution can be

effected by legitimate and peaceful methods save with the assent of the British Parliament, that is, the British people. The British Parliament has already set up the machinery now in operation for some time past. It is working with efficiency through well ordered processes towards the creation of responsible self-government. It is difficult to conceive that any responsible body of opinion can ignore the purpose it has in view, or can desire to check its creative activities and to risk the injury which must result to the fine fabric already in process of being woven upon its looms. Nevertheless, I gather that there is a disposition in some quarters to believe that the hands of the British Parliament can be forced, and that a situation may be created which may impair the Reforms and thus cause Parliament to act contrary to their desire and better judgment.

REST YOUR HOPES ON PARLIAMENT!

"It may appear easy to impair and even to destroy and to recreate. Doubtless, destruction is always easier than construction. Violent revolutions have destroyed the institutions of nations. Neglect and apathy in other cases have induced their decay and extinction; but I beg you to remember that when influences of this nature have been set in motion, restoration and re-creation become infinitely more difficult and sometimes impossible. These influences make no appeal to the British people and the British Parliament would emphatically repudiate and reject them. Rather rest the real hopes of the consumption of India's desires in the promises already made and in the intentions already manifested and to be manifested by that great champion of liberties, the British Parliament.

A DEVOTED FRIEND'S ADVICE!!!

"As a devoted friend of India, I am convinced that action based on reason and justice will alone prevail with the British people and will prove the only safe road to the ultimate goal to be attained. I feel sure that you will keep steadfastly in mind in the course of the deliberations of this Session that the eyes of all friends of Reform will be fixed upon the harvest which the Legislature will sow and reap. It is of the greatest moment to India at this juncture that her elected representatives, in the responsibilities of their present position, should make a wise choice as regards the course they will pursue. I do not doubt that they are imbued by those ideals which have from the outset inspired this legislature and that they seek the welfare of India. I earnestly pray that calm judgment and a desire for mutual understanding and good-will may characterise this Session of the Legislature and may thus carry India further forward to the fulfilment of her legitimate aims and aspirations." (Applause.)

The Council then adjourned till Eleven o'Clock on Monday the 4th February, 1924.

Proceedings of the Assembly—Feb. 1st.

The Assembly met for the first day on FEBRUARY 1ST. A large number of important questions were asked, and then the day was given to official business.

ON THE KENYA INDIANS.

Sir P. Thakurdas asked for publication of correspondence on the Kenya White paper. Sir B. N. Sarma said that orders of the Sec. of State had not been received, and so the papers could not be published.

Sir Purushotamdas asked as to what means of ascertaining Indian feeling were available to the Government of India in the absence of their officer in Kenya. Sir B. N. Sarma said at present Indians in Kenya could send representations through the Colonial Office, and further questioned added that the Government of India had suggested to the Secretary of State the desirability of having a better means of knowing Indian feeling.

Mr. Richey replying to Mr. Ramchandra Rao said that the Government of India had made strong representation on the subject of Kenya Immigration Bill. The question of the publication of the report of the Fiji Deputation had been postponed until the appointment of the Crown Colonies Committee had been settled.

Replying to Mr. Neogy, Sir Moncrieff Smith said both in the interests of economy and efficiency, it had been decided that the business of the Legislature should continue to be conducted by the Legislative Department rather than by a separate Department of the Legislature.

DISPUTES BETWEEN INDIAN AND IMPERIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Sir Purushotamdas asked as to what steps the Government of India was taking to see that disputes between them and His Majesty's Government were settled in accordance with the best financial interests of India. Sir Basil Blackett replied that relevant information had been fully placed before the Secretary of State in whose hands the decision rested. Sir Purushotamdas thereupon asked as to whether the Legislature would be given an opportunity for expressing opinion before settlement was arrived at. The Finance Member replied that they would do their best to see that the House was informed.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE PER HEAD.

Replying to Sir Purushotamdas, Sir Basil Blackett gave approximate figures per head of population for military expenditure on the basis of the net cost of military service, inclusive of charges connected with war, frontier operations and other special services, as follows:—1914—15 total military expenditure was Rs. 30,65,23,730 and came to Rs. 1·25 per head of population, 1918—19 Rs. 66 72,03,582 and Rs. 2·70 per head; 1920-21 Rs. 81,75,39,000 and Rs. 3·30 per head; in 1923-24 Rs. 62,00,00,000 and Rs. 2·51 per head.

EXCHANGE AND SALE OF GOLD.

Replying to Sir Purushotamdas, the Finance Member said that the Government did not propose to publish the correspondence between them and the Secretary of State on the question of currency and exchange and the question of reverse bills. They also did not propose to publish the correspondence on the subject of the sale of two millions of gold adversely to India in favour of British business.

A Member.—Is it that the Government always replies in the negative to questions urging publication of correspondence?

Sir Malcolm Hailey.—No (laughter).

Pundit Malaviya.—Will the Hon'ble the Finance Member give reasons for not publishing the correspondence?

Sir Basil Blackett :—We do not consider it advisable.

Pundit Malaviya.—Is the publication withheld in the public interest or in the interest of those in charge of the Department ?

A.—In public interest.

ON THE REFORMS.

Mr. Neogy asked whether the Government had called for the report on the working of the Reforms from various Provinces. Sir Malcolm Hailey replied : no official report had been received. Certain information was informally called for, but the Government of India did not intend to publish it.

Mr. V. J. Patel : Have the Government of India received a report from the Central Provinces regarding the unworkability of the Reforms there ? Sir Malcolm Hailey : I am astonished to hear, Sir, that the Reforms are unworkable there. (Laughter.)

Replying to Mr. Venkatapathiraju, the Home Member said that Government had forwarded to the Secretary of State without expression of any opinion the resolution of Dr. Gour passed by the last Assembly for the revision of the Reforms Act. No reply had been received yet.

Mr. Roy :—What have the Government done to explore the Reforms further. The Home Member said that this question would be better answered on a later occasion when the subject came up for discussion.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao asked as to whether the Secretary of State had definitely said that revision would not be undertaken before 1929. The Home Member replied that Lord Peel's despatch on the subject had already been published.

REGULATION III.

The Hon'ble Sir Malcolm Hailey replying to a series of questions by Mr. K. C. Neogy regarding the use of Regulation III of 1818 said there are 22 persons under detention in Bengal, one in the Punjab and one in an Indian State territory. In four of the cases action taken had reference to the hostile activities directed from abroad against security of India and among the objects of these activities was the fomenting of trouble on the frontier. In 20 of the cases in Bengal, action taken was in respect of complicity in a revolutionary conspiracy with the avowed object of assasinating Govt. officials.

The Government were not prepared to supply information as to the amount of allowance fixed in the case of each prisoner in Bengal, but they were satisfied that the allowances were adequate. 7 internees in Midnapore Jail complained of ill-treatment in respect of food and clothing, but enquiry showed no grounds for complaint.

Replying to Mr. Ramchandra Rao, Sir Malcolm Hailey laid a statement showing that persons in custody under Regulation III of 1818 were 17 from Bengal, one from the Punjab and one from the North Western Frontier Province. The persons detained under the Madras Regulation 1919 were 204 in number, mainly those concerned in the forcible conversion of Hindus or otherwise implicated in the Moplah rebellion. Two persons were in custody under the Bombay Regulation 1827, being concerned in the murder of one Navalsinghji in the Rural State, Mahi Kantha Agency.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The House then proceeded at 12 noon to dispose of legislative business. Four official Bills of a non-contentious nature were introduced.

Sir Malcolm Hailey introduced a bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code. He said that in 1923 the Indian Legislature passed an Act to give effect to certain articles of the International Convention for the suppression of traffic in women and children. Section 3 of

this Act inserted a new Section 366-A in the Indian Penal Code prescribing an age limit of 18 years in respect of offence of procuration of minor girls.

After considering the opinions received the Government of India decided to bring forward the present Bill with the object of raising the age limit in Section 361, 372 and 373 of the Code from sixteen to eighteen years. It was proposed to bring the Act 20 of 1923 in force simultaneously with the present Bill if it were passed into law.

INDIAN COINAGE ACT.

Sir Basil Blackett next introduced a Bill to amend the Indian Coinage Act. The statement of objects and reason attached to the Bill said that the attention of the Government had been drawn to the omission in the Indian Coinage Act of 1906 of any provision such as exists in the English Coinage Act for power to withdraw legal tender attributed to the coin. The result is that a coin once a legal tender, is always a legal tender under Indian Law. When on occasions it became necessary to prevent the circulation of counterfeit coin of any particular denomination the only action possible at present is to discontinue the re-issue of the coin of that denomination from treasuries and currency offices as had recently been done in the case of the eight-anna nickel coin, but this process is completely ineffective since coins that do not come into treasuries and currency offices continue to circulate as legal tender.

It was therefore proposed on analogy of section 11 (5) of the English Coinage Act of 1870 to take power to withdraw by notification the legal tender attributed to a coin of any denomination or date except gold coins which are dealt with in Section 11 of the Indian Coinage Act of 1906. This provision should, in the event of excessive counterfeiting of any particular denomination of coin, enable action which should effectually stop circulating of counterfeits and should ensure a prompt withdrawal of genuine coin. The right of the holder to obtain value for any genuine coin in his possession, even though it has ceased to be legal tender, is secured by the specific provision in the Bill that a coin once issued shall always be legal tender at a currency office.

AMENDING THE INCOME-TAX ACT.

The Finance Member introduced another Bill to amend the Income Tax Act which did not provide for assessment of income, profits or gains of an Association or Club which is neither a company nor a firm nor a Hindu undivided family. This was an omission as it was always intended to assess tax on clubs. The Bill gave effect to this intention and also validated assessments made during the current year.

LEVY ON COTTON EXPORTED.

Mr. Richey introduced a bill to amend the Cotton Cess Act. At this time there was no provision for levy of a cess on British Indian Cotton which may be exported by land to foreign territories. In India the Central Cotton Committee had recommended that the Act should be so amended as to enable a cess to be levied on such cotton. The object of the amendment now proposed was to enable a cess to be levied on cotton exported by land to such foreign territory as may be notified by the Governor-General in Council.

The House then agreed on the motion of the Finance Member to the proposals for the usual election of the Public Accounts Committee and the standing Finance Committee. The Assembly then adjourned till the 4th Feb.

FEBRUARY 4TH—GOVT. BILLS.

On FEB. 4TH business consisted of the passing of two bills amending the Cotton Cess Act and the Penal Code which were introduced on the 1st. Then followed the election of the Deputy President and the four Standing Committees to be attached to the four Departments. At question time a series of questions were put regarding the affairs of the frontier.

PREMIER'S BOOK.

Mr. K. C. Roy asked whether it was true that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's book "Awakening of India" was proscribed under the Sea Customs Act.

The Home Member said he had seen statements in the press to that effect with some astonishment. He accordingly made very careful research as to whether any such notification had been issued. The statement was incorrect, possibly confusion was being made with another book bearing the same name which was proscribed.

Dr. Gour.—Will the Home Member get a copy of the book and place it in the Library? (Laughter.)

Home Member.—I have got a book myself. I can spare for him who wants to read it (renewed laughter.)

AGE LIMIT OF GIRLS.

An interesting discussion followed Sir Malcolm Hailey's motion for taking into consideration the Bill amending sections 361, 372 and 378 I. P. C. by raising the age limit of girls from 16 to 18. This bill was introduced on the 1st instant and was brought forward after considering the Local Government's opinions.

Mr. Rangachariar said he would like to know the opinions of the local Government before the Bill was passed.

The Home Member replied that he could place them in the Library and would have no objection even to have a Select Committee.

Mr. Mian Abdul Hayee moved for circulation of the Bill to elicit public opinion because he felt that the Bill would conflict with Mahomedan Law which permitted a girl to contract marriage after the age of 15. Mr. Jinnah moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. He pointed out the need for carefully examining its effect on Mahomedan Law and more particularly, the desirability of changing the definition of kidnapping.

Dr. Gour opposed any delay in the enactment of a social reform Bill to which the House already stood committed by an act passed last year.

After further discussion the motion for circulation was rejected and that for reference to the Select Committee was adopted.

COTTON CESS BILL.

The House next passed without discussion Mr. Richey's bill amending the Cotton Cess Act which he introduced three days ago.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT ELECTED.

The House then proceeded to elect the Deputy President. There were only two candidates, Mr. Rangachariar and Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed. Mr. Rangachariar was declared elected Deputy President securing 58 votes as against his rival who got 16. Swarajists did not participate in the election.

FEBRUARY 5TH—NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

On FEB. 5th the unusual interest aroused by the expected debates on Mr. Gandhi's release and the Constitutional advance had attracted a big crowd of visitors into the public gallery. The race for occupying the front seats began about an hour and a half before the Assembly met and at 10 A.M. almost all the seats were fully occupied. Those who came after ten had to stand in a row behind the chairs. But they waited only for an hour for the questions to be answered, and within the next 15 minutes came to know that the fights had fizzled out—that the Debate on Rangachariar's resolution was postponed, and the one on Gandhi withdrawn. After this a large number of visitors left.

At question time, in answer to Dr. Gour's question, the Home Member said that the Government of India forwarded to the Secretary of State the resolution of the last Assembly urging the limitation of power of certification possessed by the Viceroy. They recommended that no action should be taken on it.

Dr. Gour: When was the letter sent by the Government?

Home Member: Shortly after it was adopted by the Assembly.

Another question of Dr. Gour about the establishment of a Supreme Court in India drew forth an announcement from the Government on the subject. Sir Malcom Hailey said that there was no identity of opinion between the Local Governments, High Courts or local authorities, whether Indian or European, in favour of an early institution of a Supreme Court, while the question of its location also involved great difficulty.

REGULATION III AGAIN!

Sir Malcolm Hailey, replying to Dr. Gour's question about the repeal of Regulation III of 1818 and other repressive laws, said that the Repressive Laws Committee recommended the retention of the provisions of the Regulation III of 1818 for purposes specified in Paragraph 13 of their Report, including security of British dominions from foreign hostility. The Government of India announced their intention of accepting the recommendations of the Committee. No legislation for the amendment of the Regulation had been undertaken, nor did the Government consider it possible to undertake it in the present circumstances.

Mr. V. J. Patel: Are the Government aware that the use of these obnoxious Regulations would be absolutely wrong when full Responsible Government were introduced in India?

Sir Malcolm Hailey: It is a matter entirely of opinion.

Mr. Neogy: Do I take it that the Government do not accept the proposition laid down by the Committee that the majority of members viewed with deep and genuine disapproval the continuance of the repressive laws.

Sir Malcolm Hailey: The Government have already taken such action as they could under the circumstances.

Pandit Malaviya: Why could not action be taken under the ordinary law against persons who have been dealt with under the Regulation?

Home Member: If the Hon. Member will refer to the speeches of Lord Carmichael, Lord Ronaldshay and the recent address of Lord Lytton in the Bengal Council, he will have full information of the reasons for such actions.

Pandit Malaviya: I wish to know the opinion of the Government of India and not what the Governors said.

Home Member: We are entirely in accord with the Local Government.

MR RANGACHARIAR'S RESOL. ON FURTHER REFORMS.

Mr. Rangachariar then formally moved his resolution urging the revision

of the Government of India Act. Sir Malcolm Hailey informed the House that during the last two or three days they had been mutually endeavouring to come to the assistance of the House by framing the issues more clearly than have been put down in the resolution and amendments. Certainly, it would be in the interest of the Government if they could know where really the members stood. He was prepared to agree to the postponement of the discussion till Friday, the 8th. (Voices: Yes, yes) and formally moved the postponement which was agreed to.

Mr. Gandhi's Release.

Mr. Shanmukham Chetty intimated that he did not intend to move his resolution urging the release of Mr. Gandhi.

Railway and General Finance.

Mr. Neogy's resolution stood next asking for the publication of the Government proposals on the question of the separation of Railway Finance from General Finance before their final adoption. He also intimated that he would not move his resolution as he was assured that Government proposals on the subject would be placed before the House.

Indian Territorial Force

Mr. VENKATAPATHY Raju then moved his resolution: "(a) for amalgamation of the Indian Territorial Force and the Auxiliary Force for the combined purpose of supplementing the regular forces in support of civil power and for internal security and as a second line to the regular army and the removal of all distinctions whatever, in the matter of duties and privileges. (b) To increase the strength, by the annual addition of ten thousand, till it reaches a figure which would enable a gradual reduction of the regular forces by one half of the present strength, for peace establishment. (c) To provide adequate fund for the efficient organisation and training of the same service for military purposes by a corresponding reduction in other avoidable military expenditure."

Mr. Venkatapathi Raju dilated on the urgent necessity of removing all racial distinctions at a time when the country was awakened and almost on the eve of receiving Self-Government. The Labour Ministry in England should help in the policy of trusting Indians and opening the doors of the Auxiliary Force to Indians. Mr. Raju's voice was almost inaudible but Mr. Bepin Ch. Pal in support made a very forceful speech. Mr. Pal declared that no Swaraj was possible without Indians manning their Army and here was his offer of full and faithful service of Empire through the Army. Would Govt. take it? He ended: "Distrust of India is not the way to order but to disorder."

Pandit MALAVIYA moved an amendment which, he said, would better meet the object in view:—

'That a Committee be appointed to investigate and report what steps should be taken to improve and expand the Indian Territorial Force so as to constitute it as an efficient second line of reserve of the regular Army and also to remove all racial distinctions in the constitution of the non-regular military forces in India, including the Indian Auxiliary Force.'

Pandit Malaviya said that till the Reforms Act had been passed, the Government in this country never conceived of ever handing over the administration of this country to Indians. Hereafter, the Government must make up its mind to declare that army affairs in India were to remain in the hands of British officers only for a short period. Mr. Burdon, the Secretary, was not a Military man, and the speaker

should like to see an Indian Civilian in his place and later as member of the Viceroy's Council in charge of National Defence. For the time, they could leave regular troops in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, but for the organisation of non-regular forces, the Indian Member should be in charge, for his words would inspire greater confidence that the Government was seriously considering preparation of Indians for national defence. He complained why should an Indian, if he wanted to join the Auxiliary Force, be told that the door was shut to him? He further considered that educational institutions in India for military career were not adequate and satisfactory, and there were too many restrictions. They had only to look to British and Japanese methods to find that the conditions here were extremely difficult. They should try to have citizens' guards and see that military expenditure was reduced. These could be left to a Committee to work out.

H. E. the Commander-in-Chief accepted the amendment. The progress of the Territorial Force had, he said, a soft place in his heart, but he was sorry to note that in some of the units the degree of efficiency was not quite satisfactory. From the point of view of the future existence of the Territorial Force itself the fusion demanded in the resolution would have nothing but disastrous results. During the course of the debate he noticed with regret certain amount of extraneous eloquence suggesting the existence of racial feeling and racial discrimination as between the Territorial and Auxiliary Forces. He added: "From my experience, and I have greater experience of both the Territorial and Auxiliary Forces than any member of this House, I confess this racial discrimination referred to is more or less confined to this House. (Laughter) To a very large extent it is sentimental, but it is far more prevalent here than it is in the Army. I am prepared to accept the amendment, because I shall do anything to assist in improving and increasing the efficiency of the Territorial Force within the limits imposed by the Secretary of State.

Pandit Malaviya: What are these limits?

C-in-C: There are now 15,000 men in the Territorial Force and the limit imposed at present is 20,000.

Pandit Malaviya: If the consideration of the Committee is to be limited to enlistment of 20,000, then I think it is better for me to withdraw my amendment.

C-in-C: The limit is 20,000 but if the units continue to be a success we can consider the expansion of the Territorial Force. I have no objection to advocating further progress.

Pandit Malaviya: If the Committee is asked to report as to the number that should be enlisted in the Territorial Force, then only I would press my amendment.

C-in-C: That is covered by the wording of your amendment.

The amendment was then put to vote and carried.

FEBRUARY 6TH—OFFICIAL BILLS.

On FEB. 6th the Legislative Assembly re-assembled with an official legislative programme on the order paper consisting of introduction of bills amending the Tariff Act, Merchant Shipping Act, Passport Act, and a Bill constituting a Central Board of Revenue. The final reading of the Coinage Act Amendment Bill and election of Public Account and Finance Committees were the last items on the agenda.

TARIFF ACT AMENDMENT

Sir Charles Innes introduced a Bill to amend the Tariff Act 1894. The objects of the amendment was explained as follows: It has come to notice that matches, cigarettes etc. on which import duties

are leviable when imported by sea are being brought in considerable quantities over land frontiers. The Government of India have not at present power to levy duties on articles following these land routes as the Indian Tariff Act 1894 only authorises levy of duties on goods crossing the frontiers of certain frontier European settlements in India and of such territory of any Indian chief as is declared to be foreign territory for purposes of Section 5 of that Act. The object of this bill is to revise this Act to enable the Government of India to levy customs duties on any articles imported or exported as the case may be by land from or to any territory outside British India which is declared to be foreign territory for the purposes of the Act.

The Bill was introduced.

Changes in Merchant Shipping Act

Mr. Butler next introduced the Bill to amend the Indian Merchants Shipping Act 1923. The object of the Bill is explained thus :—For some years past repatriation of destitute pilgrims from Jeddah has been a source of anxiety and recurring expenditure to the Government of India. The welfare of Indian pilgrims as a whole has also been endangered by the presence amongst them of those who had not means to perform pilgrimage. Various attempts have been made from time to time to arrive at a solution of the problem on a voluntary basis, but without success. In March 1923 the Central Haj Committee resolved that in view of the experience gained the best remedy was to institute a system of compulsory return tickets if necessary by legislation. The Government of India are convinced that a solution on lines of compulsory provision for return journey is only one which will prove satisfactory. The Bill is intended to give power to prescribe that no pilgrim who intends to return to India after performing pilgrimage shall be allowed to leave from any port in British India unless he is in possession of a return ticket or has deposited a sufficient sum to meet the cost of the return journey.

A Central Revenue Board

Sir Basil Blackett next introduced the Bill to constitute a Central Revenue Board and define its powers and functions. The statement of objects and reasons appended to the Bill states :—The Indian Retrenchment Committee report recommended that in order to free the Government of India Secretariat proper from the functions of detailed administrative control exercised by it in past the scope of the present Board of Inland Revenue should be enlarged to include Customs, Salt, Opium and also Excise and Stamps so far as the Central Government was concerned, the Government with the approval of the Secretary of State have decided to adopt this recommendation and to constitute a Central Board of Revenue in which the Board of Inland Revenue created by the Income Tax act will be merged. The present Bill is designed to provide for the constitution of such a Board on a statutory basis, to transfer to it functions of the Board Inland Revenue under Income Tax Act and also to appoint it as the Chief Customs authority under Sea Customs Act 1878. The Bill further provides for transfer to Central Board of Revenue of most of the powers and duties assigned by the Sea Customs Act to local Governments.

Indian Passport Act Amendment

Mr. Howell introduced the Bill to amend the Indian Passport Act. This intended to impose penalty for breach of condition of a transhipment of transit visa requiring holder to leave India by a specified date. This measure would discourage aliens from staying in the country longer than necessary.

Mr. Neogy on South African Coal

On FEB. 7TH the Legislative Assembly met to discuss Mr. Neogy's motion urging imposition of countervailing duty on the bounty-fed coal of South Africa and Mr. V. Razu's motion urging for reduction in Provincial contributions.

Mr. K. C. Neogy moved: "that in view of the recent depression in the Indian Coal Trade a countervailing duty be imposed on the South African Coal imported into India to the extent of the indirect bounty enjoyed by it in the shape of rebate on Railway freight under provisions of Section 8 (A) of the Indian Tariff Act 1894 (VIII of 1894) as amended and in pursuance of the policy indicated by the Indian Fiscal Commission in Paragraph 141 of their report."

Mr. Neogy in moving the resolution quoted figures to show that whereas in pre-war days the average export of coal from India was four lakhs tons, the figures in 1923 instead of showing export revealed net import of five lakhs of tons. Therefore India which contained several coal-fields including Raneeganj and Jharria both of which are alone capable of producing so much as 34 per cent of the total output, was now dependent on foreign coal to the extent of five lakhs of tons. This large import was due to the vigorous resumption of coal trade by the foreign countries. Moreover, there was the embargo on the export of Indian coal placed in January, 1921. The speaker did not suggest that Government were actuated in this step by any nefarious motives, but the result had been that India had lost its foreign market and Indian coal trade was placed in a very unfavourable position. A study of the figures relating to the import of coal from South Africa showed that there had been an extraordinary increase facilitated by an indirect bounty granted by Government of South Africa and Railways of South Africa in the shape of rebate. With a view to compete with foreign trade a combine was started in India which undertook to offer coal at the rate of two rupees less than the ruling price, but there was no margin of profit left and many of the mines began to close down and several others were yielding no profit. In conclusion Mr. Neogy said: I am fortified in demanding the imposition of countervailing duty on the South African coal by the precedent created in Lord Curzon's time in regard to Australian sugar. I put forward this claim on behalf of the struggling industry which is owned mostly by Indians. The amount of bounty on South African coal has come down from eighteen shillings nine pence to seven shillings nine pence in three years. If is inconceivable that South African Government would continue this bounty for ever so as to enable the Indian consumer to have cheap coal. I do not suppose Government will ask this House to rely on the charity of the countrymen of General Smuts for the supply of their coal.

PANDIT SHAMLAL NEHRU and other Swarajists raised the racial question and supported Mr. Neogy's proposition as a retaliatory measure upon South Africa.

THE GOVERNMENT OPPOSITION

SIR CHARLES INNES, Commerce Member, opposed the resolution and placed before the House all the facts justifying Govt. opposition to the motion. He defended the South African Govt. and denied that there was any sinister plot on the part of South Africa to kill the coal industry in India. He advanced one argument after another and hurled statistics relating to the price of coal, transportation charges and various other things, which were no doubt very convincing in themselves. But the

non-officials were not satisfied because the Commerce Member had not met their argument of which one was that Railway wagons were not supplied to Indian coal merchants to carry their coal to the Bombay market and then compete with South African coal which was being dumped at a reduced rate because of the bounty given by the Union Government. Sir Charles Innes then took shelter under the plea that coal could be carried cheaper by sea from Kidderpore docks then by railways as now, and even attempted to prove that this form of transport to Bombay was cheaper by three rupees and admonished the Indian Merchants for want of enterprise, that the quality of their commodity was inferior to that coming from South Africa, and therefore they were not able to face competition, especially in Bombay where quality was the first consideration, and so on.

He was effectively silenced by SIR PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS, the Chairman of the Indian Merchants Chamber of Bombay, and Pt. Malaviya who doubted the rebate figures quoted by Sir Charles. It was their view that Government of India did not possess information which could enable them to oppose the resolution.

After a lengthy discussion the resolution was carried by a majority of 77 to 39 against Govt. This was the first triumph of the Nationalists and the result was announced amidst loud non-official cheers, the Swarajists having voted solidly against Govt.

Reduction of Provincial Contributions.

MR VENKATAPATRI RAJU next moved the following resolution:—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to make necessary arrangements in framing the Budget for 1924-25 for giving substantial relief to the Provinces in the matter of provincial contributions and, in any event, not less than three crores be reduced from the amount of provincial contributions in 1924-25 to enable the provincial government to spend more money for development purposes, sanitation and education."

Mr. Venkatapatiraju said he did not want favour to any particular province but what he was asking for was bare justice. He pointed out the disabilities from which provincial Ministers suffered in the task of educational and sanitary improvement. Madras, he said, was hard hit because of the huge contributions she was making to the Imperial Exchequer. He said: Government made a different pledge to us and I want them to carry it out. Every province was solvent except Madras. So on the eve of balancing their budget he pressed the case of Madras for favourable consideration.

SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD opposed the resolution and said Madras was the last province that was entitled to complain about the Meston Settlement. While industrial provinces like Bombay and Bengal suffered from dislocation of trade, aggricultural provinces like Madras, C. P. and the Punjab came with request for remission. The only solution of the difficulties in this matter was the appointment of an impartial tribunal to review the whole question and report at an early date.

SIR BASIL BLACKETT in opposing the resolution said that there could not be any examination of the question as the budget was to be presented on the 29th Feb. It was impossible for Govt. therefore to accept the resolution at that stage. He accordingly moved that the debate be adjourned SINE DIE.

After further discussion the motion of Sir Basil Blackett for postponement of the debate SINE DIE was adopted.

Debate on Constitutional Advance

On FEBRUARY 8TH the adjourned motion of Mr. Rangachariar on Constitutional advance came up for discussion. The House was over crowded with visitors and more than hundred members attended and the debate was listened to with breathless interest. People who expected a strong spirited speech from him were a little disappointed by the conciliatory mood, the cautious wording, and the pursuasive and entreating tone of his whole speech. He tried to please both the people and the bureaucracy and succeeded in pleasing none. Sir Malcolm Hailey's reply on the other hand was characterised by the usual bureaucratic pose of grave responsibility. It was a singular piece of audacity on his part to say that Dominion status was impossible to think of for the present. The Viceroy had already committed himself to that attitude in his opening speech and the Home Member had no alternative but to set up any sort of defence conceivable in the circumstances. He made a nice distinction between Dominion Status and full Responsible Government. He put together, doubtless in his exceedingly tactfull manner, familiar obstacles to full Home Rule in India: The one omission he made was supplied by Sir Campbell Rhodes who was afraid of the general unfitness even of the educated classes to maintain law and order. The alarms of British capital and of the British services found due places in Sir Malcolm's enumeration, as also the usual solicitude for Indian Princes, zamindars and other vested interests.

Pandit Motilal Nehru moved his amendment in an out-spoken speech. He made clear the position of his party. Though they were non-co-operators they had come there to offer co-operation to Government if the Government cared to have it. The only condition underlying that offer was a complete overhauling of the Government of India Act according to the wishes of the people. The people were no longer satisfied with Government committees and commissions. They wanted a Round-Table Conference; for a Round-Table Conference was the only way of recognising the right of self-determination which the people of India claimed with one voice.

MR. RANGACHARIAR moved:—

> "This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he be pleased to take at a very early date the necessary steps including, if necessary, the appointment of a Royal Commission for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-Governing Dominion status within the British Empire and Provincial Autonomy in the provinces."

Mr. Rangachariar in moving the resolution spoke for forty minutes. He prefaced his speech by referring to the general feeling of non-officials when they first put their shoulders to the wheel of the Reformed constitution. He like several others was then optimistic about the growth of the constitution, but was rather suspicious of the attitude of the Government members. But Sir Malcolm Hailey, as Finance Member of that time, declared that it was by a mandate of the Assembly that taxation would be imposed. Lord Rawlinson said that he was a humble servant of India. These and other expressions of the attitude of the Government members removed the speaker's suspicion and he put his

heart and soul into the working of the Reforms much to the annoyance of his friends like Pundit Motilal Nehru, whom he welcomed now in this House (hear, hear). As one who during the last few days was closely associated with non-co-operators like Pandit Nehru, Mr. Rangachariar said that all of them in this House were working for the common good of the country—a fact which some of the Executive Councillors might have understood from their talks with Non-co-operators.

Mahatmaji's Release.

Proceeding, Mr. Rangachariar referred to the atmosphere created by the magnanimous and statesman-like act of Lord Reading (?) in releasing that great man, that great friend of the English Government, Mr. Gandhi (a voice: say, Mahatma). By this act Lord Reading had also created an atmosphere suitable for a full and free discussion of this resolution. Mr. Rangachariar hoped that with the advent of the Labour Government in England good days were in store for India. The object with which the people who brought about the present constitution was to get a Government with the consent and co-operation of the people. There was no mistake about the fact that the goal was full responsible Government. There could be no going back upon it. If there was no going back then they must examine the machinery to find out if India was properly laid on the road to responsible Government. During the last three years they worked the constitution whole-heartedly and so far as the central Government was concerned he found that the machinery was absolutely defective.

Where was the next Step?

Lord Reading in proroguing the last Assembly had said that they had taken one great step forward in the progressive realisation of the responsible Government and now Mr. Rangachariar asked, where was the next step? Should India walk backward and forward over the ground they had walked? "If our goal is really responsible Government then I say we are fit for it to-day. It is impossible to have a middle course. There may be safety-valves here and there, there may be reservations as regards Army, Navy and Foreign and political relations, but so far as domestic affairs are concerned, the internal development of the country is concerned, it is impossible to provide for partial responsible Government in the way it is provided. If you create a sense of responsibility then I am sure we will respond to that trust and there will be no betrayal of that trust. Trust begets trust and responsibility breeds responsibility. The present state of things cannot and should not continue for long. The whole country wants Swaraj and does not care for anything else. Every voter understands the meaning of his vote and for every voter there are a hundred who though voteless still understand the meaning of every vote recorded. This resolution of mine records the verdict of the nation. I am sure Lord Reading will not turn a deaf ear to the demand. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, after coming out of the office of Law Member of the Government, said that the machinery is weak and cannot work long. I am sure that is also the experience of some persons in local Governments. I have not got first-hand knowledge of the machinery myself. I have only been trying to rub my nose against the glass-walls around the machinery. (Laughter.) We want a running machinery and we want to take it by consent and by co-operation. That is the real secret of the non-co-operation movement. We want Dominion status abroad and Responsible Government in internal affairs of India. It would be criminal to refuse this demand.

The Government Reply

SIR MALCOLM HAILEY, the Home Member, replied on behalf of Government. The main drift of his speech was that the Indian Princes, European Commerce, minorities and other interests had a right to know whether Government contemplated at an early date making themselves responsible to the Indian Legislature. His reply was that until the question of defence, communal differences, provincial relations, social advance, etc were solved, no British Government could recommend to Parliament the grant of immediate responsible Government. The objective of the Government of India Act was Responsible Government, not full Dominion Status. But Government was willing to examine officially the defects of the existing system. This might result in expansion under the present Act or change of the Act and when the Government presented their result to Parliament, they would ask the Secretary of State to allow the fullest discussion of the proposals in India.

Following immediately after Mr. Rangachariar, Sir Malcolm Hailey took early opportunity to explain the Government's attitude on the motion. Mr. Rangachariar's resolution wanted at an early date the grant of responsible government with Dominion Status. Before this demand the question of grant of provincial autonomy was very minor and almost one of domestic concern. "I will address myself at once to the main proposition that India is ready for Dominion Status We cannot afford to let any one remain in doubt about our attitude on that point. There are many interests concerned. There are the Indian States. I do not say that their attitude is likely to be on this matter of great imporance. They would like to know whether they will continue as hithertofore to deal with the Governor-General-in-Council who is responsible to British Parliament or with the Executive Government responsible to the Indian Legislature. Then again the European commerce and those who have put in vast sums of capital into India and are daily increasing the sphere of their operations, and our services, both civil and military, would like to know whether we contemplate a radical change at an early date. There are other extensive interests. There are minority communities. All these interests would like to know whether the Indian Government is prepared to recommend the step advocated and whether the British Government is prepared to entertain it.

Sir Malcolm Hailey proceeded to give answer by examining fully the position in India to-day. He first made it clear that in the August announcement, as well as in the preamble of the Government of India Act, the words "Responsible Government" had been deliberately put. Dominion Self Government was wider than responsible Government. Under the Dominion Status not only the executive would be responsible to the legislature but the legislature would in itself have full powers which were enjoyed by the Dominions and were typical of the modern nations. It might be that full Dominion Self Government was the logical outcome and corollary of Responsible Government. Nay it might be the inevitable development, but there was a difference between the two. Having pointed out the objective of British policy as outlined in the Government of India Act, he proceeded to show that the next point in the Act was that progress must be by successive stages and that it had been accepted by leaders of Indian thought which he attempted to prove by quotations from old history. The memorandum presented by the members of the old Imperial Council had not even asked for

the early attainment of full responsible Government. The Calcutta Congress of 1917 asked for it within a period of 5 years i e. by 1923. Mrs. Besant accepted successive stages before the Joint Committee because the country must be prepared. The Delhi Congress of 1918 presided over by Pundit Malaviya was satisfied with responsibility in the provinces. Mr. Patel, a Congress delegate before the Joint Committee did not ask for immediate grant of ful responsible Government and accepted examination at the end of ten years and wanted full responsibility within fifteen years. The late Mr. Tilak also stood for the fifteen years limit. Mr. Jinnah speaking on behalf of Muslim League did not ask for Dominion Status or even immediate Responsible Government (laughter). The present Premier speaking in 1917 had admitted that the introduction of Representative Government in India was bound to be a slow and a difficult process.

Continuing Sir Malcolm Hailey said that the stage of transition had been accepted by all but now a position was brought forward in 1924 asking that those stages be dispensed with. He also quoted Mr. Rangachariar's own speeches in the last Assembly where he realised that the progress must be by stages. He then proceeded to show what stood in the way of immediate assumption of responsibility by the Indian Legislature. He referred to the movement within the Congress for separation from British Empire but those in the Assembly could only regard themselves bound to constitutional ideals and constutional methods, and with regard to this matter he would like to take the same attitude which Pundit Motilal Nehru took at Gaya when he described the decision of the Congress as a 'hotch potch of pious wishes with a few threats thrown in to season the dish for the acceptance of the more impatient non-co-operators.' He would not deal with the work done by the Legislature during the past three years or with the fact that the constructive programme of those who boycotted them had been confessed to have been barren of result. The first question was: would Indian Princes accept today the transfer of responsibility to Indian Legislature so far as their relations were concerned? Then again conception of full responsible Government with Dominion status meant entrusting the interests of minorities in the hands of a majority. The spectacle of the South African Government's treatment of an important minority of Indians was before them for a lesson. Then again there was the question of communal differences. The clause in the National Pact confessed that the only obstacle to attainment of Swaraj was the lack of mutual understanding among the communities of India. Had the Bengal Pact, he asked, brought peace in Bengal or a sword?

He then quoted from Mr. Pal's writing which deprecating communal differences said that if the British authority was withdrawn it would result in chaos. He also quoted from the Congress Civil Disobedience Committee where it was admitted that the great difficulty in the way of advancement was religious susceptibilities of Indian people. Quoting Mr. Jamnadas Mehta he said that the "so-called unity is unreal and illusory and to-day we must confess with shame that we are not fit for Swaraj" (Laughter.) He assumed that no one deplored the communal differences more than the Government but their existence had to be recognised and a solution found.

The next point on which a Government stands or falls was defence. Dominion Status meant Dominion army. The Home Member asked: Has India got the army manned by her nationals in all ranks? With a powerful neighbour this question of defence was important and further, in case of aggression what would be the attitude of an im-

portant community in India? This was an alarming consideration. I will not refer here to the damaging fact that the controversialists have not yet decided whether, if we were invaded by what is for the moment our most powerful neighbour, one of our great communities ought to stand apart or even to join the enemy. The President of the last Congress admitted, though in another connection, that the fighting classes in India were sharply divided from the rest of the people in the country. Remember its implications. I warn my friends of non-martial classes that the power which is now placed in their hands by the ballot box will speedily gravitate to the other hands when there will be no British officers and no British troops to hold the balance.

No Dominion Status to India!

After referring to social drawbacks in India, Sir Malcolm Hailey said: "These problems cannot be solved by a simple change in the form of the constitution. Until these problems remain unanswered, no British Government however constituted would make any recommendation to British Parliament for immediate responsibility and the British Parliament will not agree to such a proposal. We should not flatter ourselves with impossibilities. But we do not propose to stand still in the matter. We maintain that the objective of the Government of India Act is not full Dominion status but Responsible Government. We do not deny that the former may be a corollary to the latter. But for present our objective is Responsible Government only. We maintain, as the Act maintains, the necessity of stages in the realisation of that ideal, and we maintain that the first stage of that transition has not yet been sufficiently tested.

Continuing the Home Member regretted that a section of the people had stood aloof from the Reforms and that even those who were working it had put obstacles either because they did not like the nationality or design or because they found the machine difficult to work. The machine was very delicate. It depended on the co-operation of all to work it smoothly. In place of that there had been non-co-operation reaching against the working of the reformed machinery. —wholly for reasons quite extraneous to the scheme itself.

As to the action the Govt. proposed to take, Sir Malcolm said: We would investigate complaints against the present scheme of Govt. In investigating difficulties and defects in the actual working of the present contitution, we shall consult the Local Governments on the subject. Our object will be to find the defects in the working of the present transition system. It may be that the remedy will be found by advancing within the Act. It may be that we may be able to do much by those sections of the Government of India Act S. 19-A and others. Enquiry may show what other changes are required in the structure. When we send our results for presentation to Parliament we shall ask the Secretary of State to give every opportunity for discussion both in the legislature and elsewhere before they are finally submitted to Parliament. This is as far as we can go at present, but unless the best of India is with us, then our labour will be in vain.

Pt. Motilal Nehru's Amendment

Pandit Motilal Nehru moved the following amendment on behalf of the newly formed Nationalist Party—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full Responsible Government in India and for the said purpose

(a) to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities the scheme of a constitution for India, and,

(b) after dissolving the Central Legislature, to place the said scheme for approval before a newly elected Indian Legislature for its approval and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a statute.

Pandit Motilal Nehru on rising was received with rousing cheers. He thanked Mr. Rangachariar for the welcome extended to the Swarajists and he was particularly glad to find that Mr. Rangachariar has unconciously admitted that he was not far removed from the Swarajists, for when referring to the glass door against which he was rubbing his nose and throwing stones he was voicing what every Swarajist had also been voicing for some time past and what the Congress ever since it resorted to the policy of non-co-operation had been preaching in the country. He therefore hoped that Mr. Rangachariar would be a valuable acquisition to the non-official ranks. Proceeding Pandit Nehru said that the first part of the resolution relating to Self-Government was unexceptionable. There was a deep-seared desire for Swaraj and when that desire was genuine and proceeded from the natural instinct and determination to attain it, the requisite for full responsible government had been established. That desire for Swaraj had passed through the ordeal of fire and had come out unscathed and pure. What Indians now wanted was complete overhauling of the Government of India Act but the Home member had said that Responsible Government could be granted in successive stages and by the British Parliament and that Parliament alone was the judge of the manner and measure of each advance and that therefore the preamble of the Government of India Act precluded them from making any such demand.

The Pandit on behalf of non-officials in the House declared that the preamble was as bad as it could possibly have been devised to postpone and stifle and suppress the natural desire for Swaraj. The Government of India Act had done India a gross injustice in the preamble and in the subsequent provisions of it which refused to Indians full rights of responsible government. Indians asked either for a revision or a repeal of the act and in saying so he did not think they were guilty of any impropriety. In insisting on the working of the reforms as they stood, Indians were asking all that was necessary to secure the inevitable establishment of responsible government after all the stages mentioned in the amendment had been taken.

The Congress had since 1919 demanded full responsible government or Swaraj and Sir Malcolm Hailey could not therefore convince the Members in this House by quoting the views of Congressmen expressed before that time as he had endeavoured to do. The amendment did not ask for complete responsible government to be handed to them at once tied up in a bundle, but only after a Round Table Conference had drafted the constitution and referred it to a new Assembly and submitted to Parliament to be embodied in a statute. But there should be no conditions imposed on the consideration of a Round Table Conference—conditions which Sir Malcolm Hailey had referred to.

Continuing the Pandit said "My proposition is one which has been toned down in order to meet the wishes of non-Swarajists in the Assembly. It is therefore a modest request to which there can be no possible objection even from Government. We are putting before you an honest and fair demand. (Mr. Jinnah : hear hear). It is not

therefore fair to threaten us of consequences of pressing this demand. I don't think anything deserves the name of a constitution for a country if the people of that country had no voice in drafting it. The Swaraj party has sought the suffrage of electors not to engage itself in the humdrum business of putting questions and getting answers and in the progress marked out under the acts of successive stages and so on. We have come here to do something which the Assembly has not been doing so far. Here we have come to offer you our co-operation, non-co-operators as we are all, if you would agree to hear us. (Hear hear). If you don't hear us then I say we consider ourselves to be men and we stand by our rights and continue to be non-co-operators. (Hear, hear). This is no threat. This is no new idea. We have been working outside the Councils with a definite object and that object we have still in view and we consider that object to be perfectly legitimate.

Sir, we have been referred to as a party of destruction. We admit we are out to destory things that are evil. Rightly or wrongly we think that the present reforms are a thing of evil. That is why we want to meet, to hear, discuss and come to a definite conclusion. If you care, well and good. Otherwise we agree to differ and the issues will be clarified."

The Pandit then referred to arguments used by Sir Malcolm Hailey and said the British Public was an altogether intangible body, something like a will-o'-the-wisp. Indians should therefore decide what to do without that extraneous body. The representative Round Table must be really representative. This was an essential condition. Like the Home Member, Pahdit Nehru also wanted that the best of India should agree to anything that was to be done and that was why he wanted that. The draft of the constitution should be examined by a new Assembly which would contain the best of Indians. Pandit Moti lal welcomed the representatives of Indian States into the Conference. Unless there was Indianisation of Civil Service there would be no end, he said, to Hindu-Muslim troubles. Concluding amidst applause the Pandit hoped the Home Member would reconsider his observations in regard to the conditions imposed on the enquiry.

ONLY A DEPARTMENTAL ENQUIRY

The Home Member again explained the Government attitude on this question. He said Government were unable to depart from the principle of the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 which laid down the policy to be realisation of responsible Government in British India by successive stages. The Government of India would ask the Secretary of State to allow fullest opportunity for discussion in the Legislature and elsewhere before the proposals were finally submitted to Parliament.

Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas:—So I take it that it is a departmental enquiry!

Sir Malcolm Hailey,—That it so.

Mr. C. Doraiswamy Iyengar in supporting the ammendment moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru withdrew the amendments of which he had himself given notice. One of these amendments was that full responsible government must be immediately given. The other was that there should be no Royal Commission. He assured the European capitalist that when India got responsible government European capitals sunk in India would be safer than the Indian capital under the present Government. Indian States would be happier when there was national Government in India. Hindu-Muslim unity was, he said,

almost an accomplished fact in India. The masses were far advanced to-day and they all demanded Swaraj.

DR. GOUR expressed disappointment at the Home Members speech wherein he had resisted every form of enquiry and had merely suggested departmental enquiry by the Executive Govt. Sopposing such an enquiry was undertaken in earnest what promise the Home Member would give that it would not take some considerable time to report and by that time ten years would not lapse. He added we have no guarantee that this enquiry would lead to anything.

He next quoted from Mr. Montagu's speeches made in the House of Commons, during the consideration of the last Reforms Act, that transition was merely meant to lead to ultimate goal at the earliest possible moment. Mr. Montagu had also indicated that the backwardness in India's own defence must not stand in the way of grant of responsibility. Dr. Gour pointed out the difficulty of formulating a scheme by a Round Table Conference in the face of political reactionaries like Sir Campbell Rhodes (Laughter). He moved his amendment favouring the calling of a representative convention and his amendment in other respects followed that of Pandit Motilal expect that it omitted the reference to dissolution of legislature.

MR. JINNAH supporting Pundit Nehru's amendment said he would not share the opinion of those who considered the Government reply as disappointing. He recognised the Government announcement as first step in the recognition of necessity for revising the Government of India and instituting departmental enquiry but he differed from the Home Member about the procedure. Government's scheme was to be formulated in secret chambers of the Executive Council and it was to be presented to the Secretary of State before being placed in the hands of legislature. This was putting the cart before the horse. Pundit Motilal's amendment proposed the best course. If Government wanted the best of India to be with them they must summon the Round Table Conference. He complained that the Home Member had raised the bogey of immediate grant of responsible Government. He made it clear that they were not asking for immediate responsibility but immediate steps towards that direction. (Mr. Rangachariar: Hear hear.) The Reforms had failed and necessity for revision was urgent. He took the Home Member's words for what they meant but his difference with Government lay about the methods. He believed the method of Round Table Conference was better and he would be prepared to support if any still better method was proposed. As for dissolution of legislature, he knew it would mean expense and worry and would not be worth the paper on which it would be written if electors created by the Reform Act did not approve it. He showed that the Home Member had quoted him partially and added that reference to observation made before the Reforms era was superfluous.

Sir Campbell Rhodes of the Bengal Chamber gave vent to the European non-official view and Mr. Moir of Madras represented the European Services. Both emphasised the right of Britain to be the arbiter of India and questioned the audacity of the Indians to frame their own constitution and present it to Parliament. To every demand their reply was 'not yet.' The two speeches expressed the British exploiters' view and were not taken seriously of by the non-official members.

It was now 5·30 p. m. and on the suggestion of the Home Member, the debate was adjourned to the 13th February.

Debate on Constitutional Advance—contd.

ON FEB. 13th, the adjourned debate on Mr. Rangachariar's Motion was resumed. As before the public galleries were again crowded. There were eleven speakers on this day.

After some formal official business the President said he proposed to arrive at an early decision on Dr. Gour's Amendment in order that the other amendments may be discussed. The following is Dr. Gour's amendment :—

"To summon at an early date a representative convention to prepare with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities a scheme of a constitution for India and to submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a statute."

Sir PURUSHOTTAMDAS Thakurdas set the ball rolling. He said the Reforms presented a compromise, but their working had spread discontent not only among the non-co-operators, but even among those who agreed to work the Reforms sincerely. The reason was that every Indian had come to realise that whatever he might do he could not do real good to India under the existing system. At one time it was thought that Indians engaged in commerce and industry should keep away from politics, and representing that community he said he must explain that if he was voicing on their behalf the feeling that Swaraj was alone the remedy, it was because in their own sphere they had also come to realise that there were insurmountable walls of big European monopolies and combinations on all sides against which they had to contend. Moreover, the Britisher had not worked the reforms in the proper spirit. In recommending further changes they knew that law and order would be maintained. In reply to the Home Member he assured them that fear of interference with British commerce was imaginary. Indians would not behave like the Whites in Kenya by depriving them of equal rights of citizenship, but under Swaraj every foreigner in the country would enjoy equal rights (hear, hear), but they would not permit any special privileges and monopolies. He opposed the idea of a Royal Commission. Such Commissions never give much and there was already one Commission in the country before which the Services were putting forward demands which the finances of the country could never bear. The resolution of Pandit Motilal had put forward the legitimate demands of Indians and even then English members like Sir Campbell Rhodes had held out the prospect of military dictatorship or introduction of Martial Law. Was that the reply, he asked, to the Indians' legitimate aspirations? The Government proposal for enquiry he characterised as halting and leading nowhere.

Pandit Malaviya.

Pandit MALAVIYA supported Pandit Motilal's proposition. In Reply to the Home member who had spoken as if India was a primitive country, he quoted history to prove that Indians were running excellently their administration before British rule. Even at present one third of India was ruled by Indians and was not worse governed than British India and subjects of Indian States were not worse off than the subjects in British territory. He asked them to look to Mysore and Baroda. The proposition of Pandit Motilal wanted a declaration to-day that responsible government was to be forthwith established in India subject to a period

of ten years or twenty years within which the British must sincerely work for enabling Indians to man their army and other services. Ever after India attained Swaraj, British officers would be welcome as co-workers in commerce and as advisers in the field of administration. He said the complete mismanagement of Law and Order since the Reforms showed that it should no longer be left to be administered in the present manner and without the responsibility of the executive. He drew attention of the House that, unlike England, taxation to the extent of 41 crores had been imposed since the Reforms while in England it had been reduced. India had, he said, gone back and not progressed because the British bureaucracy would not take the measures which would really bring about progress. No proper colleges for civil and military training had been established. The Army Indianisation Scheme contemplated a course of hundred years' training! Banking facilities which alone could improve commerce and industry were lacking. The Gold and Currency Reserve was still held in London. How long are we to wait?—he asked. Progress by stages was unjust. India did not want to follow violent methods to win her freedom. She wanted to remain non-violent. She could not be violent because she had been deprived of arms and had no military training, but she had shed enough blood in the last war. He thought that as a result of the Indian help in the war, they would purchase their freedom, but that had not happened.

Concluding Pandit Malaviya said every nation had won its freedom—Ireland, Egypt and a host of other nations. India also longed for it and meant to have it before relations were further embittered. He appealed to the sense of justice of the British, who had so long kept Indians out, to admit the justice of their right and give them their Swaraj. He assured them that if proper guarantee was given and time fixed for Army Indianisation, Indians would be able to defend their country after that period.

As for communal differences of which so much was made by the Home Member, he said that it was Government who had put up the Mahomedans to raise the issue. It was at Lucknow that Indians themselves had settled their differences, and now again Indians alone would settle it themselves. (This drew loud applause from every section of the House, except of course the Europeans).

SIR BASIL BLACKETT, the Finance Member, who followed next, began to propound the British Trust theory, and said that somehow the British people found themselves meshed into responsibility for India, and though they were committed to grant Swaraj, there were enormous difficulties in the way. This complacent theory received a crushing reply later from Mr. Chamanlal, Swarajist member from the Punjab.

The Swarajist View

PT. MOTILAL'S speech in putting forth the Swarajist view was a marvel of sweet reasonableness, and one wondered how he toned down his remarks to create an atmosphere for the acceptance of his proposals. With consummate diplomacy he said there had been considerable change in the Government attitude during the last five weeks, and he hoped that before the debate concluded there might be more change in the government view-point to minimise their differences (hear, hear). He would not draw a comparison between the past and the present, but he knew that India was thoroughly discontented this moment. The

reason was more political than economic. The Government stood for the stages outlined in the Government of India Act, while he believed his proposition represented a compromise between the two extremes among Indians and it was the minimum that they asked for. They had heard of the theory of British trustee-ship. Who appointed the trustees and where was the legal or moral sanction for it? The British came as tradesmen and afterwards took up government, but even if there was a trust the time had come when it should be honourably and honestly discharged and terminated. India was not prepared to tread the path of violence. The whole world had progressed after the war and progress of centuries had been made in weeks. It was therefore no use quoting the opinions given years ago by Indians. He admitted some Indians were impatient, but his resolution was a compromise. He was accustomed to deal with law.

His reading of the Reforms Act was that not a single decision of the House could be enforced against the will of the executive. Ultimate veto was there. There was therefore no element of real responsibility in the first stage granted by the Government of India Act. It was merely autocracy garbed in parliamentary form. He said in 1904 the Czar of Russia granted rights of citizensip to Russians, but he kept his autocratic powers unchanged and when asked for an explanation of repression the Czar said he had never given up his own powers. The speaker did not say that the British Government would also behave like the Czar, but there was nothing to prevent the British Government from doing so and the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act had already proved it to a degree. Different nations had travelled by different courses. India under a compelling necessity was determined to chalk out a way for herself.

They did not want a Royal Commission. What materials would the Commission take into account? There would be official and non-official evidence, one of which would cancel the other and nothing would come out. He believed that if there was a real desire for change there was no need of a Royal Commission. The words of the Ministers would carry greater weight with the Crown than any Commission. He would only accept a Round Table Conference. "I submit that my motion is put forward without mental reservation. It affords an opportunity to the Government to right itself with the people and to the people to right themselves with the Government (hear, hear). I am asking to-day for the very conference H. E. the Viceroy was willing to give in December 1921 provided certain conditions did not exist and those conditions do not exist to-day, This will give us an opportunity of explaining ourselves to you and you explaining yourself to us. I believe nothing is more likely to restore cordial relations and to obliterate the sad memories of the past as the Conference or a convention that I propose. Every interest will be represented on it, but if the Government spurns our offer we have learnt to depend upon ourselves." He opposed Dr. Gour's motion eliminating the proposal for a new election after the Conference drafted the constitution. He said it was the pledge that the Swarajists had given to the electors and there could be no real constitution which had not the approval of the people.

At this stage Dr. Gour's amendment was put and rejected.

The Council then adjourned for lunch.

On the House reassembling after lunch, Mr. Ramchandra Rao and Sir Abdul Quam supported the motion for constitutional advance, although the latter felt that the present Act had not been given a fair trial. His kith and kin in Afghanisthan were making rapid progress but the frontier people under the British were being neglected. On this Mr. Patel amidst laughter remarked that they had only to join the non-co-operation movement to secure not only reforms but also Swaraj.

Mr. V. J. Patel.

MR. PATEL who made a very humorous and pointed speech on behalf of his party remarked that the Finance Member had said that no body had questioned the bonafides of the Government's intention but the Finance Member had ignored the existence of the National Congress which had been questioning their bonafides year after year.

Sir Basil Blackett :—I said that nobody in this House has hitherto questioned our bonafides.

Mr. Patel.—Here I am questioning it (Laughter). The Government does not trust us and we do not trust them. Continuing he said this was the most opportune time to come to an agreement. The Labour Party was now in power. He referred to the amendments moved by Col. Wedgwood to the Reforms Bill in the H. of C. in 1919—that they wanted to grant India full responsible government with the exception of Army and Navy and also proposed the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council. This was what they now wanted and he hoped the Labour Party would agree to it. Further, Col. Wedgwood had opposed the Statutory Royal Commission at the end of ten years and had pledged in 1919 that if four years hence Labour came into power (which prophecy had come true) they would not feel bound to abide by the limit of ten years, if India asserted her right of self-determination and framing her own constitution. Col. Wedgwood's opposition was only silenced by Mr. Montagu declaring that there was nothing to prevent an earlier commission. The Congress had never accepted that the British Parliament or the Government of India would be the sole judge of India's advance. At present Indians in the Provinces and three Indians in the Central Government were entrusted with certain portfolios. If they were fit to administer these subjects, why not the rest also? In case of the Central Government if Indian members like Messrs. Chatterjee, Sarma and Shafi, could administer their departments and be responsible to the British electorate seven thousand miles away, why should they not be responsible to the electorate on the spot? At present the Army was under the control of the Civil Cabinet of the Government of India. He was sure that when Indians ruled no British officer or soldier would refuse to serve merely because of Indian control, and when India had shed so much blood in the defence of the Empire she had a right to expect that in case of trouble in the future other Dominions would also come to her help.

Sir Malcolm Hailey asked whether Mr. Patel wanted to depend on the British troops.

Mr. Patel :—Certainly (laughter). We are part of the Empire.

He explained fully that what we want was Responsible Government as an integral part of the British Empire. He asserted that the Reforms are a sham. They were out to mend or to end it. If the Government co-operated with them on the Conference, they were welcome, but he could not conceive of a Round Table Conference without

men like Mahatma Gandhi, the Ali Brothers, and Moulana Azad on it—a statement which dropped like a bomb-shell on the European members.

Col. GIDNEY, representing domiciled Anglo-Indians, said that he too stood for Swaraj but he deprecated undue haste. He made some strong and unsavoury remarks on Indians and emphasised that the country and the masses were not yet fit for self-Government.

Mr. CHAMAN LAL, the Punjab Swarajist, then made a very forceful speech and his exposition of naked truths had a telling effect. He said:—We in India representing as we do the people, represent the millions of India. The workers and the peasants and the middle classes claim that the time has come when the British Government should give complete Dominion status to India It is said that we people have no mandate behind us. May I ask the Hon'ble the Home Member whether he or his Government have got a mandate behind them? They have the mandate, I dare say, of machine guns and howitzers and Lewis guns and aeroplanes, but we have the mandate of the people, the suffering people, behind us and it is because of them and it is because it has been repeatedly expressed not in one Congress but during the last seven Congresses that the people of India are fit for Dominion status that we demand that status for our country. Referring to the British trust theory, he said:

If British rule is a mere administration, I think it is a failure. If it is a Government, it has no sanction behind it. If it is a trust, I say it deliberately and sincerely, it is a fraudulent trust.

Turning to the gradually increasing poverty of India under European exploitation, he said: Is it not a fact that the gradual impoverishment of India is leading to constant and uncoasing famines? From the 11th to the 18th century there were fifteen famines in India, all local, 3 famines which were all general, but that in the hundred years which were covered by the 19th century there were 31 famines in India, all general, and it has been computed that nearly 40 million lives were lost through starvation during the last half of the 19th century under British rule!

Concluding he said: I appeal to Hon'ble Members opposite to remember that there are 7 graves in the city of Delhi. They are the graves of seven vanished empires. There is another grave ready-made gaping wide, the eighth grave. Let that grave be the grave of this system, and across its ruins let us stretch out our hands, we the common people of India and the common people of Great Britain, in friendship and fellowship, bearing the message of the brotherhood of man and peace among the nations.

Maulvi Abul Kassim and Mr. Goswami of Bengal then made short speeches. The former was against Swaraj and raised the Hindu-Muslim bogey which had official approval. He referred to the Bengal Pact which the Hindus of Bengal, he said, opposed. Mr. Goswami controverted Mr. Kassim's statement and exposed the policy of intriguers.

It being now 6 p.m. the debate was adjourned to the 18th.

On FEBRUARY 18th the House was again crowded to hear the conclusion of the adjourned debate on Mr. Rangachariar's motion.

The first speaker was Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal who pressed for a committee of two-thirds of the House to outline a Self-Government Bill which the house turned down. Capt. Hira Singh and Sardar Bomanji Dalal next spoke on the side of Govt. opposing any constitutional advance. Then the House adjourned for lunch.

SIR SIVASWAMY AIYER who spoke next held the floor for nearly an hour and made a most telling speech, demolishing the grounds put forward by the Home Member. In supporting the resolution of Mr. Rangachariar he did not brush aside the arguments of the Government Member but he did not think there was any necessity for the subtle distinction made between responsible government and Dominion Self-Government. The Liberal Party, had never committed themselves to the position that responsible government must be realised in any specific number of stages or in any definite period of time. There was therefore no strength in the argument of Sir Malcolm Hailey that the demand now put forward was is excess of what was demanded a few years ago by the Indian politicians. If the demands put forward a few years ago had been accepted by the Government, there would have been some sort of a pact which they should not violate by any hasty demand but such a thing had not happened. The non-co-operators' attitude during the last three years was not any indication of incapacity to work the Reforms but dissatisfaction with them. That feeling of dissatisfaction ought to be removed. He said: "My experience of the working of the Reforms has been quite satisfactory. I found there was genuine sympathy and desire on the part of the Government to work the Reforms. Our trouble has really been with the authorities in England who interfered in season and out of season to turn down the policies accepted by the Government of India itself. To quote only one instance, there was a series of resolutions moved three years ago and accepted by the Government of India in the direction of Indianisation of the Army but most of them were turned down in England. If Government show a liberal attitude by admission of Indians in the higher ranks of the army, we shall also be prepared to shoulder our responsibility not only for the defence of India but for the defence of the British Empire also in cases of need."

Proceeding, Sir Sivaswamy emphasised the necessity of devising a suitable machinery to suggest a solution of the minorities question. Representative Government had always been recognised as a transitional stage towards responsible government. Responsible government was inevitable. Why then prolong the agony of travail towards it by Government persisting in not removing the causes of bitterness and distrust which sapped the moral foundations of the Government? He said: "I value the experience, skill and business knowledge of Englishmen and consider that British connection is necessary if the country is to be properly developed. I therefore entreat the Government to convey the wishes of the Assembly for further advance. I am not in favour of a Round Table Conference, because the result of its deliberations is not likely to prove acceptable to the British Parliament. I do not believe in a departmental enquiry. But I stand for a Royal "Commission". Turning to Pt. Nehru and his party, he said: "I do not believe that the process of obstruction or paralysation of Government will help us. If obstruction is lawful and constitutional, certification by the Viceroy is equally lawful and constitutional.

An attempt was made by the Government whips to get some nominated and reactionary members of the Muhammedan and the Sikh community on the plea of safeguarding minorities. The most weighty speech on the Muhammedan side was by Mr. Muhamed Yakub who being one of those who drew up the Lucknow Pact knows the Hindu-Muslim problem full well. He said at best the Muhammedan speakers had merely urged delay, but would dealy mean that Muhammedans in the interval would so fastly multiply as to out

number Hindus? This, he said, could not be possible even if they had the maximum number of wives. (Laughter). He said the present petty communal jealousies were due to the limited scope in service, but as soon as Swaraj was established these would disappear. He showed how Sir Malcolm Hailey had again played the game of 'divide and rule' by reminding Muhammedans that the Hindu majority might tyrannise over them and by telling the Hindu that Muhamedans might join the Afghan invaders. He assured that Muhamemdans who could fight the Khilafat army could easily fight the Afghan army to defend the freedom of their Motherland (Applause).

MR. RANGACHARIAR IN REPLY

After a few more speeches Mr. Rangachariar rose to reply. He said that he knew that the English race was obstinate, but obstinacy always yielded to reason. What the Indians wanted was not the sham thing but the real substance. He complained that the present Government of India Act was not an honest road to self-Government. Indians refused to be treated as children to be schooled in successive stages of responsible Government. Regarding minorities, he said that the Parsees came to this country even before the English and they were given their share of protection in India. The same treatment would be given to Mahommedans. The Mahommedan subjects in the Indian State of Kashmir under a Hindu Raja were free and the Hindus under the Nizam of Hyderabad were also free. There was no other way of getting over any of these fears than by the introduction of representative institutions.

If they trusted the Indians the latter would trust them. As Lord Carmichael pointed out in the debate in the House of Lords, the European capitalists besides attending to their own business in India ought also to have attended to the business of this country by joining the people and working for the common welfare. The demand of the nation was that the Government of India Act should be revised with the object of ensuring responsible Government. He supported any open method of enquiry in which the intelligentsia of the country would have a voice, whether it was a Committee or a Conference or a Commission or a Convention, but he wanted an open enquiry with the set purpose, namely, that of ensuring responsible Government. If it was the general desire of his friends that they should press for a Round Table Conference then he would gladly accept it.

THE GOVERNMENT REPLY

Sir Malcolm Hailey then addressed the House for a long time.

The major portion of the speech was directed to create dissensions among Nationalists and as if not satisfied with pitting some nominated Mohamedan and Sikh members against popular representatives he laboured at great length to draw the line between Liberalism and Swarajism and thus to divide the votes. His game was soon discovered and he had therefore to face a regular volley of interruptions whenever he misquoted or misinterpreted a member. He again raised the bogey of the demand for "immediate" grant of responsible government and had to be reminded thrice by Mr. Jinnah, Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Rangachariar that they mean nothing of the kind. As Mr. Shanmukam Chetty and Mr. Rangachariar put it, what was wanted was immediate steps to so amend the government of India Act as to ensure responsible Government on a definite and clear-cut basis. But Sir Malcolm Hailey finding that he could not proceed further on the basis of

Pundit Motilal's amendment began to quote the October manifesto of the Swaraj Party and declared that the Swarajists therein stood for the immediate grant of responsible Government. "Was'nt that so", he asked, "and if so, could Liberals vote for such a proposition along with the Swarajists"? He even suggested indirectly that the Swarajists were out-witting the Independents.

A VOLLY OF INTERRUPTIONS

Pundit Motilal took up the question and showed amidst loud applause that while the Swarajists as a Party would not budge an inch from their programme, they had for the purpose of carrying other members with them agreed to tone down the Swarajist demand in the Assembly. Sir Malcolm Hailey then shifted his grounds in another direction and began to argue a different line again with the object of snatching Liberal and Independent votes. He said the conception of a Round Table Conference to change the fundamental law of the land could not be acceptable to Parliament. No British representatives would sit on such a commission. Why?—asked Mr. Shamlal Nehru, and the querry was unanswered.

He next began to show that the conditions in South Africa, Canada and Australia when they framed their own constitutions held no parallel to the conditions in India. But here again he found that on every point Pundit Malaviya contested his proposition. He had to leave this also and next attempted to appeal to the Muhamedans by declaring that Pundit Malaviya had urged the Hindu boys to organise physical force against moslems. Punditji again intervened and thoroughly exposed the falsehood.

GOVERNMENT'S NET OFFER

Having failed to divide the Nationalists on the many false issues and tempting baits, Sir Malcolm then laid down the Government proposition, this time with the full authority of "His Majesty's Government", i.e. of the Secretary of State. He opposed every proposition before the house and maintained the attitude he had taken on the 8th. To those who had hoped to get something from the Labour Govt. his pointed reply was that he was authorised to say that 'a change of helmsmanship could not change the course of the ship of statesmanship.'

He said: We have again considered the position very carefully and I am anxious to emphasise that in what I say I speak with the full authority of His Majesty's Government. We still hold to the general position I took up on behalf of the Government. Before His Majesty's Government are able to consider the question of amending the constitution as distinct from such amendments of the Act as may be required to rectify any administrative imperfections, there must be a full investigation of any defects or difficulties which may have arisen in the working of the transitional constitution now in force. Neither they nor we would be justified in considering changes in that constitution until they were in possession of the full information which our investigation will place in their hands. If our enquiry into the effects of working of the Act shows the feasibility and possibility of any advance within the Act, that is to say, by the use of the rule-making power already provided by the Parliament under the Statute, we are willing to make recommendations to this effect. But if our enquiry shows that no advance is possible without amending the constitution, then the question of advance must be left as an entirely open and separate issue on which the Government is in no way committed.

We are warned on the other hand that the enquiry will not be enough and does not dispel mistrust. In spite of all we have done, mistrust still seems to be the Government of India's fate. We are clear in our own conscience. We must look to history for justice which our contemporaries deny to us and I have no doubt that history will endorse our own conviction of the consistent honesty of our purpose and reality of our efforts, but it offends even more against my sense of justice that this charge should be brought against English people who have initiated and fostered Liberal institutions throughout the world. As for myself I do not believe that where Indian policy is concerned a change of helmsman can mean a change in the course of the ship of statesmanship. But I again speak with full authority when I say that I have noted with great concern the distrust showed by advocates of constitutional reform regarding the good faith of His Majesty's Government and am sincerely convinced that the only hope for a satisfactory solution of the problem of the Government of India lies in pursuance of the policy adopted in the Government of India Act and set forth in its preamble. They associate themselves with the Indian party of constitutional progress towards responsible Government, but they believe that this aim can only be realised if that party will co-operate with the Government in enabling the Act of 1919 to be administered as efficiently as possible in the interest of good government.

At 6-30 P.M. votes were taken on the different propositions. The House divided and carried the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru for a Round Table Conference by 76 votes to 48 votes.

The following 76 members voted for Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment :—

AYES—76

Messrs. Ramachandra Rao, Rangachariar, Harchandrai Vishindas, V. J. Patel, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Dr. H. S. Gour, Messrs. Bepin Chandra Pal, A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mahmood S. Schamnad, Venkatapathi Raju, K. C. Neogi, K. V. Reddi, Shanmukam Chetty, Duraiswami Iyengar, N. C. Kelkar, K. Rama Iyengar, Sadasiva Bhat, Dr. S. A. K. Jelani, Maulvi Syed Murtaza, Mr. K. K. Nambiyar, Dr. K. G. Lohokare, Messrs. D. V. Belvi, Jamnadas Mehta, Sardar V. N. Mutalik, Messrs. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, B. C. Roy, S. C. Ghose, Amar Nath Dutt, Dr. S. K. Datta, Messrs. Kazim Ali, Khwaja Abdul Karim, M. K. S. Bhat, Maung Tok Gyi, Maung Kun, Messrs. Sambu Dayyal Misra, K. V. Abhyankar, Seth Govind Das, C. N. Arey, Samiullah Khan, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Hans Raj, Baba Ujagar Singh Bedi, Mr. L. K. Hyder, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Duni Chand, Mr. Ambika Prasad Sinha, Shyama Charan, Pandit Shamlal Nehru, Nawab Ismail Khan, C. S. Ranga Iyer, Dr. Krishen Lal Nehru, Mr. Chaman Lal, Sardar Gulab Singh, N. M. Joshi, Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, Pandit Nilakanth Das, Mr. Sarfraz Hussin Khan, Maulvi Muhammad Shafi, Messrs. B. Das, Hari Prasad Lal Kumar, Gajanand Sinha, Devaki Prasad Sinha, Narain Das, Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya, Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra, Haji Wajihuddin, Moulvi Muhammad Yakub, Yusuf Imam, Sheikh Sadiq Hasan, T. R. Phukan, Mr. Ahmed Ali Khan, K. K. Chandra, Mian Abdul Haye, Sardar Kartar Singh, Lala Pyare Lal.

NOES—48.

The following voted against Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment :—Sir Gordon Fraser, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, Mr. Wilson, Sir Campbell Rhodes, Mr. Moir, Sardar B. A. Dalal, Messrs. Perceival, Cocke, Dunk, Darcy Lindsay, M. Shams-uz-Zoha, Turing, H. M. Samarth, N. M. Dumasia, Prince Akram Hussain, Messrs. Ali Muzzammal Chaudhuri, O'Malley, G. C. Nag, Fleming, Col. Owens, Rustomji Faridoonji, Sir Henry Stanyon, G. H. Clarke, A. C. Chatterjee, Sir Basil Blackett, Sir Charles Innes, Sir Malcolm Hailey, Messrs. Holme, Calvert, Bowell, Tottenham, Parsons, Richey, Butler, Rushbrook Williams, Sir Henry Monerief Smith, Mr. Burdon, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Kayam, Messrs. S. N. Singh, Allen, Filcher, Ghulam Bari, Captain Hira Singh, Captain Ajab Khan, Maulvi Abdul Kasim, Col. Gidney, Chaudhuri Pahawal Baksh and Mr. Bell.

The Course of the Debate

After full 5 hours' debate the Assembly thus passed Pt. Motilal's amendment on Mr. Rangachari's resolution demanding a Round Table Conference. The 3 day's debate which has since become historic marked the 3 phases of development of the national demand, and the frantic attempt of the bureaucracy struggling, by its time-worn method of playing one section of Indians against another, once more to stem the nationalist tide. On the first day, i.e, on the 8th, Mr. Rangachariar's motion was made in quite a formal tone. But the important speeches were those of the DE FACTO and DE JURE leaders of the House viz., Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sir Malcolm Hailey. The contrast between the two was remarkable. Sir Malcolm did nothing more than enumerate the worn-out and exploded excuses of the Government for withholding Swarajya from the people of India. Speaker after speaker from the popular side stood up with cogent arguments and apt quotations and thoroughly exposed the hollowness of excuses which the Home Member put forward on behalf of Government. The Home Member found them unanswerable and consequently his concluding speech was a strikingly miserable failure. It was indeed provoking when instead of answering the speakers on the other side he tried to raise new and false issues by quoting random passages from the speeches of some of the popular leaders—old, long forgotten speeches which were irrelevant to the issues raised in the debate. He was repeatedly interrupted by the members and notably by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. When thus the members arrested his beating about the bush, he had no other alternative than simply reading the statement he was authorised to make on behalf of Government and concluded his speech with an appeal which hardly concealed the threat involved in it.

Pandit Motilal's speech on the first day was the very reverse of it. He had to entreat no one. He did not waste his time in answering academic arguments with academic replies. He placed before the House the situation and the position of his party which was responsible for it. He did it in clear and unmistakable terms. So that when the long-drawn discussion came to its close he had to add nothing, to take back nothing, and to explain nothing from what he had already said.

The second day i.e., the 13th, was the day for minorities and vested interests. Mr. Dumasia, Nawab Abdul Quaiyum and M. Abul Kasim opposed both the resolution and the amendment on the ground that minorities may suffer. But their objections had been anticipated on the last day by M. Mohamed Yakub. His speech was the shortest, but the strongest, and received the longest cheers and acclamations from the nationalist benches. The most telling part of his speech was whether the minorities were ever going to be majorities, and would they on that account postpone Swaraj? Col. Gidney voiced the Anglo-Indian minority. But but by far the most impressive and outspoken speech was Mr, Patel's. For a time he made all forget that it was the Assembly and not a public meeting. The main purpose of his speech was to give the house in general and the Government in particular a clear impression of what was in the air outside the Council Chamber.

In the place of the calm, business-like but determined speeches of the 8th, the speeches of the non-official Indians were passionate, rhetorical, declamatory but sometimes rising to real eloquence as in the case of Mr. Chamanlal who captivated the House by his manner, though not by his matter. If Sir Purshottamdas and Pandit Malaviya heated up

the atmosphere, Mr. Patel ushered in the tempest. He threw overboard all the restraint, compromise and suavity of his chief and thundered abundantly. Most of the speeches of the Independents were a vigorous denunciation of British policy in India, and the consequent need for Swaraj. It was left to Pandit Motilal to restore in some measure a peaceful atmosphere. He refused to dive into past history, recent or remote. He was concerned with the present constitution which left the Executive supreme, and that it must be ended by Self-determination.

At this time three schools were contending for preference among the Indian politicians: one advocating a Royal Commission, another a Round Table Conference, and the third the National Convention. The Swarajists preferred a Round Table Conference, because it conformed to the principle of self-determination, and at the same time gave a place to Government in it. The National Convention conformed to self-determination but did not find place for Government. The Royal Commission violated self-determination. The Independents would accept with a good grace a Royal Commission, which will do the work in a more business-like manner and be more acceptable to Parliament, and if proper evidence be placed before it, it would give almost all that they wanted. They were willing to forego the flattering unction of self-determination, provided they get what they want. But those that advocate the National Convention and a Round Table Conference put as much stress on the method as on the results.

On the third day i.e. the 18th, Mr. B. C. Pal moved his amendment. It recommended instead of Round Table Conference, a convention of 2/3 members elected by the Assembly and 1/3 nominated by Government. The speech was excellent, but when it came to voting no voice was heard in favour of it except the mover's own. The amendment was lost and the House quickly forgot it.

Mr. Rangachariar's concluding speech was the same as his opening speech with certain consequential verbal changes. And then rose Sir Malcolm to give the final verdict of the Govt. If Sir Malcolm's offer of departmental enquiry was bad enough in all conscience, it become more so when he announced that it was the deliberate view of the British Government, and that too a Labour Government. But the worst feature of the whole debate was his method of delivery which was in sharp contrast with his speech on the first occasion. He left behind his serenity, his friendly and persuasive tone and, regardless of consequences, he rushed headlong in full armour on a career of destruction of the enemy, using all his marvellous skill, knowledge and debating power to inflict crushing blows on his assailants. It was a desperate and unashamed effort to break up the unity of the Nationalist party, by holding up to scorn the shifting of the Swarajist position from that contained in the manifesto of October last, the weakness of the Independents in succumbing to the pernicious influences of the Swarajists, to fan the smouldering flames of communal dissensions, in short, to divide the opposition along all possible lines of cleavage and thus to defeat it. The conclusion of the debate left the already distrusted Government further discredited, the feeble Liberals and Independents in despair and despondency; and the powerful Swarajists in humiliation and bitterness resolved to march on to desperate action regardless of consequences in the matter of smashing up the House.

Other Legislative Business.

On FEBRUARY 11th the Assembly met to discuss official bills. At question time it was elicited that since the Reforms additional taxation to yield Rs. 41 crores had been imposed!

On the motion of Mr. Jinnah a Select Committee was appointed on the Bill raising the age of minor girls from sixteen to 18 years.

Sir Malcolm Hailey then introduced a Bill to amend the I. P. C. and Cr. P. C. for the purpose of affording greater protection to persons under the age of eighteen years. Sir Basil Blackett's Bill to amend the Income-Tax Act which was introduced on the 1st February was referred to a Select Committee.

Sir Charles Innes moved for the consideration of the Bill to amend the Tariff Act introduced on the 6th.

Mr. Dumasia proposed a Select Committee which was agreed.

Indian Passport Act.

Mr. Howell moved that his Bill amending the Indian Passport Act which was intended to penalise those who stayed beyond the period prescribed in their passports be taken into consideration.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Chief Whip of the Swarajya Party, regretted that the Government had not moved for a Select Committee themselves on such a Bill. He said that the passport authorities had been abusing their powers and Mr. Horniman was being kept out of India not under any law, but because the Passport Officer refused to give him pass. Although in the statement of objects and reasons mention was made only of aliens, the wording used in the Bill referred to "any person." This measure was liable to abuse.

Pandit Shamlal Nehru said that the Passport Act might have been required during the War but it should now be repealed. Many Indian members opposed the bill and there was a strong suspicion that the Executive was not acting bona-fide.

Mr. Jinnah supported the opposition, and pointed out that even an Indian, if he was considered undesirable, might not be allowed to come to India.

When the motion was put to vote, it was rejected by 72 votes against 43. The debate had taken an unexpected turn and a good number of members who voted against were noticed discussing the position in the lobby.

Mr. Shanmukhan Chetty suggested to the Government that the Bill should be withdrawn and re-introduced.

Sir Malcolm Hailey pointed out that the House had not taken advantage of the Government's reasonable attitude to postpone the consideration of the Bill, but in the spirit of sweet reasonableness (laughter), he would agree to its withdrawal.

On FEBRUARY 12th the Assembly met for non-official resolutions of which several were not moved at all. Questions were asked on the cost of Waziristan campaign, on the Gurdwara Committee and on the retirement of the Indian Secretary to the High Commissioner, Mr. Bhore, to which only evasive replies were given.

Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed moved :—That all important questions put by non-official members on subjects over which the Governor-General-in-Council had control and superintendence be answered by Government Members in this Assembly after obtaining necessary information from Provincial Governments. The resolution was put and adopted without division, Government opposing.

Railway Passengers.

Haji Wajihuddin next moved: "This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to direct the Railway authorities throughout India to adopt the following measures for the convenience of Indian passengers: (a) Increase of the number of passenger trains where necessary to avoid over-crowding; (b) introduction of intermediate classes where not already provided; (c) adequate provision of water-men, both Muslims and Hindus, on small stations to provide water on every passenger train; (d) provision of Hindu and Muslim refreshment rooms in all principal stations where not already made; (e) provision of inter-class waiting rooms for men and women, respectively, on all principal stations where not already provided.

The resolution was put and carried, Government opposing.

On FEBRUARY 14TH the Assembly met for non-official resolutions.

Mail Contracts

Mr. Ramachandra Rao moved: This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that in all contracts extending over period of years and creating a public charge, actual or prospective, entered into between the Government and the Companies with an English or an Indian domicile, for the working of State Railways, or for conveyance of mails by sea or for the purpose of telegraphic or wireless communications, a condition should be inserted that the contract shall not be binding unless it has been approved by a resolution of the Indian Legislature.

Mr. Rama Iyengar supported the resolution which was put and carried, the Government opposing it.

A resolution moved by by Mr. B. C. Pal that all provincial subjects be transferred was adjourned SINE DIE in view of the constitutional point involved.

PURCHASE OF STORES

Mr. M. A. Jinnah moved: This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that in future tenders for any article required for any Department of the Central Government should be called for in India and in Rupees and the Stores Department at the India Office only should be maintained in such strength as would enable old contracts to be worked out.

Mr. Wilson, representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, moved that the following proposition be adopted in the place of Mr. Jinnah's resolution: That the present system of stores purchase for Government's requirements is not in the interests of India and should be done away with at the earliest possible moment, that in its place should be instituted a system of rupee tender for delivery in India with the publication of results in every case, that this new system should be administrated under the supervision of the Government of India by a cadre of qualified officers, and that arrangements should be made in India for the requisite test and inspection of the goods purchased.

Mr. Jinnah accepted the amendment of Mr. Wilson and the resolution, as amended, was carried without a division.

GREETINGS TO LABOR PARTY

Mr. Muhammad Yakub moved recommending to the Governor-General in Council to convey the greetings of the House to the Rt. Hon. Ramsay Macdonald and other members of the new Cabinet on their advent to power. The resolution was carried with applause.

Non-Official Resolutions

On February 19th. the Assembly met to discuss non-official resolutions, most contentions among which was one demanding the return of Mr. Horniman.

Mr. KABIRUDDIN AHMED moved that Government may take steps to give gradual effect to the following:—

MR. KABIRUDDIN'S GOVT. PACT !

1. In a province where the Mahomadans are in a majority they will get 52 per cent and Non-Mahomedans 48, and

2. Where the Non-Mahomedans are in a majority they will get 75 per cent and the Mahomedans 25 per cent of representation in both the Indian and Provincial Legislatures and Government services as far as possible. He quoted in extenso the Bengal Provincial Pact and the Indian National Pact in support of the principle embodied in the resolution. He advised the Government not to stand on prestige and pleaded on behalf of the accepted minority. The resolution was modest in as much as he did not think that it should be given effect to at once but gradually. Mr. Kabiruddin compared the Muslim population of each province with that of other communities and pointed out that the figures he had mentioned were justified.

MUSLIM OPPOSITION.

Mr. Mahomed Yakub opposed the resolution and remarked that the Assembly was not the proper place to draw up the Pact. The question was very thorny and intricate and he mentioned that the Bengal Pact had been opposed not only by Hindus, but also by Mahomedans, for instance the Mahomedans of his province (U. P.) were opposed to it. He said the question could be solved by drawing up a National Pact.

Mr. Kabiruddin: I don't want the National Pact, I want a Government Pact.

Pandit MOTILAL NEHRU pointed out that the resolution passed by the House yesterday by a decisive majority laid down that the question of minorities be considered among others by the proposed Round Table Conference. After passing that resolution the House would be stultifying itself by adopting Mr. Ahmed's proposal without discussing it in a Round Table Conference. The House had voted for the Conference which it thought was the most effective means of settling communal differences. Government had been given time and full opportunity to do the right thing but if the Government did not respond he assured Mr. Ahmed that he and his colleagues had a way to do the right thing independently of the Government. He assured him of his fullest sympathy and also that the Round Table Conference which must soon take place would also decide this communal question satisfactorily. In his letter addressed to Mr. Mahomad Ali, Mr. Gandhi had made it perfectly clear that he was going to give his life to Hindu-Muslim unity. Many great men had tried to solve this question, but it was Mahatma Gandhi alone who had brought the Muslim lion and the gentle cow of Hinduism together. That was only for a short time but he believed that if the Government had not interrupted the process by incarceration of Gandhi, Muslim unity would have been accomplished as a lasting pact. He assured that an honest, sincere and strong effort would be made in their Round Table Conference to meet the Mahomedan point of view. He was a firm believer in Hinduism, but also yielded to none in his admiration of the Church of Islam.

Inspite of desperate attempts made by the Govt. whips, there was no enthusiasm, even amongst the Muslim members to support Mr.

Kabiruddin's inspired resolution, and on the motion of another Muslim member, Mr. Schamnad, the resolution was adjourned sine die.

RESOLUTIONS WITHDRAWN

The next resolution on the agenda stood in the name of Mr. DORAISWAMY IYENGAR urging that the 18th of March, the day of Gandhi's incarceration, be declared a national holiday, but when called upon by the President, he did not move it.

Next came Mr. Rangachariar's resolution which was withdrawn after the Home Member's announcement that Govt. would remove the bar against the appointment of vakils as permanent H. C. Judges and that the existing proportion of the civilian element would also be changed in the light of the reports of the Lee Commission and the Bar Committee.

Removal of the Ban on Horniman.

When the Assembly meet after lunch Mr. V. J. PATEL moved that all restrictions in the way of Mr. B. G. Horniman to return to India be removed. The mover said Mr. Horniman was a lover of liberty of person, of press and speech, the three inalienable things on the face of the earth. He was deported in times of panic in the year 1916 under rule 3 of section 2 of the Defence of India Act but the grounds were not specified in the order at the time. But after a month of deportation Mr. Montagu stated in the House of Commons that the reasons were two, namely, that the "Bombay Chronicle" of which Mr. Horniman had been the Editor had published certain false news regarding the use of soft-nosed bullets by British troops during the riots in Delhi and that the paper was distributed free among the troops in the hope of exciting disaffection. But the Board of Directors of the "Chronicle" repudiated the allegations. Mr. Horniman tried his best for an opportunity to disprove the statements made by Mr. Montagu but no opportunity was given and when Mr. Horniman sent a letter to Mr. Montagu controverting the statements the reply came that the House of Commons was not the proper place to deal with the letter. When the Defence of India Act ceased to be in force six months after conclusion of peace the Secretary of State would not recommend an order of passport being given to Mr. Horniman to return to India. It appeared that the Secretary of State had absolutely given himself up in the matter but in answer to a series of questions in the House of Commons Mr. Montagu later replied that the question of the return of Mr. Horniman was one within the discretion of the Government of Bombay. Now Sir George Lloyd had gone and Sir Leslie Wilson had come in. His Excellency had already since his assumption of office given satisfaction to the people of Bombay Presidency and of India by the release of Savarkar, the solution of the Borsad Satyagraha campaign and the release of Mr. Gandhi. The people of India of every shade of opinion demanded that Mr. Horniman should be allowed to return.

Sir MALCOLM HAILEY, in opposing the resolution, said that there was no order of deportation in force against Mr. Horniman. All that was required was that Mr. Horniman should obtain a passport for coming back to India. There was no restriction on Mr. Horniman's liberty in England. The sole restriction was on his returning to India. Mr. Horniman was deported for the whole course of his conduct of the "Bombay Chronicle" for a series of months. Several speakers had described Mr. Horniman as a lover of India, lover of liberty etc. Sir Malcolm was not there to justify the order of deportation because that order was not now in question nor was this the proper place to

discuss the merits and demerits of Mr. Horniman's conduct of the "Chronicle". The real venue for the decision was not here but in London. The case was now with the Secretary of State and his return depended on such advice as he might give to the passport-issuing authorities, but the Secretary of State before giving his advice to the passport authorities will naturally consult the Government of India and the Government of Bombay and on the recommendation of these Governments the Secretary of State would decide, but their advice was not binding. "In the past we had been consulted and we held that it was undesirable to allow him to return. That is still our view, but we attach the greatest importance to the opinion of the Government of Bombay and if they believe that there is no danger of public safety in allowing Mr. Horniman to return then we shall support their view. But at present the opinion of the Government of India is that his return will be dangerous. The decision rests with the Secretary of State and our duty is only to recommend".

Mr. M. A. JINNAH regretted the attitude taken up by Sir Malcolm Hailey who was only quibbling on the points. The order of deportation came to an end as soon as Mr. Horniman left the shores of India and now that Mr. Horniman was in England he was not allowed to return even after nearly five years and for this they resorted to the discreditable method of preventing the passport being issued. You refuse to try him but you make allegations, you deport the man and you don't issue the passport. I say, no civilised Government can justify this position. The Secretary of State has put forward two allegations which are absolutely false. As regards the allegation of distribution of papers to the members of the army I say a greater lie was never manufactured. I challange the Home Member to prove the truth of the statement. It was a lie manufactured for the purpose of justifying deportation and yet the Government in India think that Mr. Horniman is a dangerous man. It is the biggest blot on your administration in India and on your sense of justice and fair-play.

Pandit Malaviya described the action of the Government as a piece of melancholy meanness. It was derogatory to the position of the Home Member to put forward such a miserable plea as he had done. It was an abuse of power to deport a person without any charge and without giving him trial and yet refuse permission to return.

Mr. Chamanlal described the speech of Sir Malcolm Hailey as frivolous. Replying in the House of Commons Mr. Montagu had said that the decision of the question rested with the Governor of Bombay. This reply was not consistent with the statement of the Home Member that it rested with the Secretary of State. He challenged the Home Member to prove the charges levelled against him.

Mr. Jinnah; Why not prosecute him?

Sir Malcolm Hailey;—We prefer not to do it. Now, Sir, as regards his return, if the Bombay Govt. thinks that in the altered situation to-day or henceforth Mr. Horniman's return to India would not be a danger then we shall be guided by that opinion because that would be the opinion of those responsible on the spot.

The resolution was put to vote and carried, Government not claiming a division.

Supplementary Demands

The Assembly met on the 20th February to consider Supplementary grants. The Swarajists were absent and the House was thin. Sir BASIL BLACKETT moved demands for supplementary grants amounting to

Rs. 12,85,000. He explained that the presentation of these demands did not mean that the Government Budget estimates had exceeded by this amount, but that under certain specific heads, they had exceeded the estimates. He assured that the savings under other heads would counter and balance the excess in others, and added that the demands placed before the Assembly had been agreed to by the Standing Finance Committee. The Demands for supplementay grants asked for were under 33 heads, only a dozen of which were subjected to discussion.

The first item debated was the demand for over Rs. 3 lakhs for the CUSTOM Department. It was pointed out by Sir Basil Blackett that the four lakh cut made by the Assembly in respect of this Department could not be realised. He emphasised that when the Customs duty was high, trade was more liable to devise means to evade the duty. Extra vigilance on the part of the Customs authorities was the only remedy. He assured the House that the extra expenses would result in a very large return to the revenues, which might otherwise be lost.

Mr. Ramchandra Rao next raised the question of the INDO-EUROPEAN TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT under which head a demand for Rs. 1,91,000 had been put forward.

Sir Purshottamdas and some other members complained that the papers in connection with the various demands were given to them very late and they could not possibly examine the proposals satisfactorily, and that the remarks given on the paper supplied in explanation were very inadequate.

After explanations from the Home and the Finance members the demand was passed.

Dr. Gour moved a cut of one lakh under GENERAL ADMINISTRATION under which the Government had been able to give effect only to one lakh reduction out of the five lakhs proposed by the Assembly. The Finance Member explained that the Government had already retrenched under this head to the extent of six lakhs, as recommended by the Inchcape Committee, and one lakh additional, and that they could not reduce more without injuring the work of the departments. Dr. Gour, thereupon, withdrew the motion.

The debate next centred round the cut moved by Mr. Ramachandra Rao under the head 'Miscellaneous' and raised the question of the appointment of the JUDICIAL DELAYS COMMITTEE.

Mr. Duraiswamy spoke at length in criticism of its appointment. He said that the Government had done the whole thing in a hurry. The Viceroy announced his decision to appoint the Committee when the last Assembly was dying and actually appointed the Committee six days before the new Assembly was to meet. He objected to this procedure, and maintained that the Standing Finance Committee and the Assembly ought to have been asked to consider the advisability of its appointment. He was anxious that delays in justice should be removed, but felt that the procedure adopted by the Viceroy was thoroughly wrong.

Sir Malcolm Hailey explained that the Committee was undertaking most beneficient public work. He pointed out that the opinion of the Standing Finance Committee and the Assembly had not been sought, due to the fact that the last Assembly had been dissolved and the new one had not yet met. But he recognised the principle that in such cases the opinions of the Standing Committee should be sought.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao withdrew his resolution, and the demand was passed. After lunch all the other grants were passed.

The Legislative Assembly re-assembled on 21st February to consider the introduction of six non-official bills and the sitting lasted less than an hour.

Mr. RANGACHARIAR introduced the Bill to provide that when fire-arms are used for the purpose of dispersing an assembly preliminary warning shall be given. He explained that after the Punjab occurrences and firing in Madras and elsewhere it had become essential to regulate the use of fire-arms and to provide against indiscriminate firing by the officers. He said the necessity for such regulation was recognised by the Government who accepted in part Mr. Sastri's resolution moved in the Council of State in August 1921. When a bill was presented to the Assembly, the speaker and others had given notice of amendments. Government thereupon dropped the bill altogether. He recalled that he again raised this question last year on the occasion of the amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code, but as the section relating to the subject was not in the bill, his amendment was ruled out. He had now put it in his present Bill. Some people might think that this Bill was not adequate and others hold that it was more than adequate. This could be discussed later in detail.

The operative clause of the bill runs:

(1) Fire-arms should be used only if such an assembly cannot be otherwise dispersed and no fire-arms as a rule should be used except on the written authority of a Magistrate of the highest class available on the spot, provided that when immediate measures should be taken to prevent imminent danger or injury of a serious kind to the public, the seniormost officer or military officer present on the spot may give the written authority instead and the same shall be communicated to the nearest magistrate forthwith.

(2) Before the assembly is fired upon fullest warning should be given by all available means to the assembly that unless it disperses within a given time it will be fired on.

(3) The person given the authority to fire shall be ordinarily given such interval between the warning and firing as he considers sufficient in all the circumstances of the case.

(4) A full report of the occurrence shall be made in all cases when such assembly is dispersed by the use of fire arms to the nearest first class magistrate within 24 hours of the occurrence and such report shall be a public document.

(a) If the person is himself a first class magistrate his report shall be made to the District Magistrate and if the person is a District Magistrate his report shall be made to the next higher authority. Any person injured by the use of fire-arms or any parent or guardian, husband or wife of a person killed by the use of fire-arms may make a complaint against any person for any offence committed by him by reason of any act purporting to be done under this chapter.

Indian Registration Act.

Mr. RAMA IYENGAR moved for introduction of a Bill to amend the Indian Registration Act. The Bill was introduced.

Age of Consent.

Dr. GOUR next introduced a bill to raise the age of consent from 12 to 14 years. He said the age of consent has been raised to 16 in Egypt and a similar proposal was also before the House of Commons. He admitted that the last Assembly had rejected the proposal of Bakshi Sohanlal, but the principles of the bill had found favour.

Mr. RAMA IYENGAR asked leave for introducing the bill to amend the Evidence Act with a view to facilitate administration of justice in suits

relating to mortgage bonds by amending section 111. Sir Henry Moncrief Smith showed the Bill was not necessary and the House refused by introduction 15 votes to 34.

The next bill stood in the name of Mr. Neogy to amend the Railway Act. But he did not move it,

Religious Trusts.

Dr. GOUR introduced another bill to make provision for better management of Hindu religious and charitable trust property and for ensuring the keeping and publication of proper accounts in respect of such properties. Dr. Gour explained that the provisions were in accordance with the Muhammadan Wakf Estates Law enacted last year.

The Assembly met next on the 25th February for official business. Sir Charles Innes introduced a bill to amend the Sea Customs Act in accordance with the recommendations of the Indian Fiscal Commission. Sir Basil Blackett then moved that the report of the Select Committee on the Indian Coinage Amendment Bill be considered.

The Jaito Massacre Adjournment.

When the hour struck 12 Pundit Madan Mohan MALAVIYA asked for permission to move adjournment of the House to discuss the occurrences of the 21st instant at Jaito (Nabha), occurrences which, he said, had resulted in the death of a number of His Majesty's subjects variously estimated between 14 and 150. That deaths took place was undeniable and that firing was resorted to by officers at Jaito was also undeniable. The question then was as to how the firing took place and how was it that numerous deaths had occurred. To consider how the situation arose it was necessary to go back to the previous incidents.

Taking Cover under Rules.

Sir Malcolm Hailey wanted to know purely on a point of order whether this adjournment motion can be moved because the occurrences took place in an Indian State territory.

The President pointed out that under Rules 12 and 23 of the Rules there could be no discussion either by way of resolution or by motion for adjournment on a matter affecting the relations of His Majesty's Government or the Governor-General-in-Council or Governor-General with any Prince or Chief under the Suzerainty of His Majesty or relating to the affairs of any Prince or Chief or to the administration of any Indian territory. Pundit Malaviya could therefore not move the adjournment, but the President was prepared to hear Pundit Malaviya.

Pundit Malaviya:—Sir, I am not discussing a question relating to the administration of the affairs of an Indian territory. I submit that the death of so many of His Majesty's Indian subjects is a matter to be considered by this House and the Government of India. I wish to confine my proposition specifically to the incidents at Jaito. If I refer to any prior incident it is only to explain connected incident. I do not go into the question of the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha on its merits or to say anything regarding the administration which has been substituted in the Nabha State, but I hope any member of this Assembly is entitled to raise a discussion on this extraordinary affair relating to the death of several of His Majesty's Indian subjects.

Sir Malcolm Hailey on a point of order again said that the rule makes no difference between ordinary administration or any incident of an extraordinary nature arising in the course of the administration of an Indian State.

Pundit Malaviya:— May I ask the Hon'ble the Home Member if Mr. William Johnston is an officer of the Government of India and secondly

if he came to Delhi two days before the occurrence took place at Jaito in order to take instructions from the Government of India.

Sir Malcolm Hailey :—Mr. William Johnston is an Officer of the Government of India and is now acting as the Administrator of the Nabha territory. He has from time to time taken instructions from the Government of India.

Pandit Malaviya :—Did he come two days before the occurrence took place ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey :—He was in Delhi some days before.

President :—The Hon'ble Pundit has not satified me that he is within the rights in asking for permission.

Pundit Malaviya :—I want you to consider whether the rule is meant to cover an extraordinary case like the occurrence on the 21st at Jaito, I submit that the rule does not debar consideration of such a serious situation where the Prince has gone out of his State under an arrangement with the Government of India and where the Government of India have appointed an administrator of their own who is acting under the instructions of the Government of India through the Home Member of the Viceroy. Moreover the incident involved the deaths of His Majesty's Indian subjects who reside not in an Indian State but in the British Territory of the Punjab.

Mr. Rangachariar :—I want to know whether it could be the intention of the rule that such a serious question could not be discussed. The circumstances do not refer to ordinary administration. I ask in view of the seriousness of the situation whether the rule should not at once be modified.

President :—I would ask the Hon'ble Mr. Rangachariar (Deputy President) what he would have done if he had been in the Chair. The rules are both wide and explicit and this is not a subject which can be discussed on the floor of this House.

Members Walk Out

Thereupon Pundit Malaviya collected the papers before him and withdrew from the chamber followed by Swarajists & Independents.

Sikh Grievances

FEBRUARY 26TH witnessed another succession of defeats for the Government when the conditions of the Sikhs in the Punjab was raised in debate. The Swarajists attended in full strength to lend their support to the Sikh grievances and the debate was very lively.

Sardar GULAB SINGH moved that a Committee consisting of two-thirds non-official elected members of both the Houses of the Indian Legislature, and one-third officials be appointed to enquire into the grievances of the Sikh community, and to report on the Akali movement. He traced the history of Sikhism and the origin of the present troubles. He said that to the Sikhs their Gurdwaras were more precious than even Swaraj, and the extreme religious fervor of the community could be imagined by the fact that under Moghul rule, a Muslim General went to the Sikhs with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other, and the Sikhs chose to be killed rather than be converts. The Sikh religion was based on democratic principles. It was only under British rule that irresponsible Executive Officers of the Government began to encroach upon Sikh rights, and the cases instituted in Law Courts brought no justice against mismanagement by Mahants. It was only a foreign Government, run by irresponsible Executive Officers which tolerated the continuance of such mismanagement, and the

desecration of the Gurdwaras by the misdeeds of Mahants. There was the Nankana tragedy, followed by the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, where the Sikhs had remained non-violent. The Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal had been organised with absolutely no political motive, but solely for the purpose of reforming Sikh shrines, and ensuring the performance of proper rights and ceremonies. But the Sikhs, who had fought the battles of the Empire, were rewarded by repression. 1,300 of them were wounded and 5,700 were imprisoned in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair alone. The Sikhs had, however, preserved perfect non-violence under the gravest provocation. It was therefore an utter lie to say that they went armed to Jaito, and that they fired. The Sikhs who had remained non-violent under much graver provocation, could not resort to violence at Jaito. So far as the Nabha affair was concerned, he asserted that the abdication of the Maharaja was not voluntary, that it was brought about by intimidation and intrigue with a view to give a blow to the Sikh Panth. The Gurdwara Committee stood for religious freedom and could tolerate no interference with this right in respect of the Gurdwara at Jaito. The genuineness of the movement and its religious and non-political character could be judged by the support it has obtained from the loyal, retired Military pensioners and the Sikh Sadhus.

M. Abul Kassim strongly objected to the reference to Muslim General but Mr. Gurlab Singh refused to withdraw the statement. Mr. Calvert, the Punjab official, then rose and gave the view-point of the Punjab Government.

DR. GOUR'S AMENDMENT

Dr. GOUR moved an amendment leaving the personnel and proportion of officials and non-officials in the hands of the Government. He said that Mr. Calvert had admitted that grievances did exist and that the Punjab Government had failed to find a solution. A case for an outside and independent tribunal was thus clearly established, and the matter could better be considered in the placid and calm atmosphere of the Central Legislature.

Pandit MALAVIYA said that the Guru-ka-Bagh trouble was due to an official who created the trouble. He said that Mr. Calvert's statement was wrong and that the Gurdwara Committee had been recognised by the Punjab Government as representative of a large section of Sikh religious opinion. The Gurdwara Committee had natural sympathy with the Maharaja of Nabha, who had been deposed, and the Committee asked for nothing more than the publication of the facts justifying such action. Further insult was offered when the Granthi was forcibly removed from the Jaito Gurdwara while he was performing the Akhand Path. The Gurdwara Committee took upon itself the duty of regulating the despatch of Jathas to hold the Akhand Path. The Committee had, under the inspiration of Mr. Gandhi, and teachings of their Gurus, fully followed and enjoined non-violence. Recently, Jaatha of 500 started towards Jaito to perform the Akhand Path, which had been interrupted by force. A Government notification stated that only 50 people could go to the Gurdwara, and they must return immediately after the Akhand Path. On learning this decision of the Government, Mr. Jodh Singh of the Gurdwara Committee wrote a letter to Sir John Maynard, the Home Member, urging in the interests of avoiding any further widening of the gulf between the Government and the Sikhs, not to interfere with the religious performances, and to impose no restriction on the number of those performing it and the time the

ceremony took. Pandit Malaviya asked what right the Government had, and under what law it acted, in putting restrictions on religious freedom? The result was that firing was resorted to. It had been alleged that women had been improperly handled, and that some dead and wounded were burnt and removed to an unknown destination. Pandit Malaviya asserted that the Government should have left the Jatha to enter Jaito, because it would have remained non-violent, and even if it had become violent after entry, the Government had forces at their command to meet violence. But the scene enacted by firing against innocent and non-violent people was a second JALLIANWALA BAGH, and disgraceful for any civilised Government. He hoped that the House would sanction a Committee to enquire into the whole problem of Sikh grievances and the brutal action of those at Jaito and of those who guided their policy.

Sir MALCOLM HAILEY then opposed the motion on behalf of the Government. He prefaced his speech by saying that whatever observations he would make should not be taken as in any way prejudicing the course of action he might have to adopt elsewhere (as Governor of the Panjab). The Sikhs had shown great courage in the service of the Crown. There was no one who would not have sincere respect for the real devotion of the Sikhs to their religion, although he believed that in some of their manifestations of their religion they had sometimes gone beyond the principles of good citizenship. Proceeding, the Home Member reminded the House of the several phases of the movement which led to the present situation in the Panjab. The movement was only of recent origin. Most of the shrines were in the possession of Mahants, but there arose a reforming party among the Sikhs which claimed to oust the Mahants, who had been for a great number of years in occupation, and whose rights were actually good in law. The reformers showed irritation at the delay in the settlement of the number of cases then pending, and they even claimed that the procedure provided by law was restrictive. As regards the Golden Temple, it was first managed by a Committee, the head of which was nominated by the Government. For many years the Committee did good work, but after some time, under the influence of the Reform movement, the Sikhs wanted to have greater control over the temple. Government were perfectly prepared to withdraw from the Management. As a result of the negotiation, a Committee of thirty persons was nominated. Even this did not satisfy the Sikhs, who claimed 175 members on the Management Committee. Then came the Keys affair. The Government, not sure of the exact legal position, therefore, brought a friendly suit in order that the Law Court might decide the proper possession of the keys and the responsibility of the management. That was all; nothing more.

The next phase of the Sikh movement was in respect of the Guru-ka-Bagh, where the Mahant wanted the protection of the belongings to the temple. There was no judicial proof that the action of the Mahant was due to the act of the Government Officials. Sir Malcolm Hailey deplored the beatings, but, he said, they were courted by certain people who ought to have gone to the Civil Courts for claiming possession of the lands.

Then the movement turned in respect of the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha. This abdication was the result of a judicial enquiry in a dispute between Nabha and Patiala. It was in this connection that bodies of men organised by the Sikhs went to Jaito, ostensibly for religious purposes. At the same time, the Prabhandak Committee had announced that it was their intention to work for the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha. But as the Nabha State had

come under the British administration, it was the duty of the Government, in the circumstances, to prevent any political demonstrations either for the restoration of the Maharaja or against it. The Government in no way prevented the holding of religious meetings, but only sought to prevent political demonstrations. That was why they allowed bodies of fifty persons to finish their religious observances and leave the territory after the ceremony. For the purposes of a religious ceremony, nine persons were enough, and yet the Government allowed so many as fifty. No other order was possible. "I wish to make it clear that these were definitely the orders of the Government of India. We did not leave the matter to the discretion of the Administrator. We told him that he must, if possible, avoid the use of force. We had successfully avoided this all these four months. We made it quite clear to the Administrator that if the attempts were made on the 21st to break the cordon, to rush through the Police or the troops, then he must use such minimum force as is necessary. That was before the Jatha was to arrive at Jaito on the 21st, but the occurrence has now taken place, and they will form the subject of judicial proceedings.

Sir Malcolm Hailey deprecated the appointment of any Committee of Enquiry by the House. Nevertheless, the Government of India would consider in consultation with the Punjab Government whether it was not possible to find some better machinery within their powers for enabling the Sikhs to state definitely their claims and their grievances, and if possible, to find a solution in co-operation with the Government. Concluding, the Home Member said: "Let me add that there is nobody in the Government who is an enemy of the aspirations of the Sikhs. There is no one who does not wish the old feeling of confidence and trust between the Government and the Sikhs to continue."

Amended Resolution Passed.

Sir Gordon Fraser favoured Dr. Gour's amendment. Mr. B. C. Pal warned Govt. of the effect of the Sikh unrest. Mr. Pilcher gave the die-hard Anglo-Indian view-point. After Sir Malcolm Hailey and another had spoken, the resolution, as amended by Dr. Gour, was passed without a division.

Release of Sadar Kharak Singh.

After lunch, Sardar KARTAR SINGH moved for the release of Sardar Kharak Singh, ex-President of the Gurdwara Committee. He said that Sardar Kharak Singh was a noble old person. One of his offences was the manufacture of Kirpans for Sikhs, which was a quite lawful act.

Pandit Malaviya said that Sardar Kharak Singh was the President of the Punjab Congress Committee and President of the Gurudwara Committee, and such a person was convicted on the most flimsy grounds that he declared in a speech that the British should serve as 'Bardas' (meaning slaves) of Indians. He said that the word used must have been 'bandas' (meaning servants of the public). Even if the word 'Barda' had been used, could it be a serious offence to say that under Swaraj the British should be servants and not masters? He said that for this flimsy offence, Sardar Kharak Singh got three years. He regretted that the case was not defended. He did not agree with the Non-Co-operators in not defending cases, although he realised that the Non-Co-operators' decision was not surprising, after the perversion and net failure of justice in the cases which had been defended. He further pointed out that the limit of injustice was reached when

Sardar Kharak Singh and others have been given further nine months' imprisonment for refusal to give up wearing the black turban.

Sir Malcolm Hailey, taking Pandit Malaviya's facts, observed that whatever the word used by Sardar Kharak Singh be, whether it was Banda or Barda, the audience to whom it was addressed could not have understood it as meaning public servants, and that made all the difference. The Home Member said that he would ask for a report from the Punjab Government on the subject. He could give no guarantee, but he would consult the Local Government whether they considered desirable the remission of the remaining sentence.

The resolution of Mr. Kartar Singh was passed by a majority.

Release of Hasrat Mohani.

Mr. SADIQ HUSSAIN then moved for the release of Mr. Hasrat Mohani by the remission of the sentence. He said that Mr. Hasrat Mohani is one of the noble and trusted sons of India, and that his only offence was that he wanted freedom for his country. He pointed out that Mohani had urged a change of the creed of the Congress at a time when the Muslim feeling was very much strained. He pleaded for a policy of conciliation.

Mr. Abdul Haye said that by imprisonment the Government could not reform Mr. Mohani, nor could they prevent the spread of the ideal advocated by him.

An Amendment

Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar said that there were wide differences regarding the kind of Swaraj India should have, and if Mr. Mohani defined it in the Congress and as President of the Muslim League as political independence, this should not be construed as an offence. He moved an amendment urging unconditional release, rather than remission of the sentence.

Pandit Malaviya also supported the motion. He did not agree with the Maulana's creed, but he held him as a true and honest person who was incapable of bribing a warder, for which alleged offence he was now undergoing imprisonment.

Sir MALCOLM HAILEY pointed out that Mr. Hasrat Mohani had urged the establishment of a parallel Government and guerilla warfare "to kill the enemy wherever you find him". Moreover, Mr. Mohani had defended the Moplas' acts, and had condemned the Hindus as aiding the British in the war against Moplas. Mr. Mohani had fully defended himself before the Court, and the Judges described his speech as gross sedition. He said that but for his breaking gaol discipline and bribing the warder, Mr. Mohani would have been free to-day. He sympathised with and even respected those who went to gaol, because they wanted to uphold a course dictated by their conscience, and then abide by gaol rules. But he warned that those who went to gaol or broke discipline did great harm to the country by spreading the spirit of indiscipline and corruption, which, if allowed unchecked, might result in the break-down of the gaol administration. He pointed out that the Government had done a great deal during the past two years to improve the position of political prisoners, and warned the House against voting for the release of one who was remaining in gaol not for a political offence but for breaking gaol rules.

The amended motion of Mr. Doraiswamy Iyengar for unconditional release was put to vote and carried despite Govt: opposition

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S

Budget for 1924-25

Speech of the Finance Member

DELHI—29TH FEBRUARY 1924

In introducing the Budget for 1924-25, the Hon. Sir Basil Blackett, the Finance Member, said :—

SIR,

If precedent had been followed, I should not now be opening my Budget. It has been the practice in past years for the financial statement to be made on the morning of the 1st of March, and to be followed immediately by a motion for leave to introduce the Finance Bill. This year, I propose to introduce the Finance Bill on the 1st of March as usual: but I make my financial statement to-night out of regard for the convenience of almost every one concerned, except perhaps the Finance Member. The commercial community will be glad of the opportunity to study the budget announcements overnight instead of in the middle of a busy day; and I am also glad to afford some slight relief to the devoted band of officials who, on past occasions, have been kept at work all night in order to bring a new financial statement safely into the world in the morning. I am told that a record is being created in the presentation of the Government of India's Budget on the 29th February. But the choice of February 29th has no significance except that it happens this year to be the day before the 1st of March. The suspicion that to-day was chosen in order to enable us to impose taxes, which are annual taxes, until the 29th February 1928 is, I hasten to assure the House, unfounded.

2. I had occasion a year ago to lament that I could not give exact figures for 1922-23 and had to be content with what I described as nothing more than a second guess, on the basis of nine or ten month's figures of what the actual out-turn would be of the Budget for the year then about to close. I had even better reason than I knew for this complaint. The figures which I then gave for 1922-23 showed revenue at a total of 121 crores and expenditure at a total of 138¼ crores, leaving a deficit of 17¼ crores. The actual figures show that I over-stated the deficit by no less than 2¼ crores. Revenue amounted to 121·41 crores and expenditure to 136·43 crores, leaving a deficit of 15·02 crores. The improvement was mainly under the head of Military Expenditure, where, in addition to other minor improvements, a sum of £800 000 provided as the Indian share of the cost of disbanding surplus troops was not, in the end, utilised. In view of this important difference between the revised Budget figure, to which some prominence is given in the annual Budget Statement and the actual out-turn, which receives practically no publicity, there will be bound up and circulated with the Budget speech a comparative table showing the actual out-turn for each of the last ten years, which will, I think, be convenient to those who desire to study our finances.

3. My inability to present anything more than a second guess is even more vexing this year than it was a year ago. Last year, unhappily the only question was how large the actual deficit would be,

this year it may well be that the progress of revenue and expenditure in the last two months of the year make all the difference between a surplus and a deficit on ordinary revenue. In every year but two of the last ten years the final out-turn of the year has proved more favourable than the revised budget estimates have indicated.

4. The Budget estimates as finally settled a year ago provided for a surplus of 81 lakhs. The estimated revenue amounted to 134·90 crores and the estimated expenditure to 134·09 crores. I warned the House more than once that neither on the revenue nor on the expenditure side could the figures in the budget estimates be counted upon with any great assurance. The revenue figures were arrived at in a spirit of some optimism as to the prosperity of trade and commerce not altogether justified in the light of European conditions, while the expenditure figures assumed that we should succeed in introducing and giving full effect to retrenchments recommended by the Inchcape Committee with much greater rapidity than a cautious Finance Member could promise. The information available at the present date makes it clear that our revenue estimates were unduly sanguine. On the other hand, I am glad to be able to inform the House that we have succeeded in reducing expenditure to a figure considerably below the budget estimate. The present indications are that the total revenue will amount to 129·52 crores as against an estimate of 134·90 crores and the total expenditure to 129·90 crores as against an estimate of 134·09 crores leaving a deficit of ordinary revenue of 38 lakhs. I leave out of account a windfall, of which I shall have more to say later. I mention it here only in order to bring out the happy fact that, while the margin between ordinary revenue and expenditure, on the basis of our revised Budget, is so narrow as to make it impossible, till final figures are available, to say for certain whether there is a surplus or a deficit, we are (even on the most unfavourable assumption) sure of a considerable realised surplus after taking extraordinary revenue into account.

Review of the year 1923-24.

REVENUE

5. As in 1922-23, so in 1923-24, we based our estimates on hopes not indeed of a boom in trade, but of a steady revival of which there seemed to be some signs early in the year. These hopes have once again not been fulfilled although it seems likely that there will be in 1923-24 a record surplus of exports over imports. During the first ten months of the financial year, the surplus in value of exports of merchandise amounts to 103·47 crores as against 62¾ crores in the corresponding period last year and an adverse balance of 29·60 crores the year before. The net imports of bullion, although substantial, have not reached the figures of 1922-23 with the result that there remains a net balance after allowing for bullion of 63·42 crores in favour of India as against 20½ crores a year ago and an adverse balance of 33 crores in the first ten months of 1921-22.

6. The volume of our export trade has continued to expand. The chief increase is under grain and pulse, where it amounts to 600,000 tons in the first nine months of 1923-24, due almost entirely to a resumption of exports of wheat; but with scarcely any exception every class of goods shows some increase. This is true of imports also, which show a serious decline in two cases only. In one of these the House will be specially interested. The imports of coal into India fell by exactly a third or by 2,84,000 tons in the first nine months of the

current year when compared with those of the corresponding period of 1922-23. "Grey twist and yarn" and "Grey piece-goods" also declined, but the quantity of practically every other class of imports has increased, while at the same time there has usually been a small fall in values. The year has been one of fairly steady, though at times difficult trade, but favourable to India in the balance.

7. Prices of Indian products have on the whole remained remarkably steady throughout the year, with the exception of raw cotton which, owing to the uncertainty and the eventual shortage of the American supply, has been subject to considerable fluctuation. In November 1923 cotton prices reached their highest level since 1918. This has inevitably reacted upon the activities of the cotton industry. Food grains, on the other hand, have fallen steadily since April and the wholesale prices of cereals in Calcutta in December last was only 5 per cent above the level at the end of July 1914. Sugar showed a tendency to advance, whilst tea has been obtaining record prices. The prices of raw jute has been consistently below those prevailing at the similar periods in the preceding year.

The close of 1923 was characterised by somewhat firmer prices for raw materials in the chief markets of the world, and it is fair to say that there is a greater sense of security among producers and merchants than at this time last year. The period of large returns has, however, passed and several industries have still to adjust themselves further to lower rates of profit.

8. CUSTOMS—The slow recovery of trade and the fall in prices of imported articles have resulted in our being once again disappointed in our Custom receipts. The actual figures for Customs receipts up to the end of January point to a net revenue for the year of 40·42 crores as compared with the Budget estimate of 45·10 crores. 'Sugar' provides 1,15 lakhs less revenue than we had anticipated, and it is evident that under this head insufficient allowance was made for the reduced tariff valuation. While the volume of imports of other articles has in most cases not been unsatisfactory, the amount collected on account of our 'ad valorem' duties has declined. We anticipate a decrease of 73 lakhs under imports of 'piece goods,', 58 lakhs under 'metals,' and 35 lakhs under 'cutlery and hardware,' while owing to adverse conditions in the Bombay mill industry the 'excise duty' of 'cotton manufactures' will fall short of the Budget by 38 lakhs.

9. To the extent of about 50 lakhs the failure of Customs revenue to fulfil our expectations is due to the decision of the Bombay High Court that stores imported by Railway companies working State lines come under the definition of Government stores and have to be passed free of duty. An appeal has been preferred to the Privy Council against this judgment. If we are successful, we shall recover 50 lakhs from the Company-managed Railways which will get the Revenue side of the Budget of 1923-24. If, however, we are not successful, we shall not only fail to realise the 50 lakhs in question but we shall have to pay to the Railway Companies a further sum, estimated at about 2 crores, by way of refund of duty collected from them after the definition 'of Governments stores" on which we had always hitherto acted was brought into question before the Courts.

10. RAILWAYS—The Budget estimate of gross receipts from Railways was placed at 95·57 crores. During the earlier part of the financial year the published figures of weekly earnings were unsatisfactory. They were considerably affected during the monsoon and again in December by breaches in important lines due to flood and storm. Since the

middle of December, however, there has been a striking improvement in gross receipts which enables us to place our estimate for the whole year at the figure of 94·92 crores which is only 1⅛ crore less than the Budget estimate. On the other hand, we have effected a material reduction in working expenses and, in addition, the outgoings under the head of Programme Revenue expenditure have been less than we expected, and I may add, less than is really desirable in the interests of our Railway properties. The total saving in working expenses as compared with the Budget, amounts to 1·93 crores. We thus anticipate an improvement of 58 lakhs in our net receipts

INTEREST, CURRENCY ETC.—Under the heads of "Interest", "Currency" and "Miscellaneous" there is improvement of 1,42 lakhs, largely due to the higher prices for short money in London and to the fact that favourable opportunities for remittance have enabled us to build up large reserves in sterling which will be very useful to us during the coming year.

11. OPIUM, POSTS & TELEGRAPHS—Opium receipts exceed the estimate by 38 lakhs, but there is a decline of 22 lakhs in the net gain to Central revenues from the Posts and Telegraphs Department.

12. SALT—Honourable Members will not suspect me of forgetting salt. The Budget provided for a total salt revenue of 11¾ crores, including the additional 4·5 crores expected from the doubling of the duty. Circumstances which are not unfamiliar have had the effect of seriously interfering with the normal progress of salt revenue during the year. To begin with, there were very large issues of salt during January and February 1923 in anticipation of the enhancement of the duty. The hope of profiting by a reduction in duty in 1924—25 has now led traders, especially in Northern India, to reduce their stocks as far as possible. An examination of past statistics shows that the issues against consumption in a normal year would amount at the present time to approximately 495 lakhs of maunds. The actual issues for 1923-24 are expected to amount to about 380 lakhs of maunds. The over-issue during January and February 1923 may be put at approximately 30 lakhs of maunds, so that something like 80 lakhs of maunds represents the amount of salt which would have been issued but for the anticipation of a reduction of duty in the present Budget. I may add that I have been unable to find any evidence that the restricted issues have been accompanied by any reduction in actual consumption. In the result, we now anticipate that our total revenue from salt in 1923-24 will amount to 8¾ crores, which is 3 crores less than the estimate.

EXPENDITURE.

13. OPIUM—The only important excess of expenditure over the estimate occurs under the head "Opium". It will be remembered that a supplementary grant of 77 lakhs was voted during the July session to enable us to meet an excess of payments to cultivators in the United Provinces and in the Central India States due to an increase in the out-turn of the last crop It is now expected that the excess will actually amount to 70 lakhs.

14. DISCOUNT ON TREASURY BILLS, INTEREST ON RUPEE LOANS, ETC.—There has been a substantial saving on the Budget provision for discount on Treasury Bills which reflects the great improvement in our ways and means position. On the 31st March 1922, Treasury Bills outstanding with the public reached the formidable total of 54 crores. This figure had been reduced to 22 crores on the 31st March 1923. On the 31st March 1924 it will be approximately 2 crores. It

is not necessary for me to emphasise the great gain to our financial security which these figures disclose. With a large amount of debt maturing from day to day, all within a few months, we were in a serious position if any unhappy emergency had arisen. The Finance Department's constant anxiety was to know how to find the money if Treasury Bills had to be repaid, and they were often at the mercy of the market if the bills had to be renewed. The market also appreciates its release from constant demands by the Government for short money. Indeed, such is the perversity of human nature that the complaint now tends to be that there are not enough Treasury Bills to go round. The favourable rate at which the current year's rupee loan was issued has also resulted in a saving on Budget provision for charges connected with new loans. There has been a small excess in the provision for new sterling loans owing to our having raised 18 million pounds in London instead of the 15 million pounds tentatively entered in the Budget statement. On the whole, we expect a saving of 71 lakhs in the gross interest charges on our debt.

15. SINKING FUNDS.—Under the heads of sinking funds there is a net saving of 80 lakhs, as we have found it unnecessary, owing to the improved state of the Government securities market, to use any portion of the additional provision of 80 lakhs which has been made during the last few years for supporting the two long-term 5 per cent rupee loans.

16. MILITARY EXPENDITURE.—The Budget estimates of Military expenditure for 1923-24 amounted to 65·05 crores gross and, 62 crores net. As has already been announced to the House, full effect has now been given to the reductions in British troops proposed by the Retrenchment Committee except in the case of one cavalry regiment and, though the full resulting economies will not accrue until 1924-25, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has found it possible by means of various economies to reduce the established charges of the Military services for 1923-24 to 60¼ crores as against the figure of 61·94 crores included in the original estimate. A non-recurrent credit of 2¼ crores from consumption or disposal of surplus stores was provided for in accordance with the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee. The actual credit will amount to approximately 3 crores. On the other hand, the latest estimate of special expenditure in Waziristan is about 2 crores as against the figure of 1·09 crores included in the Budget. Gratuities, etc., for demobilised officers, for which 62 lakhs was provided, will cost us 1½ crores.

17. All these figures include sterling expenditure converted into rupees at 16d., and on this basis the revised Military estimate stands at 60·20 crores net. From this total a sum of 40 lakhs has to be deducted representing the saving under the head of Exchange, making the net figure 59·74 crores—a total saving of 2,20 lakhs or, if exchange be excluded, of 1,80 lakhs.

18. The non-recurrent saving of 3 crores in respect of stores has of course been a prominent factor in keeping down our Military expenditure in 1923-24. Our position has also been materially assisted by a non-recurrent receipt of 41 lakhs. During the war temporary lines were constructed for a number of Indian Battalions raised for the British Government, and the cost of these lines was charged to the British Government. Since the termination of the war the lines have been gradually disposed of, but the British Government have only recently accepted our contention that the sale-proceeds belong to the Indian exchequer in consequence of the arrangement arrived at

when the further contribution towards the expenses of the war was agreed to by India.

19. EXCHANGE—There has also been a saving of ½ crore under other heads of Civil Expenditure, but the largest saving on the expenditure side occurs under the head "Exchange." The rate of exchange has except for a few days, stood above the figure of 1s. 4d. assumed for the purposes of the Budget for 1923-24. It has stood above 1s. 5d. almost continuously since November and the average rate for the current financial year is expected to work out to approximately 1s. 4⅝d. The resultant saving in net expenditure outside India, including Military expenditure and expenditure on commercial services chargeable to revenue, amounts to 128 lakhs. In addition, there is a saving in exchange of approximately 50 lakhs in respect of capital expenditure.

SUMMARY

20. The above variations in revenue and expenditure are summarised below :—

	(In lakhs of rupees.) (+Better	—Worse)
Customs revenue, less	..	4,68
Salt revenue, less	..	3,05
Opium revenue, more	38	..
Net receipts from Railways, more ..	58	..
Net receipts from Posts and Telegraphs, less (62 lakhs of the deterioration is nominal, due to the debit to the Department for the first time of the cost of pensions and to payment made for the stock of postage and telegraph stamps which have now been taken over by the Department)	..	1,24
Interest, Currency and Miscellaneous receipts, more	1,42	..
Military receipts, more	1,17	..
Loss by exchange on revenue realised in England as compared with 1s. 4d. rate assumed for Budget ..	..	13
Minor variations	17	..
Total ..	3,72	9,10
Net deterioration in revenue ..	—5,38	
Opium Expenditure, more ..	..	70
Saving under expenditure on stamps and superannuation allowances and pensions owing to transfers to the Posts and Telegraphs Department (see explanation above under Posts and Telegraphs receipts) ..	62	..
Saving in interest chargeable to Posts and Telegraphs and in capital outlay of the Department charged to revenue	40	..
Saving in gross interest payments ..	74	..

Smaller interest recoveries from Provincial Governments	..	25
Saving in provision for sinking funds	80	..
Saving in gross Military expenditure	63	..
Saving in exchange on gross expenditure in England as compared to 1s. 4d. rate assumed for Budget ..	1,41	..
Minor variations (mainly savings in Civil expenditure)	54	..
Total ..	5,14	95

Net saving in expenditure ..	+4,19
Net deterioration on Budget anticipations	—1,19
Surplus in Budget ..	81
Deficit now anticipated ..	38

REALISED SURPLUS

21. WINDFALL—So far I have been dealing only with ordinary revenue and expenditure. The figures are so nearly equal that, although they point to a small deficit, it would not be surprising to find that the final figures show, after all, a small surplus on the ordinary Budget. We have, however, been fortunate enough to come in for a valuable legacy. There are certain sums which have for some time been lying in suspense and which represent the profits from the control of enemy ships and similar items. It has not hitherto been possible to say how much, if any, of these sums could be credited to Indian revenues. A great number of intricate problems had to be cleared up first and even to-day there is still some possibility of counter-claims being established against a portion of the amounts in question. But we are able to say with fair certainty that £3¼ millions (equivalent at 1s. 4½d. to 4·73 crores) representing profits from the control of enemy ships belong to India. Out of this sum the Government of India propose to reserve 25 lakhs for the payment of EX GRATIA grants to private individuals in consideration of losses suffered through enemy action. If the whole of the remainder of this windfall were credited to the revenue of 1923-24, there would be a surplus (including both ordinary and extraordinary revenue) of over 4 crores after allowing for the deficit of 38 lakhs provisionally entered on ordinary account.

22. In the absence of any special arrangement this surplus would, in the ordinary course, go automatically to debt reduction, and, in view of the deficits of previous years, it is clearly desirable that as much of it as possible should be so applied. An item of extraordinary revenue of this sort ought not to be used for meeting ordinary recurrent expenditure or, indeed, any expenditure normally chargeable against ordinary revenue. We have, however, still to provide the means of meeting the special charge of 2 crores for repayment to the Railways of customs duty on imported railway materials if the case goes against us in the Privy Council. This expenditure is, indeed, part of the expenditure properly chargeable to 1923-24 if it eventually has to be incurred. I therefore propose to retain 2 crores out of the available surplus temporarily in suspense pending the decision of the Privy Council. The remainder of the

surplus, estimated at present at approximately 2,06 lakhs, will be applied automatically to the reduction or avoidance of new borrowings for capital expenditure.

GENERAL

23. I do not propose to go again over the ground which I covered a year ago in reviewing the position of India's finances at the close of 1922-23. Broadly speaking, it may be said that both in the provinces and the Central Government the era of unbalanced budgets has now been brought to an end. We have got rid of practically all our embarrassments in regard to floating debt and can face the necessity of meeting short-term bonds which mature in the next few years with confidence. There is no longer any fear of our being forced to undesirable expedients, such as currency inflation, in order to meet our out-goings. And if the time has not yet come at which we can replace the present statutory, but inoperative, ratio of 2s. gold to the Rupee by an effective ratio, this is due not to our inability to maintain our currency in a sound condition but to a continuance of economic instability in other parts of the world, which makes immediate stabilisation unattractive.

24. The improvement in our position is happily reflected in the improved market price of all our rupee securities. On the 15th February 1923, the 5 per cent. tax-free loan 1945-55 was quoted at Rs. 88-10; on the 15th February 1924 it was quoted at Rs. 98. The quotation for the 5 per cent. loan 1929-47 has risen in the same period from Rs. 82-10 to Rs. 93-2. In 1923 we were able for the first time since 1919 to raise money by a long-term issue, and the improved quotations which I have mentioned give us good reason to hope that we may do even better in 1924-25. More important still, the general improvement in our position should enable us, as I shall show later on when I come to the Ways and Means Budget for the coming year, to avoid any new borrowing in London.

25. POST OFFICE CASH CERTIFICATES—One striking feature of the year 1923-24 is the increased popularity of our Post Office Cash Certificates. Originally issued in 1917, these certificates, thanks to a strenuous campaign for saving, were taken by the small investor to a total of 8 crores net during the period ending 31st March 1919. From that time onwards, year by year repayments considerably exceeded new purchases and on the 31st March 1923 the total outstanding had been reduced to 3 crores. There is nothing which will give a greater stimulus to economic progress in India than the extension of the saving habit. The year 1923-24 has seen a very hopeful development in this direction. From the 1st April 1923 the terms on which Post Office Cash Certificates were issued were improved, so that they now offer a net yield of 6 per cent. compound interest to those who hold them till maturity. At the same time as the issue of new certificates began, endeavours were made in various directions to popularise them, with the result that during the ten months ending the 31st January 1924 a total of 6 crores and 4½ crores net (after allowing for repayments) was invested in this way to the great advantage both of the small investor who lent us the money and of the Govt. of India who borrowed it, as well as of the Indian people as a whole who are richer individually by the amount of their savings and collectively by the productive capital assets in which these savings have been invested. It may be necessary to reconsider the terms on which cash certificates are issued if, as seems probable, the Government of India are able to place rupee loans in the open market on terms which show a considerable improvement on the yield

of about 5¾ per cent. subject to tax at which last year's loans were issued. But it is my earnest hope, and I trust that all members of the Legislature will use their influence in the same direction, that the habit of investing in Post Office Cash Certificates will go on spreading throughout India and that both the number of small investors who take to the habit and the aggregate volume of their purchases will go on increasing.

26. The holders of all our securities in India have benefited by the general improvement in the outlook for Government finances, and not the least these holders of our 3½ per cent. rupee debt who bought or subscribed for that stock before the war at or near par. It will be remembered that the question of doing something to assist such holders was carefully examined a few years ago. But the conclusion reached, and indeed it was the only possible conclusion, was that the sound and sure way of alleviating their position is to restore the general stability of our finances. The rise in the quotation of the 3½ per cent. rupee paper from its lowest point of Rs. 52 to a maximum figure of Rs. 66-2 during 1923, and the further rise which occurred early this month, when seasonal influences might have been expected to depress the price, is an earnest of what we may hope will prove a permanent recovery.

DEBT.

27. I now come to our debt position. The figures which I am about to give are in a new form which is, I think, more comprehensive and accurate than the form hitherto adopted. The total debt of the Government of India on the 31st March 1924 will be constituted as follows;—

		(Rs. Lakhs)
In India—		
Loans	3,58,79	
Treasury Bills in the hands of the public	2,13	
Total in India		3,60,92
In England (at Rs. 15)—		
Loans	3,64,22	
War contribution	28,90	
Total in England		3,93,12
Unfunded—		
Post Office Savings Banks ..	24,87	
Cash Certificates	8,51	
Provident Funds, etc.	39,97	
Total unfunded		73,35
		8,27,39
ADD—		
The Capital value of the liabilities undergoing redemption by way of Terminable Railway Annuities, amounting, on 31st March 1924, to £60,095,485, or at Rs. 15		90,14
Total debt ..		9,17,53

I have excluded Treasury Bills, amounting to 49·65 crores, held in the Paper Currency Reserve, as these represent a liability not entirely comparable to ordinary public debt. If, however, they are included, the gross total of the debt amounts to 9,67·18 crores. The corresponding total on the 31st March 1923 was 9,29·55 crores including a similar total of 49·65 crores of Treasury Bills in the Currency Reserve and 8,79·90 crores excluding these Treasury Bills.

28. Of the total on the 31st March 1924, 11·88 crores are due to the discount at which some of the loans were issued. This liability is treated as an interest charge under our system of book-keeping and is being extinguished by annual appropriations from revenue within the period of each loan. It should therefore be excluded from our total debt figure, which is thus reduced to 9,05·65 crores. Of this 5,78·39 crores are classed as productive debt and 2,28·45 crores as unproductive debt. The balance of 98·81 crores represents loans to Provincial Governments. These figures compare with 5,55·07 crores of productive debt and 2,29·11 crores of unproductive debt a year ago and 87·49 crores of loans to Provincial Governments. The rupee debt, which stood at 4,23·98 crores on the 31st March 1923, amounts to 4,34·27 crores on the 31st March 1924, while the sterling debt has risen from 304 million pounds on the 31st March 1923 to 322½ million pounds on the 31st March 1924.

29. PROPOSALS FOR DEBT REDEMPTION. This brings me to the general question of the provision made annually in our expenditure or sinking funds. So long as we have a considerable annual programme of new productive capital expenditure, any provision for sinking funds operates, not to reduce the net total of our debt, but to reduce the amount of it which is unproductive, and the amount provided becomes in effect a contribution out of revenue towards productive capital expenditure. Instead, therefore, of speaking of such a provision by the convenient but misleading title of a sinking fund, it is preferable to describe it as a contribution out of revenue for reduction or avoidance of debt.

30. The amount provided for reduction or avoidance of debt in the Estimates for 1923-24 was follows:—

(In lakhs of Rupees.)

IN INDIA—		
1½ per cent. Depreciation Fund against—		
5 per cent. Indian War Loan, 1929-47 ..	41	
5 per cent. Tax-free Loan, 1945-55 ..	33	
Lump sum addition to the above made in and since 1921-22	80	
		1,54
IN ENGLAND—		
War contribution—annual instalment in repayment of principal	442,900	
Railway Annuities (capital portion) and sinking funds	1,544,300	
Total in England ..	1,987,200	
Which at Rs. 15= ..		2,98
Total provision ..		4,92

As I have already explained, the special optional addition of 80 lakhs, made in and since 1921-22 to the depreciation fund for the two

5 per cent. Rupee loans was not required during 1923-24. There was also a saving in exchange on the sterling items of 9 lakhs, so that the total actual expenditure for reduction or avoidance of debt during the year will have been Rs. 3,63 lakhs.

The corresponding figures for 1924-25 on the same basis would be Rs. 4,65 lakhs including the special 80 lakhs and Rs. 3,85 lakhs excluding those 80 lakhs. An addition of 14 lakhs has to be made to the Depreciation fund for the 5 per cent. tax-free loan 1945-55 as the result of the further issue of that loan last summer. The balance of the difference between the figures for the two years is explained by exchange variations and by an automatic increase in the capital portion of certain annuities.

31. It will be remembered that a year ago there was some discussion in connection with the Budget of the propriety of charging to capital that portion of the Railway annuities, provided in the Railway grant, which represents repayment of capital. In accordance with a promise which I made last year, we have now reconsidered this particular charge in connection with the general subject of debt. We have come to the conclusion that this charge should henceforth be excluded from the Railway budget, but treated along with our other provision in the general budget for the reduction or avoidance of debt. By so treating it, we are able to get a clear picture of what exactly is our total provision out of revenue against our total debt and to consider whether it is sufficient. In order to do this we must first ask what is the basis on which our present total provision rests and what ought to be the basis. Why, in fact, did we provide 4,52 lakhs in 1923-24 and was that an adequate total?

32. It appears on examination that the present provision is largely the result of accident. We happen to have entered into certain contracts with third parties, such as the contracts with railway companies to buy up their property by means of terminable annuities, and the contract with subscribers to our 5 per cent. war loans to provide a depreciation fund. These contractual obligations account for 3,72 lakhs in the Budget Estimates for 1923-24. The only optional payment was the extra 80 lakhs for additional depreciation funds for the 5 per cent loans. It is obvious that a total made up in this way does not represent a considered plan, and that the aggregate of individual items does not necessarily conform to any criterion of what our total provision should be. Let me give an example of what I mean. Let us suppose that we come to the conclusion that 3·99 crores, which with exchange at 1s. 4d. is the aggregate of the obligatory items in 1924-25, represents almost exactly what ought to be provided. Suppose further that in the course of the next few years the money required for new productive capital expenditure and the money needed to meet the large total of maturing bonds were raised mainly or entirely by the issue of one or other of the 5 five per cent loans to which a contractual depreciation fund attaches. A large addition would then have to be made to our provision for depreciation funds. It is, of course, proper that the provision for reduction or avoidance of debt should grow with the growth of our total debt. But is there any reason why it should grow by exactly the amount of the depreciation funds? And, in so far as the new borrowing merely represents the replacement of maturing bonds, is there any reason for an increase at all?

33. We are clearly in need of some criterion and we should aim at a regular programme based on stable and well-considered principles, not subject to haphazard changes. The best way of arriving at such

a programme is, I think, to take the gross total of our debt, examine the capital assets which we hold against that debt, and fix approximate periods within which it is desirable to amortise each category of debt. The gross total of our debt on the 31st March 1924, according to the figures already given, is approximately 9,17·53 crores. I exclude as before the 49·65 crores of Treasury Bills in the Paper Currency Reserve, for redemption of which statutory arrangements have already in fact been made in our Paper Currency Act. Of this total of 9,17·53 crores, 98·81 crores represents debt incurred on behalf of the Provincial Governments. These Governments themselves provide for the repayment to us of what they have borrowed, and proposals are under consideration for putting these arrangements on a more regular footing and for the establishment of a Provincial Loans Fund. For the purposes of the Central Government's provision for debt reduction, we may, therefore, exclude this sum of 98·81 crores as also the sum of 11·88 crores representing discount on past loans, leaving a net total of 8,06·84 crores, of which 5,78·39 crores is productive and the balance of 2,28·45 crores is unproductive debt.

34. It seems desirable, however, to analyse our unproductive debt a little further. Approximately 98 crores of it represent the accumulated deficits of the five years ending 31st March 1923. The building of New Delhi accounts for 9·85 crores. We are thus left with a figure of 1,20·60 crores which may be said to be our true war debt. It is reasonable to fix different periods for the redemption of different classes of debt. For productive debt 80 years is not too long. For unproductive debt generally a period of more than 50 years is not easily defensible. For repaying the debt due to our deficits or for such an onerous obligation as the building of New Delhi, shorter periods, say 25 years for the first and 15 years for the second, ought to be taken, since in both cases the next generation of tax-payers is in danger of being called upon to provide sums which ought strictly to have been met out of annual revenue. War debt, on the other hand, however desirable it may be to meet war expenditure to the utmost extent possible out of war revenue, is the inevitable outcome of war conditions and part of the cost of war, and may legitimately be passed on to the generations which benefit by the sufferings and privations of their predecessors. PER CONTRA, the fact that borrowing may be needed for emergencies such as war makes it most undesirable for a Government such as the Government of India to borrow for non-productive purposes in time of peace. It should manage to provide in peace time for the gradual amortization of all its debt. Moreover, existence of a regular provision out of revenue for reduction or avoidance of debt will not only reduce the net amount of our new borrowings for productive purposes but will materially reduce their cost.

35. It is not possible in a Budget speech to treat the whole subject exhaustively, and I do not pretend that the periods suggested above are the only possible or reasonable periods to take. But for the purpose of my argument they will serve, well enough by way of illustration. If we take the periods named and apply them to the different classes of debt mentioned and assume further that any sums provided year by year were set aside to accumulate at 5 per cent. compound interest, we obtain as our result a figure of 3·06 crores as the amount which it would be necessary, on the above basis, to provide annually, beginning with the year 1924-25, to redeem the whole debt within the periods named. But it would not be convenient or desirable to set this sum aside year by year to accumulate at com-

pound interest in the manner assumed in the calculation. It must be expended in the year in which it is provided either on actual repayment of existing debt or for new capital purposes in order to reduce the amount of our new borrowings. By so using it, we reduce the amount we have to pay in interest in the future. We could, indeed, obtain a result equivalent to accumulation at compound interest if we first of all provided 3·66 crores in 1924-25, and then set aside in 1925-26, in addition, a sum equivalent to 5 per cent. interest on 3·66 crores, and so on in future years. In that case the sums actually required during the next five years would be:—

(In crores of Rs.)

1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.	1928-29.
3·66	3·84	4·04	4·24	4·45

36. This would, however, be rather a cumbrous arrangement and in view of the hypothetical nature of some of the data on which the calculation is based, for example the assumption of a rate of exactly 5 per cent for interest, it would be better to achieve the results desired by some more simple process. The same amount of debt would be redeemed if a provision of 4·04 crores were made in each year for the next five years. We may therefore conclude that a figure of 4 crores per annum would be an adequate provision to include in our Budget expenditure for the next five years for dealing with our existing debt.

37. I do not mean that we ought to lay down finally as a law of our financial system that a provision of 4 crores per annum shall be made in each of the next five years. In any case, I must remind the House that this figure makes no provision for the further debt which will be incurred during 1924-25 and thereafter. The criteria which I have suggested evidently require that an addition should be made each year for all new debt incurred. On the assumption, which I hope will prove correct, that such debt will (with the one exception of the expenditure now nearing completion on New Delhi) be entirely for productive purposes, the annual addition might be a sum equal to one-eightieth of the net addition to our debt during the year. It is much to be desired that in the near future we should arrive at a definite programme—it might with advantage be a statutory programme—for dealing with this subject. For the present, however, I am content to deal with the year 1924-25 only, leaving for further consideration in the light of the discussion which will, I hope, be provoked by what I have said, the final determination of our future programme.

38. The House will not fail to observe that the figure of 4 crores is almost exactly the figure of our obligatory payments. This coincidence is satisfactory as showing that our provision for dealing with our debt hitherto has been a reasonable one. It also provides a further justification for the omission of the optional item of 80 lakhs for additional depreciation fund. In view of the strength of the market for Government securities, this extra 80 lakhs is clearly not required for its specific purpose.

SEPARATION OF RAILWAY FINANCES FROM GENERAL FINANCES

39. RAILWAY BUDGET.—Before coming to grips with the figures of the general Budget for 1924-25, I must devote attention to one more special subject, the subject of Railway Finance. Honourable Members have all seen the resolution on the subject of the separation of the Railway Budget from the ordinary Budget which has been on the table of the House for some days. I know of no reform which

offers greater attractions and greater benefits to our finances and our Railways alike than a definite separation, if it can be achieved. The condition of affairs hitherto prevailing has inevitably tended to an alternation between raids by the Railways on the taxpayer and raids by the taxpayer on the Railways. If we can succeed in putting an end to this state of affairs, we shall have achieved a piece of genuine constructive work, for which the credit will be, in large measure, due to the initiative of the legislature which has pressed the problem upon the Government. It is proposed that time shall be set apart on Monday next for a full discussion of the resolution on this subject. I must not, therefore, delay the House now by dwelling upon it. I want only to say that in my opinion the reform proposed will bring us valuable dividends in our future budgets, and at the same time lead to great economies in the working of our Railways. It will give them a real incentive to increase their efficiency and to provide better service at reduced cost to their customers, the Indian public.

40. In the figures of the general Budget as presented, the return which we expect to receive from our investment in the Railways is included in accordance with the new settlement now proposed. The taxpayer, instead of paying the whole of the expenses and taking the whole of the incomings of the railways, will enter into a bargain with the Railways to receive from them (a) a sum sufficient to pay in full the interest on the capital he has invested in the commercial lines, (b) an additional dividend of five-sixths of one per cent. on that capital and (c) a share of one-fifth of any surplus earnings that may be secured in addition. In return, the railways will be left to carry on their business with the right to retain any surplus over and above what they pay to the Government and to apply it to railway purposes, first of all for creating reserves and then by using these reserves to improve the services they render to the public and reduce the price which they charge for these services. The Government of India and this Assembly will remain in complete control of the Railway Administration just as they now are. That control will be in no way impaired. But there will no longer be any need to consider from the narrow standpoint of their effect upon the general revenues in a particular period of twelve months, that is, in a particular Budget period, proposals by the Railway authorities which, though excellent and desirable in themselves, might, under the present system, upset the apparent equilibrium of the Budget for the year. The tax-payer will secure a regular and increasing contribution from his investment, largely independent of fluctuations in railway receipts and expenditure, and the railways will be able to spend money according to the real needs of the railway system, unimpeded by the necessity for conforming to the vagaries of Budget figures and the requirements of Budget accounting. The Railways will become a real commerical undertaking managed on commercial lines, and the tax-payer will get the benefit of commercial accounts and management.

41. Among the papers which are being circulated with the speech, Honourable Members will find statements showing first, how the net contribution by the railways to general revenues is arrived at under the proposed new settlement, and second, a comparison of the figures under the two systems showing what the contribution would be under the old system. The main figures in the Railway Budget framed according to the proposed new plan are, traffic receipts 97·07 crores, working expenses 65·23 crores, interest and other charges 26·23 crores, leaving 1,33·48 lakhs as reserve and 4,27·30 lakhs as the net

contribution to general revenues. Under the old system the net contribution is 4,16 lakhs. It is necessary, however, to mention one special point. One of the results of the close scrutiny of Railway finances which has taken place during the past year has been to bring to light a difference on the wrong side between the value of stores held for the capital suspense account and the true market value of those stores. Some of them are not now required for railway purposes and must be sold for what they will fetch. Others are required but are worthless than the figure at which they stand in the books. It becomes necessary, therefore, to write off 3 crores from the Capital account and this can only be done by a charge against revenue. The loss has been accumulated over a series of years and is partly the result of the large rise in prices after the war and the subsequent slump. How are we to deal with this charge of 3 crores? It is necessary that the loss should be written off at once in order to enable us to arrive at a proper valuation of East Indian and the Great Indian Peninsula Railways when they are taken over by the State. If we were in a position to do so, we ought undoubtedly to provide this 3 crores out of the revenue of 1924-25. Under the settlement proposed to be made with the Railways, this charge will be taken over by them and spread over a period of ten years, during which there is reason to believe that they will be able to meet it out of their share of surplus profits. Under the old system there is no provision for building up a reserve out of profits, as profits are taken automatically into general revenues for the year in which they accrue. There is, therefore, less justification for spreading the charge. If, however, the whole 3 crores were charged against the revenue for 1924-25, the contribution of the railways to general revenues during the year would be reduced almost to vanishing point. I trust that the need for deciding this difficult point will be avoided by the adoption by this House of the proposed system of commercial accounting and separation of railway finances. But in the contrary event, there seems to be no better solution than to set up a special provision of 30 lakhs a year, beginning with 1924-25, to amortise the debt in ten years, and it is only by this unsatisfactory device that the figure of 4·16 crores for railway net receipts on the present system is arrived at.

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR THE YEAR 1924-25.

42. I have, I am afraid, already taxed the patience of the House as severely as the Government are accused of taxing the people of India. But the subjects of Debt Redemption and Railway finance have an interest far beyond the immediate question of the Budget of 1924-25, and it was necessary to deal with them at some length in order to prepare the way for the Budget statement itself. Two other subjects, which are of immediate importance for the year 1924-25, must still be disposed of before I am in a position to present the figures for which the House is waiting. The first of these is the question of making Government stores liable to Customs Duty and the second is Exchange.

43. PROPOSAL TO CHARGE IMPORTED GOVERNMENT STORES TO CUSTOMS DUTY.—I have already referred to the complications caused during 1923-24 by the decision of the Bombay High Court which brought stores purchased for Company Railways into the category of "Government stores." We hope that the decision of the Privy Council will upset this ruling on appeal. But quite apart from that question, we have come to the conclusion that the time has

arrived when Government stores should be treated for Customs purposes like any other imports, and as the House is aware, we have introduced a Bill to rescind the proviso to section 20 of the Sea Customs Act by virtue of which Government stores are admitted duty free.

44. The Budget figures are presented on the assumption that this Bill will become law. The effect is to add about 1,63 lakhs to our estimate of revenue and about 53 lakhs to our general expenditure, of which 25 lakhs occur under the head of Military expenditure and 22 lakhs represent the assignments to be made to Provincial Governments during 1924-25 to compensate them for the duty which they will have to pay. An additional charge of about 1,10 lakhs to Railways is also involved, partly Revenue and partly Capital. Of this 1,10 lakhs about 90 lakhs would in any case accrue if the decision of the Privy Council were in our favour, It has been the practice hitherto to take credit to Revenue for customs duty on stores imported by company-managed Railways for capital purposes even when the capital is provided through the Government of India. We thereby get an increase in revenue at the expense of an increase in capital. It is true that the capital is spent on productive purposes and that the Railways are expected to charge their customers fares and freights sufficient to pay interest and earn profits on capital expenditure. But there are obvious objections to increasing revenue at the expense of capital and this system will be reconsidered during the course of the year. It is not proposed to change it in the present Budget in so far as the company-managed lines are concerned. But we think it would be unsound to extend the practice to State Railways, which will now have to pay Customs duty on the stores they import. It is accordingly proposed to remark as a special contribution from Revenue to Capital a sum equivalent to the duty collected from State Railways on stores imported by them for capital purposes. The amount in 1924-25 is estimated at 11 lakhs. It will be larger by 30 lakhs in 1925-26 when the Great Indian Peninsula and East Indian Railways are taken over by the State, and the fact of their transfer to State management will thus automatically reduce the extent of the objection to the present system in the case of company-managed lines. The amount of duty on stores for company-managed lines which involves a debit to capital in 1924-25 is estimated at 51 lakhs.

45. EXCHANGE—It will be remembered that in the Budget estimate for 1921-22 a rate of 1s. 8d. per rupee was taken for the purpose of converting into rupees that part of our expenditure which is in sterling. The Government were supposed to have made a prophecy or even a promise that the average rate for the year would be 1s. 8d. and were severely criticised when the rate fell far below that figure. This year and the year before the rate taken was 1s. 4d.; which proved just about right in 1922-23, while in 1923-24 the average rate has been 1s. 4½d. What rate are we to take for 1924-25? The figures were prepared in the first instance on the basis of a 1s. 4d. exchange, but are we content to leave them on that basis? If we do so and the rate for the year averages 1s. 4½d. we shall have over-estimated our expenditure to the extent of 88 lakhs (apart from Railways) and if the average rate were as high as 1s. 5d. we shall have over-stated our outgoings by 1·71 crores. Is the House prepared to pass our Demand Grants on the basis of 1s. 4d. at a moment when the market rate has been almost continually above 1s. 5d. for nearly four months?

46. But if we do not take 1s. 4d. what rate are we to take? The Government of India cannot prophesy or promise any particular rate, and he would be a bold man who ventured any confident statement in complete ignorance, as he must be, of the nature of the 1924 monsoon, the course of events in the Ruhr and elsewhere, and the movement of the dollar-sterling exchange. We are compelled to adopt some definite figure and yet we are entirely unable to control the events which will determine the accuracy of whatever figure we may adopt. After careful consideration we have decided to frame our forecast on the basis of an average rate for the year of 1s. 4⅛d. or ⅛d. better than the actual average in 1923-24.

EXPENDITURE.

47. We are now at last in a position to proceed to a balance-sheet for 1924-25. I begin with the expenditure side.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE—Military expenditure for 1924-25 is estimated at 63 crores gross and 60·25 crores net, which includes a saving on Exchange of 68 lakhs. On the basis of 1s. 4d. to the rupee the net amount required would be 60·93 crores. In order to assist comparison with the current year the remaining figures of Military expenditure which I shall proceed to give will be on the basis of 1s. 4d. to the rupee.

48. Established charges come to 59 crores which compares with the Revised estimate of 61¼ crores and the original Budget figure of 61·94 crores for 1923-24. But 25 lakhs is included in the 1924-25 figure for the payment of customs duty on imported stores, which was not required in 1923-24. We shall require 30 lakhs for roads and barracks in Waziristan and 1,63 lakhs for special terminal charges. If we exclude the special sum of 25 lakhs representing customs duty, which will come back as revenue, the established charges will amount to 58¾ crores as against the figure of 59·38 crores assumed by the Retrenchment Committee. The non-recurrent saving arising from reduction in stocks cannot of course be repeated for next year. But we have managed to reduce the established charges below the Committee's figure—an achievement for which we are greatly indebted to the vigilance of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and his keen anxiety to effect all possible economies which do not interfere with the essential structure and organisation of the reduced Army.

49. Full information about the action taken on the detailed recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee has already been supplied to the House. I may remind Honourable Members that the Committee expressed the view that in matters of detail the Commander-in Chief must be left a certain amount of discretion in carrying out their proposals. As the financial effect of the retrenchments actually secured is not less than the total specific economies recommended by the Committee, the Government can rightly claim that they have given full effect to the Committee's recommendations. We have not overlooked the fact that the Retrenchment Committee expressed the opinion that the adoption of their recommendations would enable the Military estimates to be reduced in subsequent years to about 57 crores and ultimately to 50 crores, though, as they stated, the Commander-in-Chief did not subscribe to this opinion. Their specific recommendations, however, worked out to a figure of 57¾ crores, which included the special non-recurrent saving of 2½ crores from reduction in stocks. There was thus a gap of 3 crores between the figure arrived at as a result of the specific recommendations of the Committee and the figure of 57 crores. Further the Committee took

no account of the inevitable increase in non-effective charges. Owing to a growth in the pension list, which has been accelerated by reductions of personnel, the provisions for non-effective charges included in the established charges of the Military services is, on the basis of a 1s 4d. rupee, 35 lakhs higher in the Budget of 1924-25 than in the Budget of 1923-24. It is evident, therefore, that the goal of 57 crores is not immediately attainable. For the last year our energies have been fully occupied in securing the actual retrenchments specifically recommended by the Retrenchment Committee. But I am not without hope that with the continued co-operation of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief it may be possible further to reduce the level of the established charges of the Military services in 1925-26, though unfortunately we have reason to anticipate that terminal charges will be specially heavy in that year.

50. CIVIL EXPENDITURE.—On the Civil side also, we have given effect to almost all the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee and expenditure generally has been kept low. Under Opium, we are able to count on a decrease of 49 lakhs as compared with the current year's expenditure, as the special payments necessitated this year by an increase in the outturn of the last crop should not recur. A provision of 25 lakhs has been made, as I have already mentioned, for 'ex gratia' payment of compensation to private individuals who suffered from enemy action during the war, but it can be met from an equivalent sum set apart from the windfall from the working enemy ships. Eliminating Railway transactions, which cease to be a direct charge on Central revenues under the new arrangements which I have explained, our total expenditure amounts to 104·57 crores. What is the revenue on the basis of existing taxation from which to meet it?

REVENUE

51. CUSTOMS.—We expect a net customs revenue for 1924-25 of 45·02 crores against 40·42 crores now expected in the current year. The former figure includes the extra 1·03 crores already mentioned on account of duty on imported Government stores including Railway stores. Apart from this special factor, the estimate of revenue for 1924-25 allows for the higher tariff valuation for sugar which came into force from the 1st January last and for a normal expansion of revenue under other tariff heads.

52. Some small changes in the tariff are being proposed in the Finance Bill, the most important being the reduction of the Excise Duty on Motor Spirit to 4½ annas a gallon, which will cheapen motor spirit without loss to our revenue, and the imposition of specific duties on empty match boxes and splints, in order to protect our match revenue. I ought perhaps to add in passing that for Budget purposes it has been necessary to assume that the final out-turn of 1924-25 will be unaffected by any changes which may be introduced into our customs tariff as the result of the recommendations of the Tariff Board.

53. INCOME-TAX.—Under Income-tax, the unsatisfactory condition of the Bombay mill industry in the current year will reduce our revenue in that province in 1924-25, but this decline in revenue should be partly set-off by increases in other provinces, and we do not anticipate a reduction of more than 25 lakhs on the net revenue expected for the current year, making the total figure 18·22 crores.

54. We expect no material variation in the estimates under other heads of revenue, except under Currency where the investments in

British treasury bills made out of the large sterling remittance effected in the current year will result in an increase in revenue of about ½ crore. We propose that the interest on investments of the Currency Reserve as well as the surplus holdings in the Gold Standard Reserve in excess of £40 millions should, as in the current year, continue to be credited to revenue.

55. POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.—The net budget estimate of expenditure of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department is 9·03 crores. The revenue for 1924-25 is put at Rs. 10·14 crores. These figures are not comparable with those presented a year ago owing to the inclusion on both sides of certain items not hitherto included. The changes introduced represent the results so far achieved in the attempt to present commercial accounts. It had been hoped that it would be possible to have a commercial account ready for this Budget, but, partly owing to the desirability of awaiting a settlement of the cognate problems in the commercialisation of the Railway accounts, we have had to be satisfied with something less this year. We are able, however, to include in the detailed estimates a profit and loss account which indicates that the actual profit for 1924-25 will be about 24 lakhs.

56. It will be remembered that the Retrenchment Committee laid considerable stress on the large amount of capital locked up in stores. The actual balance in stock in the case of this Department has been reduced from Rs. 257 lakhs to Rs. 196 lakhs during 1923-34, and by the 31st March 1925 it is expected that the figure will have been brought down to less than 1 crore.

SURPLUS.

57. Replacing the net receipts from Railways by the fixed contribution of 4·27 crores, we thus arrive at a total revenue estimate of 107·93 crores, giving us, on the basis of existing taxation, a surplus of 3·36 crores. How are we to utilise this surplus? I see many claimants. I should like to have been able to reduce some of our Customs duties which in certain cases are undoubtedly hampering trade, though not I think so much as has been contended in certain quarters. It is tempting to consider a reduction here and there of some of our charges for postal and telegraph services; these, however, must wait till we know more exactly what the real surplus on the working of the Posts and Telegraphs is. Then there are the Provincial contributions. We had some discussion on these a few weeks ago, and the desirability of getting rid of them was widely recognised. So long as they remain unreduced, we are in the position of having over 9 crores of prior obligations between us and the things we should like to do with our surplus. Moreover, the existence of this liability is a constant source of bitterness in the relations between the different Provincial Governments and between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, not excluding Bengal, whose three years of grace expire at the close of 1924-25. A beginning of reduction is being eagerly anticipated by the Provinces, especially by Ministers who are anxious to develop the services under their charge and are severely hampered by lack of cash. Undoubtedly the Provincial contributions have a very strong claim. And finally there is the Salt Tax. It was raised from Rs. 1·4 per maund to Rs. 1·8 per maund this year owing to the paramount necessity of balancing the Budget. To reduce it to Rs. 2 per maund would demand 1·82 crores out of our surplus, to reduce it to Rs. 1·4 would take away Rs. 3·32 crores, that is, would devour practically the whole surplus.

WAYS AND MEANS.

58. But perhaps it would be better if, before continuing this exciting inquiry, I were to divert your attention for a moment to that necessary but less exciting portion of the annual Budget Statement—our Ways and Means Budget.

The following statement summarises the Ways and Means operations in India and England together during 1923-24 and 1924-25 :—

	[Crores of Rs.] Revised.	Budget.
LIABILITIES.		
Railway capital outlay	23·6	30·0
Delhi, Irrigation and Telegraph outlay ..	2·8	3·4
Discharge of funded debts, etc.	5·2	1·0
Discharge of Treasury Bills with the public ..	19·5	2·1
Loans to Provincial Governments ..	11·3	12·7
Drawings of Provincial Governments from their balances	..	2·3
	62·4	51·3
Met as follows :—		
Central Government's revenue surplus ..	2·1	..
Surplus revenues of Provincial Governments..	5·0	..
Rupee loan	23·1	20·0
Sterling loan	18·1	..
Net receipts from Post Office Cash Certificates	5·4	1·5
Net receipts from Savings Bank deposits ..	5·3	6·0
Miscellaneous items	2·3	7·9
Reduction of cash balances	1·0	15·9
	62·4	51·3

59. I have already referred to the satisfactory receipts from Post Office Cash Certificates in the current year and to the practical extinction of Treasury Bills issued to the public. I want to draw special attention to three further points in these figures, the amount of our proposed Rupee borrowings, the position in regard to our sterling remittances, and the absence of any provision for new sterling borrowing. The last is a very satisfactory feature in view of the onerous obligations for the future which the provision of interest and sinking fund on external debt involves. I must, however, remind the House that our Ways and Means Budget figures are necessarily illustrative rather than exact and in particular I must not be taken as saying that in no circumstances will the Government of India borrow abroad during 1924-25. Something must depend on the relative cost of borrowing inside and outside India. But all indications point to our being able to meet all our capital requirements and all our sterling requirements in 1924-25 without issuing any external loan.

60. Moreover, we hope to achieve this while at the same time reducing our demands on the market in India, where, thanks to the reduction of our total requirements for new capital, we expect to be able to limit ourselves to a rupee loan of not more than 20 crores as against the total of 24 crores in 1923. We are assisted in reaching these results by having built up during 1923-24 a large reserve against our sterling needs during 1924-25. Our total purchases of sterling, whether by purchases in India or by sales of rupees in the

form of Council Drafts in London, during 1923-24, are estimated to amount to £26¾ million. During the summer we drew £5,850,000 in sterling from the Paper Currency Reserve against payment into the Reserve in India. On the other hand, in order to take advantage of the more attractive rates at which sterling has been obtainable during the winter months and at the same time to do something to mitigate stringency in the Money Market, we have remitted no less than 12 crores to London against issues of Paper Currency in India. We shall start the year 1924-25 with £24 millions in sterling securities in the Paper Currency Reserve, all of which we can, if necessary, apply towards meeting our sterling outgoings. But if conditions are at all similar in the winter of 1924-25 to those which prevailed this year, we may have to replace some of the amount so applied during the summer in order to meet the requirements of the Indian Money Market in the winter. We have, therefore, assumed a net draft on these sterling reserves of £10 million. The Ways and Means figures given above ignore, it will be noticed, any revenue surplus in 1924-25, and they are subject to modification in the light of the final decision as to the use of that surplus.

FINAL PROPOSALS.

61. This brings me back to the problem of what to do with our surplus. It is one of the ironies of fate that the boon which a Finance Member most desires—a Budget surplus—is frequently the cause of more embarrassment to him than anything else. He has first to examine carefully whether he can safely give away any part of his surplus without laying up a store of trouble to future years. We do not want to remit taxation or give away a part of the Provincial contributions this year and then be faced with the necessity of imposing additional taxation next year or the year after. How do we stand in this respect? When the 1923-24 Budget was framed we doubted our ability to effect within the year all the retrenchments which we had under consideration. We were justifiably in doubt whether our revenue estimate were not unduly sanguine. We managed just to balance our Budget on paper, and though it is still doubtful whether the ordinary revenue will quite cover the ordinary expenditure, we have at any rate reached equilibrium. But we attained our balance this year only by special cuts in certain directions which could not possibly be recurrent. I have already explained the way in which this use of non-recurrent savings affects the comparison between the Military budgets for 1923-24 and 1924-25. In the case of the Railways, we made an even less satisfactory saving which was not merely non-recurring but involved the postponement of urgently necessary works of rehabilitation. The cut in Programme Revenue Expenditure in 1923-24, justifiable as it was in all the circumstances, makes it all the more necessary that money should be found in 1924-25. In 1923-24, therefore, even if our paper surplus had been more assured, it would have been an unthinkable act of improvidence to have given up any part of the Provincial contributions. We need not perhaps stop to consider whether it would have been proper to give away to the provinces the proceeds of a tax not agreed to by the House.

62. The Budget for 1924-25 as it stands gives us, I am happy to assure the House, a sounder basis on which to build. I must admit that the estimates of Revenue are still experimental. This is inevitable in the present disturbed state of the world. If our estimate of Customs revenue is a little more cautious than in 1923-24, there

are reasons for thinking that our estimate of Income-tax receipts in 1924-25 may be optimistic. But on the expenditure side, there are no such large non-recurrent cuts as disturbed the prospects a year ago, and we are justified in looking forward to the early disappearance of special war and terminal charges, though I have warned the House that the charge for surplus officers may be rather larger in 1925-26 than in 1924-25. Our Railway Budget will, I hope, be established from henceforward on sound commercial principles. Our provision for debt is, as I have shown, not unsatisfactory. Urgently desirable expenditure on new works is still postponed for financial reasons, but this at any rate is what I can call optional expenditure. We must not, indeed, forget that a poor monsoon is due before long. On the other hand, a real improvement in trade would appreciably increase the yield from our existing taxation. We have, moreover, to remember that a contribution of 63 lakhs will be due from Bengal in 1925-26. All things considered, we are justified in regarding the surplus of 3·36 crores as a real surplus, and I come back to the two claimants which the House will, I feel sure, agree to be the only possible ones, the Provincial contributions and the Salt Tax.

63. There is one important distinction between these alternatives. If we retain taxation at its present figure and give away our surplus in whole or in part to the Provincial Governments, we can face the year 1925-26 with some hope not merely of again achieving a balance but with the brighter expectation that some further reductions in expenditure or some normal growth in the yield of our existing sources of income will again give us a small surplus. If, however, we were to reduce the salt tax to Rs. 1-4-0 per maund, we have an initial deficiency of 2·16 crores to face in 1925-26. The receipts in 1924-25 would be abnormal partly because dealers would at once replenish their depleted stocks if the duty were reduced to Rs. 1-4-0 and partly because we give the dealers six months' credit. For the first five months of 1924-25, we shall in any case be collecting some revenue at the rate of Rs. 2-8-0 a maund. A reduction to Rs. 1-4-0 in the 1924-25 Budget would not, therefore, have its full effect on our figures till 1925-26. The same would be true of a reduction to some intermediate figure, though of course to a smaller extent.

64. One further objection to a reduction of the Salt Duty is that, as I have already shown, the hope that the enhanced rate would endure for one year only has induced dealers to run down their stocks and they have thus to a great extent managed to evade payment of the full duty. It is believed that they cannot reduce stocks much further, a decision by this House to retain the duty at Rs. 2-8 would make them give up hope of pocketing the special profits which they have been trying to secure. They would gradually replenish their stocks and the Exchequer would no longer fail to obtain its due revenue. If the tax is reduced to Rs. 1-4, they will certainly succeed in retaining for themselves part of what they ought to have paid to the Government and will not pass on the whole benefit to the consumer.

65. I know that many in this House regard reduction of the Salt Tax from a standpoint which includes wider considerations than those which are purely financial and economic. I am authorised to say that choice will be left to the House. We are not, as last year, confronted by the vital distinction between a Budget which balances and a Budget which does not.

66. But are the economic objections to the salt duty so great as to justify the House in giving up this recurrent source of revenue at

a time when the Provincial contributions remain unreduced, and the needs of the Provinces are as great as they are to-day? We have a sum of over 9 crores between us and a Budget which balances without the assistance of the Provincial contributions. If we reduce the Salt Tax to Rs. 1-4, we are in truth proclaiming to the Provinces that neither in 1924-25 nor in 1925-26 can we offer them any certain prospect of relief. We are at the same time postponing indefinitely the date at which we can foresee any reasonable possibility of reducing other onerous taxes or increasing our expenditure on beneficial services. It is a message of despair to all those who are looking to expenditure, whether by the Central Government or by the Provincial Governments, for the amelioration of the conditions of life, and for improved educational and sanitary services, throughout India.

67. Let not the House deceive itself. We certainly hope for progressive reduction in our Military expenditure, for progressive improvement in the yield of our existing sources of revenue. We hope too that the Committee on Taxation will be able, in due course, to recommend important improvements in the machinery and scope of our taxation system, so that it may be possible for India to raise in taxation an amount equal to what she raises to-day at less sacrifice to the tax payer. But the results of this inquiry can hardly be available in time for the 1925-26 Budget, and the improvements in our position for which we may look owing to reduced expenditure and increased yield from existing taxes, can hardly do much more in 1925-26 than fill the gap of over two crores created by the loss of salt revenue. We have once again explored with exhaustive care the practicability of alternative taxation, and we are unable to recommend any alternative. We cannot, as I have already shown, afford to contemplate reduction of the Provincial contributions by postponements of inevitable expenditure or by any devices, even if they were available, which will merely improve the appearance of one year's Budget by laying up trouble for the next. And we cannot return to the era of unbalanced Budgets. The choice is clear and unambiguous. We can, if we like, reduce the salt tax to Rs. 1-4 but by so doing we do a definite dis-service to the true interests of India's finances.

68. But, it may be said, is there not a middle way? A reduction to Re. 1-4 costs us 3·32 crores in 1924-25 and a further 2·16 crores in 1925-26, making a total loss of 5·48 crores in 1925-26. Thereafter, allowing for normal growth in yield, the annual recurrent loss is in the neighbourhood of 6 crores. A reduction to Rs. 2 per maund involves a loss in 1924-25 of Rs. 1·82 crores and little more in 1925-26. With the salt tax fixed at Rs. 2 per maund by the verdict of this House, the disturbing factors which have upset the calculations in 1923-24 in regard to issues of salt would be eliminated, and though the dealers would, it is to be feared, succeed in making some of the special profits which they have had in view in reducing their stocks, their gains would not be so appreciable as would result from a reduction to Re. 1-4. A reduction of the salt duty to Rs. 2 per maund would still leave us with a surplus of 154 lakhs in 1924-25 and the extra loss in 1925-26 is so small that we could afford to ignore it. Even though on purely financial and economic grounds they may be doubtful of the desirability of reducing taxation in face of the claims of the Provinces for reduction of their contributions, are the Government not prepared to adopt this middle course?

69. After full consideration of all the special circumstances, the Government of India have decided not to ask the House to continue the salt duty of Rs. 2-8 a maund. But in view of their repeated

pledges on the subject of the Provincial contributions, and still more because they are convinced that even the poorest Indian—and perhaps the poorest most of all—will benefit far more by the maintenance of sound finances in the Central Government, and by a beginning of a reduction in the Provincial contributions, they have decided that the middle course is the right course. They propose to divide the surplus between the two claimants.

70. The recommendation of the Government of India therefore is, and I desire to make it clear to the House that this recommendation is made after full consultation with the Secretary of State and with his full approval and support, that out of the surplus of 3·36 crores a sum of 1·82 be applied to reducing the salt tax from Rs. 2-8-0 per maund to Rs. 2 per maund and that a sum of Rs. 1·50 crores be applied to a reduction of the Provincial contributions. This will give immediate relief to four provinces. It will reduce the contribution of Madras from 348 lakhs to 268 lakhs. It will reduce the contribution of the Punjab by 38 lakhs, from 175 lakhs to 137 lakhs. The contribution of the United Provinces will be reduced from 240 lakhs to 210 lakhs, a reduction of 30 lakhs. Burma will get a small reduction of 2 lakhs on its contribution of 64 lakhs.

71. I do not wish to appeal to provincial particularism. We here represent the whole of India. As I said a few weeks ago, borrowing the words of the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, this is a national question and should be looked at from a national standpoint. The Devolution Rules prescribe the proportions in which each province's contribution is to be reduced as money becomes available. The provinces named are the first to get relief. But "well begun is half done." The turn of the others came next, and their prospect of reduction is brought so much the nearer by the clearing away of prior claims. But more important still is the interest of India as a whole in making a beginning in dealing with this running sore of the Provincial contributions. This House, in the first year of its life, has an opportunity of helping to make good the financial basis of the Reforms from lack of which many of the difficulties of the last three years have sprung. The Government of India ask the co-operation of the Assembly in enabling them so to manage the finances of the country that the way may be clear for constitutional progress unhampered by any impediments arising from financial disorders.

STATEMENT I.

Statement comparing the actual Revenue and Expenditure of the Central Government (Imperial Revenue and Expenditure before the Reforms) with the Revised Estimates for each year from 1913-14 to 1922-23.

(*See* paragraph 2 of speech.)

[In thousands of Rupees.]

	Revised Estimates.			Actuals.		
	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Surplus (+) Deficit (—)	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Surplus (+) Deficit (—)
1913-14 ..	80,66,56	78,43,56	+2,23,00	81,32,71	77,85,85	+3,46,86
1914-15 ..	74,89,38	79,07,25	—4,17,87	76,15,35	78,83,14	—2,67,79
1915-16 ..	78,89,08	81,58,21	—2,69,13	80,00,96	81,79,26	—1,78,30
1916-17 ..	97,25,67	88,27,37	+8,98,30	98,53,10	87,31,37	+11,21,73
1917-18 ..	1,14,84,43	1,06,27,74	+8,56,74	1,18,70,58	1,06,57,52	+12,13,06
1918-19 ..	1,27,94,65	1,34,79,88	—6,85,23	1,30,40,66	1,36,13,72	—5,73,06
1919-20 ..	1,44,0 ,56	1,59,18,67	—15,11,11	1,37,13,98	1,60,79,27	—23,65,29
1920-21 ..	1,35,10,35	1,48,03,61	—12,93,26	1,35,63,32	1,61,64,17	—26,00,85
1921-22 ..	1,13,15,32	1,41,94,52	—28,79,20	1,15,21,50	1,42,86,52	—27,65,02
1922-23 ..	1,20,70,17	1,37,95 52	—17,25,35	1 21,41,29	1,36,43,05	—15,01,76

STATEMENT II.

Calculation of the net contribution from Railways to General Revenues in 1924-25.

(See paragraph 41 of speech.)

(Figures in thousands of rupees.)

			Revised Estimate, 1923-24.
A.—(i)	Capital at charge, all lines		6,45,80,91
	DEDUCT—		
	(a) for strategic lines	26,50,37	
	(b) for capital contributed by Indian States and Railway Companies	74,90,40	1,01,40,77
(ii)	Capital at charge, commercial lines		5,44,40,14
(iii)	Contribution at five-sixths of 1 per cent.		4,53,67
B.—(i)	Gross traffic receipts, all lines		94,22,02
	DEDUCT—Receipts, strategic lines		1,97,23
(ii)	Gross traffic receipts, commercial lines		92,24,79
(iii)	Working expenses, all lines		60,96,00
	DEDUCT—Expenses, strategic lines		2,2 ,17
(iv)	Working expenses, commercial lines		58,67,83
(v)	Share of surplus profits paid to Indian States and Railway Companies		1 11,42
			59,79,25
(vi)	Net receipts, commercial lines [(ii) MINUS (iv) and (v)]		32,45.54
	ADD—Subsidized Companies, Government share of surplus profits		23,27
(vii)	Total net receipts		32,68,81
(viii)	Interest on capital at charge, all lines		17,37,98
	DEDUCT—Interest, strategic lines		1 01,76
(ix)	Interest on capital at charge, commercial lines		16,36,22
(x)	(a) Interest portion of annuities in purchase of railways		3 11,34
	(b) Interest on capital contributed by Indian States and Railway Companies		3,11,79
(xi)	Total interest charges, commercial lines		22,59.35
(xii)	Land and subsidy		7.41
(xiii)	Miscellaneous Railway expenditure		16,72
(xiv)	Total (xi), (xii) and (xiii)		22,83,48
(xv)	Net gain from commercial lines (vii) MINUS (xiv)		9,85 33
(xvi)	Contribution at five-sixths of 1 per cent. on capital at charge [A (iii)]		4,53,67
(xvii)	Surplus profits		5,31,66
(xviii)	One-fifth of surplus profits		1,06,33
(xix)	Total contribution [(xvi) PLUS (xviii)]		5,00,00
(xx)	DEDUCT—		
	(a) loss in working strategic lines	30,94	
	(b) interest on capital at charge, strategic lines	1,01,76	
			2,32,70
(xxi)	Net contribution		4,27.30

NOTE.—The contribution will in future years be calculated on the actual results of the penultimate year's working; but in 1924-25, the year of inception of the new system, on the results of the working in 1923-24. The net contribution of 4,27,30 shown in this statement is therefore subject to adjustment when the actuals of 1923-24 are known.

STATEMENT III.

Comparison of the contribution from Railways to General Revenues in the year 1924-25 under the present and proposed (separation) systems.

(*See* paragraph 41 of speech.)

(Figures in thousands of rupees.)

Present system, Budget Estimate 1924-25.			Proposed system. Budget Estimate 1924-25.		
(i) Gross traffic receipts		97,06,92	(i) Gross traffic receipts		97,06,92
DEDUCT—			DEDUCT—		
(a) Working Expenses	66,68,04		(a) Working Expenses	65,23,04	
(b) Share of Surplus Profits paid to Indian States and Railway Companies	1,14,87	67,82,91	(b) Share of Surplus Profits paid to Indian States and Railway Companies	1,14,87	66,37,91
(ii) Net receipts		29,24,01	(ii) Net receipts		30,69,01
(iii) Subsidized Companies, Government share of surplus profits		25,92	(iii) Subsidized Companies, Government share of surplus profits		25,92
(iv) Total net receipts		29,49,93	(iv) Total net receipts		30,94,93
(v) (a) Interest on capital at charge	19,18,05		(v) (a) Interest on capital at charge	19,18,05	
(b) Interest portion of annuities in purchase of railways	2,97,56		(b) Interest portion of annuities in purchase of railways	2,97,56	
(c) Interest on capital contributed by Indian States and Railway Companies	2,80,09		(c) Interest on capital contributed by Indian States and Railway Companies	2,80,09	
		24,95,70			24,95,70
(vi) Land and subsidy		16,00	(vi) Land and subsidy		16,00
(vii) Miscellaneous Railway expenditure		22,45	(vii) Miscellaneous Railway expenditure		22,45
			(viii) Railway reserves		1,33,48
(viii) Total (v), (vi) and (vii)		25,34,15	(ix) Total (v) (vi), (vii) and (viii)		26,67,63
(ix) Net contribution from Railways to General revenues [(iv) MINUS (viii)]		4,15,78	(x) Net contribution from Railways to General revenues [(iv) MINUS (ix)]		4,27,30

NOTE.—The figures for Working Expenses is 1,45,00 less under the proposed (separation) system than under the present system, because:—

(i) As an integral part of the proposed system the allocation of expenditure on renewals between Capital and Revenue will be revised; and with the revised allocation 1,15,00 is expected to be charged to Capital next year, which, under the present system, must be charged to Revenue.

(ii) Under the present system 30 lakhs must be charged to Working Expenses next year, in order to write down to market prices the value of stores in stock, and to write off out of Revenue the loss involved in the sale of surplus and obsolete stores. Under the proposed (separation) system, this charge will be met from the Railway reserves.

It will be observed that this figures of 1,45,00 is the equivalent of (1) the increase of 11,52 in the contribution expected to be made from Railways to General revenues under the proposed (separation) system, and (2) the amount of 1,33,48 expected to be carried to Railway reserves.

General Discussion on the Budget

On MARCH 5th the Assembly met for the general discussion of the Budget. The target of criticisms was the Military Budget and the Salt Duty. Khan Bahadur Sharfraz Khan opened the discussion, and Mr. Shanmukham Chetty followed him. Liberals and Independents alone took the leading part. And although Swarajists as a whole were neutral, three speakers on their behalf, Mr. Ranga Iyer, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, and Mr. A. N. Dutt expressed their view-point towards the close of the debate. Mr. RANGA IYER said that it was a British Budget with a British character, a budget for England's prosperity and also slightly for India's good but only through the English channel. There was in it taxation imposed without listening to the representatives of the people. Since the British came to India, India's doors had been thrown open to exploiters by adopting free trade and her industry killed and all her money sunk in foreign markets by purchasing foreign goods. This injustice had been confessed by some far-sighted statesmen like Lord Randolph Churchill in 1886. He asked, was there any change to-day? The certification of the Salt Tax had shown that autocracy was as supreme as ever. Lord Oliver had himself admitted that there could be no taxation without representation and as under the existing system there was no real representation because Government was not responsible to the Legislature, they could not vote the budget in the name of the people.

MR. JAMNADAS MEHTA did not enunciate any principle but put down details that unless the Military Budget which, both secret and open, amounted to eighty crores instead of sixty was reduced to thirty crores, unless Provincial Contributions, Salt Tax and Cotton Excise were wiped off the Indian budget, at least Swarajists could never vote for the budget.

The criticism of Moderates ranged between mild and bitter. All were unanimous in favouring the Salt-Tax at Rs. 1-4. Mr. Rangachariar and Sir Chimanlal SETALVAD took Government to task for ignoring the Assembly's opinion and certifying Salt Tax. Sir Chimanlal said that the Salt Tax had not helped Government but had thrown the Liberals who had stood by Government to the wolves (meaning Swarajists). Mr. Ranga Iyer however said that the real reason of the liberals' defeat at the last election was the Liberals' support of the repressive campaign. Sir Purushotamdas and Sir Chimanlal asked the Government as to why it could not use the windfall of 472 lakhs last year and they both dwelt at length on the scandals of Indian money being sacrificed in the disputes of several crores outstanding between India and the War office, and also in respect of those already settled they urged safeguarding of India's interests. Equally vehement was Sir Purushottamdas' onslaught in demanding protection to the Steel Industry before the session concluded. He spoke in the bitterest language of the verdict of the country if by delay Government killed the steel industry. Sir Purushotamdas also exposed the jugglery which the Finance Member had resorted to in balancing his budget. He said the Budget was a deficit budget because the interest on Paper Currency Reserve which required special Legislative sanction had been included in the budget!

MR. RANGACHARIAR while congratulating the Finance Member on some good points of the budget said that the decrease in Salt revenue was due to poverty of the people. Madras, he said, would not be selfish in the matter of the provincial contribution with that high

salt duty of Rs. 2. He hoped the Government would take a lesson after the Rowlatt Act and the certification of the Salt-tax that whenever they spurned and defied popular opinion, they were wrong and dearly paid for it. He warned Government not to repeat the mistake. Further, his objections to the budget was not so much for its commissions as for some serious omissions. No important information can be gathered from it. For instance, how many yards of yarn were they consuming per head in the average? Whether it had gone up or down? How many persons paid Income-tax? What was the daily average income of Indians? and so on. With profound sarcasm he said that the Government staff which was kept busy ransacking what Pt. Malaviya had said so long ago as 1909 and what the Bombay Chronicle had once said about Mr. Patel—matters which seemed to give Sir Malcolm an unholy glee in studying and bringing forward—could be far better employed in collecting useful informations such as he asked.

H. E. the COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF rose early in the debate anticipating a heavy attack on the military policy and spoke at great length. He emphatically asserted that fighting troops had been reduced by eighteen thousand in British ranks and nineteen thousand in Indian ranks. He, as Commander-in-Chief, shall never take responsibility for the defence of India with any further reduction in that strength although he would do his best to economise in other directions. Lord Rawlinson complacently forgot that what was urged by Indian members was not so much reduction in fighting strength as replacement by cheap Indian soldier of the costly Britisher. Secondly Indians feel that military strength is still kept at war strength and not peace strength obviously because of the distrust of the Indians. He however asserted that Indians were not distrusted because fifty pet cent of the strength in artillery, for instance, was Indian who were employed as drivers, gunners, etc. This caused a roar of laughter which apparently took the Commander-in-Chief by surprise. Several questions came to which he did not reply and asked for notice. Thereupon Mr. K. C. Roy asked a very pertinent question as to whether any commissions were granted to Indians in these artillery technical services. The Commander-in-Chief replied in the affirmative but he did not seem to have fully caught the question because Indians are not taken into these services. The Commander-in-Chief feeling his position weak at once confessed that the question of commissioned ranks was of vital importance to India, but that its satisfactory solution depended on education alone, because modern warfare was scientific and complicated. Lord Rawlinson then got hold of a statement made by Mr. Pal during the debate on Dominion Status that within a decade Indianisation of the Army should be made good. He said it took twenty-five years to make a Colonel and it had taken forty years to make their Commander-in-Chief. Did India mean to take less time to produce Indians for those ranks? (Several voices replied in the negative). The Commander-in-Chief thought he had won his point but he did not know that what was in the mind of members was that the course of training was undoubtedly to be undergone but that a beginning must be made and that the beginning had not yet been made. They only wanted a beginning and would abide by the period. The Commander-in-Chief's speech left the same impression which the Home Member's speech had recently created that Government brings forward our Military backwardness not to remedy it but to hold it up for redicule and as a handle to check further constitutional advance.

On March 6th the discussion on the Budget was resumed.

DR. GOUR asked: Who had the majority: Govt. with its veto, or the Legislature? In the H. of C. it had been stated that a portion of British Army was stationed in India to relieve the British taxpayer. What had happened to the Esher Recommendations? He asserted that so long as the Secretary of State who was reponsible for holding up the Army Indianisation was there to over-ride the Government of India he saw no hope of a reduction of the Army expenditure which was sapping the Indian Exchequer. He then denounced the Salt Tax and said that the falling off in the expected revenue was the strongest evidence that it should be abolished.

Mr. PILCHER, the Die-hard Anglo-Indian, who followed Dr. Gour made, in the course of a delectable speech condemning Indian viewpoints of the Budget, a severe stricture on Lord Olivier's remarks on the iniquity of the Salt Tax.

Mr. Burdon, who followed after a few more speeches, made a lengthy statement on the Army policy of the Govt.

Pandit MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA criticised the administration under the heads Finance, Army, Commerce, Public Works and Home Departments, and concluded his speech with an appeal for an effective change in the system of Government. Otherwise, he told the Government that they must be prepared to carry on the administration without the moral support of the Assembly. Referring to the Finance Department, he bitterly complained about the policy of ever-increasing expenditure, while there had not been a corresponding growth in the average income per head of the population. After alluding to the Salt Tax and its Certification by the Viceroy, Pandit Malaviya said that after the War, people expected that the taxation imposed during extraordinary times would be removed; but their hopes were frustrated and more taxes had been imposed. The Government had not placed the Currency question on a sound basis, nor had they established a State Bank with facilities in every District and Taluq. As regards the Army, Pandit Malaviya strongly pleaded for the immediate disbandment of the 27,000 British troops at present employed for internal security, which was a matter for the ordinary police and not for the military. In India there was greater peace and order than in any other country. What was wanted was a large National policy, in which some schools in the country would be required, as in England, to select suitable lads for the Army and give them the necessary training, but the situation at present was very disappointing with one Dehra Dun College with 70 students!!! Alluding to the proposed separation of Railway Finances from General Finance he said that India could not forget that so many as 800 crores of the taxpayers' money had been spent on railways during the last several decades. A good deal of saving could be made in Railway expenditure, if the rolling stock was manufactured in India, and this could not be done without helping iron and steel works in India. The Pandit urged the Government to set apart fifty crores for the purpose. In this connection, the Pandit gave his support to the proposed policy of protection to the Tata Iron and Steel works, and urged Government to publish the recommendations of the Tariff Board and act upon them without delay, as otherwise it would be a great disaster to the Tatas. Protection was also needed to other industries, and the cotton excise duty or, if that could not be done, to increase the import duty on cotton without which, he said, it was impossible for India to compete with energetic Japan. As regards the Public Works Department, the

speaker referred to what he called the criminal waste of public money on new Delhi and urged the appointment of a Committee to go into the matter. Lastly, he referred to the Home Department, and criticised it as a mismanaged Department. He asked the Government to start with a clean state by releasing all those who had been imprisoned during the last few years under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, under the Seditious Meetings Act and under such other measures. Concluding he said: "Remember that a change has come in India. You must recognise the change in the Assembly. Here, we, in the Assembly, are anxious to co-operate with you, and treat with you. Are you, on your part, willing to co-operate with us by ordering the release of all those who have been imprisoned in the name of law and order? We want our grievances to be settled before we vote the supply. Unless there is an early effective change in the system of Government, I tell the Government that they must be prepared to carry on the administration without the moral support of those who have come here."

Mr. HARCHANDRAI VISHINDAS also attacked the Salt duty, and in the matter of the Military imposition said that they should follow a more humanising policy such as agriculture, roads and education on the frontier than the policy of constant military preparedness.

Mr. JINNAH confined his observations to military expenditure. He said that the question of the strength of the fighting troops must no doubt be determined by the Commander-in-Chief, but he asked whether the saving suggested by doing away with the British troops could not be effected without in any way affecting the fighting troops. Secondly, by the increase of Indian troops in the place of the British, a considerable saving could be effected. Mr. Jinnah quoted Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's writings to show that half of the Army in India was for Imperial purposes and must be paid out of the Imperial Exchequer. Then, again, he said that there were 1,078 officers in the Indian portion of the Army in India, and if they were to proceed at the rate of ten cadets a year, how long would it take to completely Indianise the Army? When would the time come? (voices "Never"). Mr. Jinnah said that the present scheme was negligible and the selection of cadets was confined to men whose family history was looked into.

He would like to see an Indian sitting by the Commander-in-Chief's side to see that the Indian Army was made a really National Army. Unfortunately, the Government of India Act did not permit it, and he hoped that the Act would soon be changed. He pointed out that he wanted the army in India on the dominion model. On the one hand, Indianisation of the Commissioned ranks of the Army must proceed, and on the other hand, the territorial Army must be developed to make it a really effective line of defence, which would give opportunity to all classes of Indians to take part in defence. So far, efforts in connection with the Territorial Force had been very unsatisfactory, and very slow. Mr. Jinnah said that if Lord Rawlinson was really the Commander-in-Chief of the Assembly, he ought to very earnestly devote himself to the task of evolving a definite scheme in respect of Indianisation and not make India wait for 200 years by the recruitment of ten cadets a year.

The Commander-in-Chief explained that two hundred years had been apparently calculated on the basis that ten cadetes would be taken for all time to come. On the other hand, he had recently sanctioned an increase of students at Debra Dun College in order to be able to increase the number of cadets.

Mr. Jinnah welcomed it, but asked the Commander-in-Chief and Government to make an earnest endeavour to come with a definite scheme, making a substantial beginning and not a mere eye-wash.

THE GOVERNMENT REPLY

After Mr. Jinnah had spoken, Sir BASIL BACKETT stood up and addressed the House for 40 minutes. There was a definite responsibility placed before this House in coming to a decision as to how to make proper use of the surplus of three hundred and thirty six lakhs. It was only Mr. Shanmukam Chettiar who suggested an alternative method of meeting the situation if the Salt-Tax was to be brought down, and that was by debiting to capital 180 lakhs of railway annuities. On the other hand, Pundit Malaviya had treated this House to one hour's eloquent flow of incorrect statements, which the House was now getting accustomed to, but there was no practical proposal of meeting the situation if the Salt-Tax was reduced to one rupee and four annas per maund. No doubt, the Pandit had referred to the imposition of an increased import duty on cotton goods, but the effect of such an imposition would, according to Sir Basil Blackett, be six times the cost to the average Indian villager. Then, Sir Basil Blackett quoted figures to show that the military expenditure was not increasing, but slowly decreasing, his figures showing a decrease of some 5 crores in three years in a total of 65 crores !!

The real problem was to increase India's prosperity by way of more money properly spent, so said the finance Member. If the Government was to spend more money on beneficial services, they must have the support of the representatives of the people. and that was one of the things which the Reforms Act brought within India's reach. If the Salt Tax was not reduced to one Rupee and 4 annas. and maintained at 2 Rupees, then the Government would be able to invest the proceeds in education, sanitation, and other services ! ! ! This was not an argument meant to catch votes, but was placed in all earnestness and sincerity, and in the interest of India. If the Salt Tax was not put at Rs. 2 per maund, there would be no relief in Provincial Contributions. As regards the "windfall" which had been criticised, the Finance Member said that this windfall was seen last year. It was on the tree, but fell only this year. Government was not in a position to make any reductiou in the cotton excise duty this year. Proceeding, Sir Basil Blackett referred to the criticisms of Lord Olivier's reference in the House of Lords to the Salt Tax and the support of the Salt Duty at Rs. 2 per maund. Obviously, Lord Olivier was explaining to the House of Lords the reasons for what he described as the general feeling expressed in India. It was, therefore, very unfair that the Secretary of State should be accused in this House of stabbing the Government of India in the back without the opportunity of defence being put up in its behalf, but since realising the things that had been said about Lord Olivier, the Government of India made a special request to the Secretary of State as to what his intention was in that matter, and he had explained in the way he (Sir Basil) had just stated.

Mr. Patel asked: Will the Finance Member lay on the table a copy of the telegram he sent to the Secretary of State? To this Sir Basil replied: "I do not propose to lay anything on the table", much to the amusement of the House.

The general discussion on the Budget having concluded the House adjourned for voting on specific demands to the 10th March.

Voting on the Budget

Refusal to Grant Supplies

MARCH 10TH 1924

On MARCH 10th the great Budget debate on the voting on demands was held. The Assembly met at 11 a.m. amidst tense excitement with above 120 members present—a record attendance during the session. The result of the voting was a forgegone conclusion, as the Nationalists by a three-fourths majority had decided to refuse the first demand. The Swarajists and the Government side were equally matched, and 7 Independents, whom neither party claimed, held the key to the situation.

When question time was over, all eyes turned to Pt. Nehru, but to the surprise of many Dr. Gour rose. He asked a question of which he had given private notice to the Home Member. He drew attention to the special cable in the 'STATESMAN' stating that a Cabinet Committee had been set up to consider Indian affairs and to consult the members of the Secretary of State's Council. He drew attention to the statement in the 'DAILY HERALD' that members of Parliament would be consulted and representatives of Indian opinion would be allowed to submit their views. He also asked for information regarding the functions of this Committee, the scope of its enquiry, and as to what steps the Government had taken to institute their departmental enquiries.

Sir Malcolm Hailey said that he had agreed to answer the question because the Assembly might be interested in the matter, even though he was not able to give a very full and satisfactory answer. The news that a Cabinet Committee had been formed was correct and he had cabled the Secretary of State for further information. As for the power of consultation by that Committee, he did not possess any information about it. The Cabinet Committee was already in operation. As soon as he received information about its scope and procedure, he would communicate it to the House.

When this question was being discussed some thought that it was inspired, and that it was a new dodge of Sir Malcolm to divide the nationalist votes in the Assembly by holding up false hopes of a Cabinet Committee. A stream of questions at once poured in from all sides. Sir Malcolm Hailey was answerless, as he had asked for more details which had not yet come. But four questions cleared the issue. Mr. Chamanlal asked whether it was not the part of the general policy of Labour to set up committees attached to all departments. "That may be so"—said the Home member.

Mr. Pal asked : was that committee going to abrogate the Home member's Departmental enquiry committee ?

'Certainly not' was Sir Malcolm's emphatic reply.

'Would it undertake revision of the Govt. of India Act', asked Mr. Jinnah. The Home member confessed that he was a drying well and had nothing more to give.

Pandit Moti Lal thereupon pricked the bubble and asked the Home member to divulge the text of the Government's cable to the Secy. of State. The Home Member said that they had cabled for information, in view of the budget discussion.

This reply gave the clearest indication that the Government had tried to see if another bait could be thrown to divert the votes of those who were less wary of the Govt's methods. However Dr. Gour and Mr. Pal suggested the postponement of the debate till the reply was received but Sir Malcolm opposed adjournment and did not promise further reply within three days.

DEMAND UNDER "CUSTOMS".

Sir CHARLES INNES next moved for a demand for grants of over Rs. 71,84,000 under the head 'Customs'.

In view of the fact that the policy of total refusal of grants was going to be discussed, Dr. Gour moved for an adjournment of the debate for three days within which time, he thought, a reply might come from the Secretary of State.

The Home Member made it plain that the despatch of a reply rested with the Secretary, and that he did not think it would come within three days.

The President said that he could not accept the motion, but Members would have another chance when the voting on the Finance Bill comes.

Sir Malcolm Hailey, referring to the notices of reduction, pointed out that as motions for omission had been given notice of, he wanted to know whether those could be moved in the form in which they were given, and suggested that such notices should be discussed first.

Pandit Motilal and Mr Patel explained that according to rules, they were right in moving for the omission of demands.

The President said that if Pandit Motilal insisted on his motion for amendment, the Chair would let him do so. He also pointed out that in the discussion under Customs, he would, in view of the general feeling in the House, permit the consideration of bigger issues first, viz. the question of total rejection on general grounds, but that the discussion in respect of other heads must be confined to those heads.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU.

PANDIT MOTILAL moved for the total omission of the grant under Customs. He made it clear that he had no grievance against the Customs Department as it was, and that his motion related to it because it happened to be the first demand for grant. He said: "My grievance is not against this or that branch of administration, but against the entire administration of the Government of India. The reasons are the very unsatisfactory and disappointing nature of the response made by the Government to the resolution passed by the majority on the subject of the establishment of Responsible Government in India. I may inform the House, and specially some of the more nervous members of it, that it has nothing whatever to do with what has been described as wrecking or destroying—the policy of Non-Co-Operation. It is a perfectly constitutional and legitimate means of bringing the various grievances of India to the notice of the Government, and when other remedies have failed this is the only course open to people who still have outstanding grievances. I know that the grants will be restored, and that we shall be knocking our heads in vain against the treasury gates, but this is the strongest form of protest."

Continuing, Pandit Motilal quoted extensively from well-known writers on the English and French Constitution and the rights in respect of voting on the Budget to point out that the supplies depended upon the redress of grievances, and that if, since 1784, this method had not been resorted to in England, it was due to the development of the Constitution, which made it impossible for any Government to resist the will of the people. He also quoted from the speech of Fox during the days of Pitt, showing that Fox justified the refusal to

vote funds in extreme cases. Drawing a distinction between free people and the slaves of an absolute monarchy, the Pandit asked the House to keep in view this distinction that in the case of a free people the refusal to vote meant the paralysis of the administration. But in the case of slaves, it only meant knocking their heads against the gates of the treasury, as the demand would be restored. He said that while this weapon for the refusal of the vote was rusting in England, they in India had to forge it as a new weapon. The Assembly was helpless in respect of the budget, and could not exercise its independent judgment for the benefit of the people, because the power of Certification could nullify anything they did. They were something like children playing at soldiers. There was all the paraphernalia of a Parliamentary show without the substance.

He said that Lord Olivier's statement had sent a cold wave throughout the country, and it had been declared by the country as totally unsatisfactory and disappointing. Lord Olivier had accused us that we would not play. The fact is that we refuse to play an unfair game in which both sides do not get equal chances and advantages. No immediate or early prospect of the revision of the rules is held out. It is only stated: "We will see whether we cannot find within the rules something to make actual play more fair to you and more fair to us. So far as the revision of the rules is concerned, we commit ourselves to nothing". This is all the reply that Lord Olivier's statement has given to a great deal of expectations and to those who were building castles in the air. Lord Olivier had quoted the manifesto of the Swaraj Party. But while in no way committing the House to the manifesto, the speaker declared that the debates on the same subject in the last Assembly had shown that exactly the same sentiments contained in that manifesto were expressed by Mr. Rangachariar. They were sentiments not only of the Swaraj Party but of the whole of India. Lord Olivier had admitted that certain things did rankle in Indian minds, but Lord Olivier had not seen the wounds deeper. Possibly, he was not supplied with full information by the Government of India. There were serious omissions in the list of grievances. Pandit Motilal expressed his appreciation of the conciliatory manner and courageous criticism and observations of the Secretary of State regarding General Dyer, the steel-frame speech, Kenya, and the Salt Tax (which, he was sorry to find, had been minimised in a subsequent explanation). The reference to Mr. Gandhi was particularly courageous, and took away, to a certain extent, the sting from the action of the Government of India in taking away all grace from the release by putting it on medical grounds. But among the omissions in the speech were the Rowlatt Act and the indiscriminate repression and oppression that followed in the campaign of repression, in the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and the Gurukabag affair which really exasperated the Sikhs. As for Non-co-operation, the far-sighted statesman Mr. Gokhale had admitted in 1905 that if the humiliation of Indians continued, co-operation with the bureaucracy would no longer be possible. But when they came to judge the actual response, they found that the Secretary of State did not go beyond the Home Member. There is the patient bleeding to death, and the Surgeon replies "I am preoccupied, and I must take my own time to get ready to stop the bleeding." Pandit Motilal was glad that Mr. Montagu's phrase that the British were the most determined people on earth had not been repeated by Lord Olivier, because determination was not the heritage of the Britisher only. It was a human

quality, more human in those who stood by their rights than in those who withheld the right of others. Lord Olivier had said that the Government of India provided a seaworthy vessel. My answer is that it may be a seaworthy vessel, but it is not big enough for the millions of Indians who have to be carried to the other shore.

The speaker next quoted from a published letter of Mr. MacDonald stating that the change in Governmental machinery should aim at changing the Viceroy's Council into a Cabinet responsible to the people's representatives, and to give India control over her finances. Mr. MacDonald had expressed the hope that wisdom may help the two people to arrive at that solution. Pandit Motilal therefore asked Labour to deliver the goods. As for the refusal of supplies, it was merely a sign of irritation. They were taking the strongest step possible, and it would be a misfortune if it fell flat. He appealed to all, and particularly to the Indian elected members who, he was sure, would vote with him in refusing supplies.

SIR MALCOLM HAILEY.

Sir MALCOLM HAILEY said that Pandit Motilal Nehru had been perfectly frank in admitting that the Government would have to use their reserve power in the case of a refusal of supplies in the interests, according to Sir Malcolm, of the Indian people. The Pandit had realised the effect of their refusal of expenses under Customs, which brought them forty five crores of revenue. He knew that the vote would take away the chances of Protection to the steel industry, and that if the Customs establishment were abolished, industrial India would be the first to execrate the Pandit's name. (Laughter) The Pandit's real object was, therefore, not to abolish the Customs Department, but to call attention to the grievances and to cause the Government the maximum embarrassment so that he might, in the most emphatic manner, call attention to the grievances under which India is suffering. The Home Member did not want as he said adroitly to enter into an academic discussion about the question of refusal of supplies before the redress of grievances, nor would he discuss constitutional history, as was done by the mover. He wanted to make it clear to those whose votes the Pandit had sought, whether they had good reasons for adopting that course, whether the grievances were really so great as to justify that course, and whether the response of the Secretary of State had been so incomplete as to justify that course, and before they voted, they must see that the course was not only justified but would actually benefit their cause. Pandit Motilal had said that the patient was bleeding, and the physician wanted time. "It may be that the physician is under the neces-ity of taking due precaution that his diagnosis is correct" (just like the precaution of the monkey dividing the loaf!). It may be, Sir, that we are practical rather that idealistic. It may be that we have been determined to see, first of all, before further advance was made, as to what are the difficulties in the actual administration of our present constitution. There is no country in Europe which depends, as India does, for its stability and material progress on its administrative and Governmental institutions. I do not care what the implications of that may be. But it is nevertheless a fact, as we maintain, that you cannot force the pace of political advance so fast and in advance of administrative and legislative institutions. Our reply is based on one consideration, that evolution should be an orderly and harmonious one. We stand for progress by stages. We considered that, in the circumstances, it was impossible to

accept any resolution the purport of which was that these stages should be disregarded. That is why we opposed Mr. Rangachariar's proposition. We are told that we opposed the Round Table Conference almost with bitterness. I resent any suggestion that we opposed it because we were not prepared to take counsel with men, whether inside or outside the Assembly, whose views differed from ours. We opposed it because it seemed to disregard the necessity of progress by stages, and because it appeared to us to be based on the ground that the British Parliament is not the arbiter of progress to be made in India. We finally opposed it because we thought it an ineffective machinery for the purpose." As for the point whether obstruction was justified, the Home Member said: "If we had shown an indication that we desire to go back upon the solemn pledges of the British people, then, perhaps, extreme steps of this nature might be justified. We do not say so. We are in earnest in going towards the same goal, though by a different method."

Continuing, Sir Malcolm Hailey said that he need not dilate on the point whether the course suggested was constitutional or not in view of India's internal conditions. The Hon. Pandit realised the effect of such a vote on Parliament. Also, there were certain dangers if the refusal of supplies was followed by a refusal to sanction taxation. The matter could not stop there. There must follow a movement outside the Assembly.

Mr. Devakiprasad Sinha: Bound to!

The Home Member, resuming, said that the members of the Swaraj Party had declared that the country was not fit for Civil disobedience, and that they would be able to control their fellows, although previous experience was not encouraging. But they might sow the wind and others might reap the whirlwind. However, he would urge them to realise the consequences of any such mass movement in the country and its effect on the progress of Responsible Government and what would be the effect of this obstruction on the political mentality of the Indian people. He was one of the many officers of his Service who had been brought within the orbit of politics. His Service men accepted the August Declaration because they thought that its principle was correct, though they foresaw difficulties even then, but they loyally (?) set to work the new Constitution. Even now, he admitted that the machinery contained several anomalies, and even illogicalities involved in the working of a transitional system. "We are willing to do our best to smooth over those difficulties, but if this vote is carried, many of us will view it with regret, with resentment, because it must be a manifestation of unreasonableness on the part of the Assembly (voice of no, no); it would also check the orderly and harmonious progress of India towards Responsible Government (voices of no, no). It is because of that and of that alone that I ask those who might have felt tempted to vote with the Pandit to think in time whether the step suggested will retard or advance the progress of the ideal which they have at heart."

OTHER SPEAKES

Mr. Abhyankar emphasised that the doctrine of grievances before supply should not have a different meaning in India. He appealed to all, including the official Indians, to carry Pt. Motilal's motion.

Mr. Bepin Ch. Pal found himself between two inexorables and exclaimed in anguish: what am I to do? He could not vote for the Govt., neither could he join Pt. Motilal. (A voice; resign.) He

accused Govt. of not laying all their cards on the table as the Pundit had more honestly done.

MR. PATEL recognised that the decision of the Nationalists was an extreme one, but he considered that it was justifiable in the circumstances created by the Government. There were certain facts which had a direct connection with their present action, and they should be brought forward prominently. These were the grinding poverty of the people and the fact that millions died of pestilence, facts which hundreds of years of British rule had not prevented.

There was also the further fact that since the so-called Reforms thousands of people had been sent to jail, including some of the most respected people in the land.

He referred to the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi, the Ali Brothers, and several other politicians. He referred also to the diseases prevailing in India, and extremely slow progress in education, and asked the Government whether they were willing to co-operate with the Swarajists on the terms of the Swarajists. "We want you to carry on the administration of the country by veto and by certification. We want you to treat the Government of India Act as a scrap of paper, which I am sure it is. If the Viceroy certifies, what then! Nothing but a mass movement for non-payment of taxes. We want you to either accept our demands or drive us to the mass movement. The responsibility will be yours. I want to obstruct the Government at every step. I wish Pandit Motilal Nehru would allow me to do so. (Laughter). Even now, we give you one more chance, but if you don't trust me, I don't trust you either. You must mend your ways or we must make you mend your ways. Unless you mend at once, India will not be a bed of roses for you.

Sir SIVASWAMI IYER spoke as an apologist of the Labour Govt. in England. He said that he was unable to support the motion of Pandit Motilal Nehru because he considered that it was not an efficacious method of achieving their object. He recognised the spirit of fairness and anxiety which breathed through Pandit Motilal Nehru's speech, but the House must understand the difficult position of the Labor Party in England, and the circumstances in which Lord Olivier had to make that speech in the House of Lords. In the opinion of the speaker, Lord Olivier's speech was not unsatisfactory. It was inspired with sympathy, and he asked whether it was possible to expect more at that stage. The occasion for making a protest had not yet arisen, and he therefore deplored the strong expressions of opinion from his Nationalist friends. Refusal of supplies would not be able to hurt the Government, but it would be injuring their own reputation, and making the people suffer for want of proper beneficial services. He knew there was no use trying to convert the Swarajists, whom he attacked, who had come determined to reject the budget. He made strong appeal to those Independents who got themselves entangled with the Swarajists to disengage themselves from the tangle. The responsibility for any consequence of adopting Pandit Motilal's motion would not be on the Government but on themselves.

GRANT REFUSED.

After Mr. Chatterji of the Govt. of India had spoken, closure was applied.

The motion of Pandit Motilal Nehru for the rejection of the demand was pressed to a division and carried amist loud non-official applause by 63 to 56 votes.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Pal, and Dr. Gour remained neutral.

TAXES ON INCOME REJECTED.

The next head was a demand of Rs. 6,13,000 under the head taxes on income. Mr. Patel moved for the rejection of the demand, and did not make any speech. He contented himself with the observation that the same reasons which impelled them to reject the former item also stood against this.

Sir Basil Blackett opposed the motion.

Sir Purshotamdas and Mr. Rama Iyengar asked the Swarajists not to press this motion, as they had already achieved their object of protesting against the Government's attitude on the Reforms question by refusing the first supply under Customs. It would be better, they thought, to adopt the policy of discriminating obstruction, and discuss each head on its merits. Mr. Pal declared that if the Swarajists pressed this motion, he would be compelled to vote with the Government, and not even remain neutral.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Dr. D. P. Singha asked the non-officials, in the name of consistency, to reject this item as well.

The motion of Mr. Patel for the rejection of the demand was carried by a majority of one vote there being 61 for and 60 against it.

Mr. B. C. Pal and Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas this time threw in their weight with the Government.

Mr. R. Rama Iyengar and Mr. Harbilas Sarda who voted with the nationalists in the first demand now voted against them and with the Govt.

SALT DEMAND REJECTED

The next demand was for Rs. 10,655,000 under Salt.

Before the Salt demand was put to vote Mr. Calvert (official, Punjab) pointed out the gravity of the proposal, because, if the machinery for the production of the Salt Tax came to a standstill, it would mean serious consequences to the Northern India population.

Pandit Motilal Nehru pointed out that the Government had already indicated in respect of two previous demands that they would restore them. If they did not restore the Salt demand, it would be a proof of how far they cared for the welfare of the people of India.

Sir Basil Blackett said that if the Assembly had acted foolishly, the Government would not act foolishly.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas urged strongly that the House should not vote against this demand, which touched them most vitally.

Mr. Lokhare and Mr. Mehta supported Pandit Motilal Nehru. Mr. Mehta said that India could produce salt without any Government help, and asked the Government to give a trial to Indians by abolishing the Department for a year!

The omission of the Salt demand was moved by Mr. Doraiswami Aiyangar, and carried by a majority of 62 against 53.

OPIUM DEMAND REJECTED

The next demand for grant of Rs. 20,731,000 under the head "Opium" was similarly rejected by 62 to 57 votes.

The House then adjourned to the next day.

The following is the Division List on Pt. Motilal Nehru's motion for total rejection of the Customs Demand :—

Division List

AYES—63.

Rama chandra Rao
V. J. Patel
M. A. Jinnah
A. Rangaswami Iyengar
Venkatapathi Razu
K. C. Neogy
K. V. Reddy
Shanmukham Chetty
M. K. Acharya
Duraiswami Iyengar
N. C. Kelkar
K. Rama Iyengar
Sadasiva Bhat
S. A. K. Jedlani
K. K. Nambiyar
K. G. Lohokare
D. V. Belvi
Jamnadas Mehta
Kasturbhai Lalbhai
B. C. Ray
T. C. Goswami
Yakoob C. Arifi
Amarnath Datt
Kazim Ali
Abdul Karim
K. S. Ray
Maung Kun
Shambudayal Misra
M. R. Abhyankar
Seth Govindadas
Shaikh Kidwai
M. S. Aney
Saimiullah Khan
M. M. Malaviya
Lala Hanraj
Motilal Nehru
Lala Dunichand
Shyama Charan
Shamlal Nehru
Nawab Ismail Khan
C. S. Ranga Iyer
Kishenlal Nehru
Chamanlal
Sardar Gulab Singh
Gaya Prasad Singh
Nilkanta Das
Sharfraz Hussain Khan
Maulvi M. Shafee
B. Das
Hariprasad Lal Kumar
Ganganand Singh
Devaki Prasad Singh
Narain Das
Krishna Kanta Malaviya
Harkaranath Misra
Maulvi Yacoob
Yusaf Imam
Shaikh Sadiq Hassan
T. R. Phookan
K. K. Chanda
Kartar Singh
Lala Pyare lal
Harbilas Sardar

NOES—56.

Sir Gordon Fraser
,, Sivaswami Iyer
,, Muthiah Chettiar
Mr. Wilson
Sir Campbell Rhodes
Mr. M. Schmrade
Sardar B. A. Dalal
Sir Chimanlal Setalvad
Mr. K. C. Roy
,, Darcy Lindsay
,, Shams-uz Zuha
,, N. M. Dumasia
Prince Akram Hussain
Mr. Ali Chaudhuri
,, Enelly
,, S C Ghose
Sir Henry Stanyon
Dr. L. K. Hyder
Mr. Bomne
,, A V. Iyer
Nawab S. Abdul Quyam
Mr. S N Nag
,, Allen
,, Pilcher
Gulam Bari Makhdum
Rajan Bakhsh Shah
N. M. Joshi
Captain Hira Singh
,, Ajab Khan
Mr. Ahmed Ali Khan
Maulvi Abul Kassim
Col. Gidney
Sayed M. Ismail

and 23 Officials

Voting on the Budget—2nd Day—March 11th 1924

PT. MOTILAL NEHRU'S STATEMENT

Next day before the House resumed discussion on the demands for grants Pandit Motilal rose to make a statement about the policy of the Nationalist Party. He said that yesterday he spoke on behalf of the Nationalist Party as a whole, and not for the Swarajist section of it, when he said that their intention, by passing motions for omission of grants, was to establish a principle. He had further made it clear that yesterday's position had nothing to do with what was called the 'wrecking' programme of the Swarajists. The Nationalist Party had now decided, having established the principle which they maintained, that they would let the remaining demands for grants be discussed in the ordinary course. He hoped that the Treasury Benches would receive the statement in the spirit in which it was made.

This statement, coming so suddenly after the great Nationalist victory of the day before, surprised many and was taken by some as a new move, by others as a Swarajist climb down. As a matter of fact, the two sections of the Nationalists, the Swarajists and the Independents, had come to a working arrangement that to establish the principle of redress of grievances before grant of supplies the latter would support the obstructionist tactices of the Swarajists, but that once the principle is established, obstruction should not be pushed to extremes. This was made clear by Mr. Jinnah who followed.

MR. JINNAH

MR. JINNAH, as a member of the Nationalist Party, entirely endorsed what Pandit Motilal had said. "I further want to make it clear that the Nationalist Party, in this House, do not stand for any wrecking programme. The Nationalist Party wants to work in this Assembly and nothing more. We stand to pursue a policy and a programme of a constitutional character. There is no idea in the minds of the Nationalist Party that we wish to resort to Civil Disobedience, that we want revolution, that we want to carry on a campaign of non-payment of taxes. We condemn the Government of India. We condemn the Secretary of State. That was why we passed a resolution here by an overwhelming majority putting forward our demand for Reforms. You have not satisfied us, and we wanted, therefore, in the clearest possible manner, to record our protest, our condemnation, disapproval, of the way in which you have managed it. We also recognise that there are difficulties, but you have entirely failed so far to satisfy us. Therefore, I do not wish the Government to allege anything else beyond what I have stated in this House, nor do we wish that any impression should be created abroad that we stand for anything else."

SIR M. HAILEY

SIR MALCOLM HAILEY, however, inspite of the clearest assurance to the contrary, persisted in denying that any principle has been established, and once more tried to drive a wedge between Mr. Jinnah and Pt. Nehru. He said: "Pandit Motilal Nehru has asked that the Treasury Benches should express approval of the action which his Party now proposes. The Treasury Bench is unable, and does not desire to go into any question regarding the internal politics of the Nationalist Party. We are not fully aware of its composition. I do no discredit to it when I say that up to the moment we have had some doubt as to its policy, or indeed, if it has any one policy. When we

are told that they have established their principle by the votes of yesterday, we take the liberty to doubt it. When we are told that they have proved anything at all by their votes of yesterday, we equally take the liberty to retain our own opinion on the subject. They now desire, I understand, not to press their motions for the complete re usal of grants. We have no desire to challenge that decision. With regard to what Mr. Jinnah has said, I will only say in reply that I have not any desire to associate his section of the Nationalist Party with the programme to which he referred. I was careful yesterday, in speaking on the subject, to say that we do not charge them with any such intentions. I was careful to limit myself to reminding the House that we had had previous experience of mass movements in India and desired to see no recurrence of those experiences. Mass movements we may perhaps see, but we do not wish to charge his friends with a wish to promote revolution or wreckage. We are both here, for the moment, on the floor of the House, fighting out a Constitutional issue, and have no desire, for the moment, to look outside or to forecast anything that might happen off the floor of this House. For the present, we are content to fight out a constitutional issue in constitutional ways. One of those ways is the free and open discussion of all the demands put forward by the Government for its expenditure. We are perfectly prepared to undertake that discussion."

Demands for grants therefore took their normal course. On the demand under Excise, members expressed strong views in favour of of Prohibition and Pundit Malaviya asserted that the excise policy was one of the many black spots in British administration of India. A vote of censure was passed by reducing the demand under Forests by Rs. 100 because the Dehra Dun scheme for full training in India had not been yet given effect to.

The main discussion of the day centred round the Railway budget which has swollen beyond all proportions during the last ten years. Swarajists maintained an attitude of benevolent neutrality throughout. Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar and Mr. Acharya made useful contributions to the debate on Railways. Swarajists were however there to support their Independent friends in any division that might be challenged, and one that was challenged in respect of forest they were able to carry by 60 against 51.

LAND REVENUE DEMAND

The demand under 'Land Revenue' was agreed to without discussion.

EXCISE

The demand under 'Excise' was next moved.

Mr. Venkatapathi Raju, in moving for a reduction of one hundred rupees criticised the Excise Administration and pointed out that the amount spent on the Excise Department could be well utilised for educational purposes. This was carried as mentioned above.

RAILWAYS.

The next demand was for Rs. 676,008,000 under the head Railways.

MR. K. RAMA IYENGAR proposed a reduction of this figure by ten and three-fourth crores. In moving this proposition, he said that he had put the figure at much less than what he had originally intended. The first item he referred to was working expenses, which ammounted to 67 crores. This figure was much too high, and should be reduced to an appreciable extent, because there had been extraordinary leaps in the working expenses. Mr. Rama Iyengar then went

into the details of railway expenditure, and after alluding to the recomendations of the Inchcape Committee and the Acworth Committee, appealed to the Government to effect economy. He suggested that this cut could be made by reducing the general administration figure by two crores of rupees and also by reducing the provision for engineering establishment and by various other means. Mr. Rama Iyengar mentioned the amounts spent as salaries on a number of highly paid officers, especially in the E. I. Ry. and appealed to the House to carry his motion for reduction by ten and three-quarter crores.

SIR CHARLES INNES said that they had been told that the wholesale refusal of demands had been given up, but Mr Iyengar's motion for a cut of no less than 10¾ crores showed that perhaps he had merely changed tactics and adopted another form of obstruction. He did not know whether it was all an elaborate joke, and whether Mr. Iyengar wanted the House to take him seriously. He said that the Inchcape Committee had gone thoroughly into the railway expenses and had suggested all possible economies. As for increase in working expenses, this was not peculiar to India. In Canada and United Kingdom, it had doubled, compared with the pre-war expenses, and in the case of France, it had gone up six times. The causes which led to this rise were entirely outside the control of those managing the Railways.

SIR PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS said that he would not endorse the Commerce Member's remarks that Mr. Rama Iyengar should not be taken seriously. The speaker felt that although Mr. Iyengar had given a tall order, he had done well to draw attention to the various matters, and the Government should try to examine his figures and try to come to some understanding. He said that the Retrenchment Committee had no doubt recommended only 4½ crores, but they wanted economy. The speaker admitted that the Government had not yet had enough time to give results. He said the comparison with the figures of foreign countries was misleading. He thought that as Railways involved an expense of about a hundred crores, which was half of the total revenues, the Assembly should discuss the railway budget separately, and thus have greater time to devote itself to details.

PANDIT MALAVIYA deplored the tone of Sir Charles Innes' speech. It was inconceivable that a responsible member of the Government should ridicule members and regard the discussion as an elaborate joke and twit them with what had happened yesterday. Sir Charles Innes had not given the House any information necessary for arriving at a solution of this question. The Inchcape Committee had recommended that each railway should yield five per cent as dividend. This short recommendation was itself a serious condemnation of the present management of railways What, he asked, was the number of Indians in State railways. Among the gazetted officers there were 38 per cent Indians, and 62 per cent non-Indians. This was not a satisfactory state of affairs. A serious effort must be made to reduce the number of persons imported from out of India to work in Indian Railways and Indians appointed to those posts. Then, the other working expenses had to be considerably reduced. In order to make all the necessary enquiries, there must be a Committee of this House.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao emphasised the need of separation of Railway Finance from the General Finance and of decentralisation. Mr. Hindley, the Chief Commissioner of Railways, deprecated any enquiry by a committee of the House as urged by Pt. Malaviya.

Sir Charles Innes, replying to Pundit Malaviya's point, admitted

that Europeans were liberally paid, but at what amount of sacrifice they left their homes and gave their service to India!!

Pandit Malaviya asked Sir Charles how he would feel if in England foreigners were employed rather than Englishmen?

Sir Charles now took shelter under the Government of India Act which, he said, laid down increasing association of Indians, and he gave figures to show that the Railway Department was not lagging behind any other Department in giving effect to the policy of Indianisation. Railways in India were gigantic business concerns. He said that the estimates before the House for the next year were a mere guess, and it was impossible to accept big cuts. The House should judge the Railways by their actual returns and he showed that during the past three years, Railway returns in India were higher than in many other countries, particularly higher than that in the United Kingdom. If the percentage for the coming year was to be less than in the current year, it was due to the fact that the programme revenue expenditure, which had been cut down last year, was to be fully met next year.

MOTIONS REJECTED

Mr. Rama Iyengar's motion was rejected.

MR. RAMA IYENGAR next moved another cut of three crores under ordinary repairs and maintenance. He strongly criticised the manner in which the Government presented the Railway Budget, which was different from that presented by other Departments. He said that he had carefully gone into the figures of the various branches of Railways, and had suggested cuts which, he believed, fell below those which could be carried out. He further observed that he had not suggested any reduction in revenue expenditure, and urged that the Railway Budget hereafter should be so prepared as to show the permanent recurring cost and temporary cost and the programmes of renewals all separately. This motion too was rejected.

THE G. I. P. RAILWAY

Mr. Joshi then moved that the demand under sub-head "G. I. P. Railway" be reduced by Rs. 100. The mover complained that the G. I. P. Railway authorities had not recognised the Association of their Employees. The right of free association was recognised by the International Labour Conference, but the G. I. P. Ry. Agent did not even reply to the letters sent to him by the two Associations of G. I. P. Railway Employees. Mere courtesy demanded a few lines of reply, and the absence of this form of courtesy would not lead to happy relations between the employers and the employees. Sometime ago, there was a strike on this Railway in Bombay, and if the Association of Employees had been recognised, the strike could have been averted. The report of the Retrenchment Officer of the G. I. P. Railway was not published, nor was the recommendation of the Officer carried out in regard to the higher Services, whereas full effect was given to the recommendation in respect of lower grades of appointments. This policy had caused a great deal of discontent among the subordinate staff. Then there was racial discrimination observed in respect of granting passes and leave rules, and in regard to the promotion of Indians to higher appointments.

Mr. Joshi's motion was put to vote and rejected.

Further Voting on the Budget

On the Assembly meeting on the 12th March discussion on the demand under Railways was resumed.

Sir PURUSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS moved a reduction of 25 lakhs. He said that Mr. Hindley's reply as to Indianisation was most disappointing and urged that at least 50 per cent. of the higher posts should be Indianised. He strongly condemned the policy of the Govt. in regard to purchase of Ry. Stores which should be purchased through the Indian Stores Department. The most disappointing feture of the railway budget was the proposal to write off three crores in respect of the fall in the value of stores. That, he said, was due to gross neglect by the railway managements which imported stores on an extravagant scale.

After Sir Charles Innes had replied on bebalf of Govt. Sir Purushotamdas' motion was put and carried by 58 votes to 43.

Mr. VENKATAPATHI RAJU next moved for a cut of two crores which was rejected by the narrow majority of 58 against 56. Mr. Rama Iyengar's motion of a reduction of one crore and 15 lakhs was next withdrawn after a short discussion, and then the Railway Demand with 25 lakhs less was granted.

POSTS & TELEGRAPHS.

Discussion then proceeded on the demand under Post & Telegraphs which after some discussion was passed.

On the next day March 13th the Legislative Assembly met again to continue the discussion on the demands for supplies. There was only a moderate attandance, most of the leading Swarajists being absent. The reason why they were absent this day was that pledged as they were to support the Independents against Government they suffered a defeat the day before on Mr. Raju's motion through the action of the Independents themselves. Mr. Raju was of the latter party and his motion should have been supported by other Independents. The Swarajists therefore made it plain that their votes were to be sought only when the Independents agreed amongst themselves.

THE JAITO MASSACRE.

Pandit M. M. MALAVIYA desired to move the adjournment of the House in connection with the Akali question and the Jaito affair. This was to prevent the repetition of the previous Jaito massacre. He said that the second Jatha, which had recently started, was now approaching the place it had started out for. Had Government withdrawn the order for the Jatha only to approach in parties of fifty or not? The Jatha had made it clear that they only wanted to read the 'Grantha Sahib' and that they intended no violence whatever. He wanted an assurance from Government that the order had been withdrawn as also the order requiring the Jatha to leave the Gurdwara as soon as they had finished the reading of their Scripture; if these orders had not been withdrawn then the position was a delicate one. He was anxious to avoid a repetition of what had occurred on February 21. The public declaration of those who were conducting the Jatha made it clear that they had no political objects in view.

Here the President told the speaker that he must rule him out of order for the reasons he had given on a previous occasion.

The Pandit begged that the President would reconsider the matter in view of the fact that his previous decision was based on the rule which related to discussions dealing with Indian States. The Jatha

was now in British territory and he hoped that an opportunity would be given for venlilating the matter.

Dr. Gour repeated that the party was yet in British territory and he could not see that they contravened any rule by asking for a discussion. Mr. D. P. Singha referred the President to May's Parliamentary Practice which laid down that where the members and the Speaker were in doubt as to the interpretation of rules, the sense of the House should be sought. Sir Frederick Whyte said that unlike the H. of Commons, under the Standing Orders here, the maintenance of orderly debate and the interpretation of rules rested with the Chair. As for the point raised by Dr. Gour he said that if the Jatha was still in British territory the matter could be raised in the Punjab Council.

Mr. Jinnah said that the matter was definite and urgent and he wanted Government to take steps to prevent any repetition of the deplorable occurrences in February.

The President ruled this also out of order. Pt. Malaviya then asked if instructions had been given to the Administrator at Nabha against shooting. To this no reply was given by the Government.

Mr. Venkatapati raju wanted to know whether the question could be discussed under general administration and the President said he would inform him later on.

VOTING ON GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao was the first to initiate this discussion, and he was followed by those who had tabled similar motions for reduction. In asking for a nominal reduction of Rs. 100 under the sub-head 'Home Department,' Mr. Ramachandra Rao referred to the fact that several schemes relating to pensions, allowances, salaries, and compensation on premature retirement had been discussed on the initiative of the Secretary of State by the Government of India and between the Goverenment of India and the Local Governments. All these schemes imposed a considerable financial burden on this country, but they had not been discussed in that House. No Parliament could tolerate the imposition of such a burden, the responsibility for which was initiated from a body outside the country. Then, there was the Lee Commission, which was appointed against the express wishes of that House. This Commission was likely to come to the end of its labour by the end of the month. Mr. Ramachandra Rao urged that the report of this Commission should be published simultaneously in India and in England, and that no orders thereon should be passed without the report being discussed in that House.

Dr. Gour: This was promised last year.

"I demand that the Lee Commission report should be published and discussed in this House, preferably in the special session in May," Proceeding, Mr. Ramachandra Rao referred to the demand pressed in several local Legislatures for the reduction of the number of Executive Councillors in their Provinces, and wanted to know the Government of India's views on this matter. He added that expansion of the number of Executive Councillors to undesirable lengths had created dissatisfaction throughout the country, and the impression had gained ground that the only sign of reform was that the administration had become top-heavy.

Dr. GOUR, in criticising the policy of the Home Department, said that various standing committees had been appointed to work out the different departments of Government but that to these committees had been relegated work of an altogether subordinate character which was in no way calculated to educate Indians with the problems before

the country. He complained that no Indian had been appointed Home Member, the most difficult and important post in India which dealt with the internal administration of the country to which it was particularly fitting that an Indian should be appointed. He drew attention to the reply given by Mr. Richards in the House of Commons to a query regarding the extension of the Reforms in India and stated with some heat that the patience of non-official Indians was exhausted and the Government was greatly mistaken if they supposed that the Legislative Assembly would complacently submit to the House of Commons.

Dr. Gour here somewhat cleverly alluded to the Akali Jatha on the ground that it was concerned with law and order in British India. He wanted to know what the Home Member was doing in this matter. He put forward a threat that if no satisfactory answer was received, the House would press this issue to a division.

Referring to the Lee Commission, he said that he understood, in fact he had been assured, that Provincial Governments had been asked to set aside certain sums to meet the increases in salaries to be recommended by the Lee Commission.

At this stage Sir M. Hailey emphatically protested against Dr. Gour's statement and said that the Govt. of India had not passed any such order. There were cries of "Withdraw" from Govt. Benches, but Dr. Gour stuck to his point and though he did not divulge the source of his information he asked the Home Member to categorically deny the fact.

Pandit MALAVIYA drew attention to the necessity for the reconstruction of the Governor-General's Council. The salaries in India were excessively high. He wanted the Viceroy's salary to be reduced to Rs. 15,000 a year and that of the members of the Executive Council to Rs. 4,000, equivalent to a judge's salary. He proposed that the Viceroy's position should be like that of the King in England. The Commander-in-Chief should confine his attention to military operations and an Indian civilian must hold charge of the defence portfolio. The Indian Members should serve at 25 per cent. less salary than their European colleagues. It was an anomaly that the Home Member who had to deal with the internal affairs of the country should be a European. The Home Membership should go to an Indian. He complained of mal-administration of law and order and attacked the Criminal Law Amendment Act under which several members of the new Assembly had been sent to jail after the declaration of a public association as unlawful without assigning any reason for such order and without any provision for appeal against such order. He particularly drew attention to the misuse of section 144 of Criminal Procedure Code against which he himself had defied half a dozen times and would do so again.

The Pandit observed that Indianisation was very backward and that instead of calling the Lee Commission Government should have consulted the Assembly and stopped European recruitment to the Civil Service.

Sardar KARTAR SINGH said that law and order had become law-breaking order and complained against the Government order against the Gurdwara Committee. The Government of India, he said, had given wrong information to Lord Olivier who had described the Gurdwara Committee as a revolutionary body.

Mr. GOSWAMI said that when they were talking about unlawful assemblies it reminded him of the fact that once a member of Par-

liament described the Government of India as an unlawful assembly (Laughter). As for law and order they could not find such prostitution of that good phrase as it was in India.

HOME MEMBER'S REPLY

Sir MALCOLM HAILEY, replying, said that the Home Department had carried out the full retrenchment recommended and that the increase under the estimates for the next year was due to the increase in the Secret Service allotment which had been mainly necessitated in connection with the importation of arms from outside India. Coming to graver issues he said that it was immaterial to him whether the Home Member was an Indian or a European because Government was a composite Government. As for the use of Section 144 he reminded Pandit Malaviya that the Law Member, when Sir William Vincent was the Home Member, was not a European. His imputation was that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who was then the law Member was accountable. But this subterfuge was exposed when Pt. Malaviya pointed out that Sir Tej Bahadur was at that time ill and he was not responsible for the action of the Government. Besides, 'Law and Order' came under the Home Dept. and it was an unmerited dodge to bring in the name of the Indian Law Member, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

As regards Indianisation of the higher posts which are the monopoly of Englishmen, Sir Malcolm said that certain posts required long administrative training and experience, and recruitment on five years' contract as experts in the case of such posts would be of very little use. If "Government had not decided for immediate cessation of recruitment of Europeans it was because India still needed Europeans. "We may not have gone far enough but at all events do not bring the charge that we had done nothing at all. I ask any one to look to the civil service in the Provinces where a large number of Indians are gradually mounting up the ladder and in ten or fifteen years' time they should be holding high administrative posts in large numbers. Proceeding by that gradual and cautious method you will get men who will fill posts with distinction."

The Home Member said that Mr. Kartar Singh had charged Government with law-breaking and disorder. Sir Malcolm Hailey asked Mr. Kartar Singh honestly to say whether the law had been broken by Government or by his own community which did not preserve the standard of good citizenship. He did not want to attack that community and had attemted to put Government's justification on the lowest terms but in innumerable cases the community had under a mistaken notion of religious feeling refused to obey the strictest requirements of law and order.

Mr. Chamanlal: 'What about the Gurukabagh beating?"

The Home Member said that he did not want to enter into that big subject. In answer to a question he said that it concerned the Punjab Government more than the Government of India and it related to an incident they all deplored but which was now past history.

As for the treatment of political prisoners, Mr. Shanmukum Chetty had complained of inhuman treatment probably in his own Province.

Mr. Chetty: "I refer to the case of Pandit Bajpai who died under tragic circumstances."

The Home Member said that Government had issued instructions to local Governments who had agreed to institute a special division to cover that class of prisoners who went to jail, as was said, for the sake of conscience. Rules had been liberalised to approximate to those in vogue in England. The Madras Government were deputing an officer

to go to the Andamans to consider the case of the Moplah prisoners there.

THE LEE COMMISSION'S REPORT

As for the Lee Commission's report, it would no doubt be published simultaneously in the two countries. The Government of India had previously discussed all important Commissions in the Assembly before coming to a decision on them. In this case also they would follow the same practice, but they could not bind the Secretary of State who could in the light of the report of the Lee Commission exercise his statutory powers to give effect to any part about which the Commission might urge early orders. He did not doubt that the Secretary would like to allow the fullest discussion before coming to a decision on any point.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao said that the wish of the House should be communicated to the Secretary of State not to pass orders on the Report without giving a chance to the Assembly.

The Home Member promised to do so.

Concluding, the Home Member referred to the question of constitutional advance. He wanted Dr. Gour not to come to conclusions from the abbreviated report of Mr. Richard's reply in the Commons. The Home Member had cabled for a fuller version and would communicate to the House. He held that only if Government had gone back or had retarded India's progress, Government might come in for a severe condemnation. "Blame no man for his caution, so long as his intensions are good."

After the Home Member's speech Mr. Ramachandra Rao withdrew his motion.

THE JAITO TRAGEDY

Mr. RAMACHANDRA RAO moved a formal reduction of one hundred rupees under head "Foreign and Political". He referred to the Jaito affair and said that it occurred in British territory. A representation had been made to the Government for an inquiry and Mr. Ramachandra Rao wanted to know what the Government of India was doing in order to ease the Akali situation.

Sir HALCOLM HAILEY on behalf of the Government said that he had not heard of any one who was concerned in the last affair and who had been sent for from British territory for trial in Nabha.

As for the second Jatha which was on its way to Jaito the Home Member said that the Government had taken every precaution, but the trouble was that the Jatha was being joined by a large number of villagers in our territory. It was largely the presence of villagers that caused trouble on the last occasion, but on this occasion they had sent a certain number of police with the Jatha in order to warn the villagers not to join the procession. At one period of the march in British territory they were joined by nearly twenty thousand people. That was for a day, but fortunately they went back. At another period there were two thousand persons who joined, and due to persuasion they too had fortunately went back, All these were done in order to reduce the possibility of trouble at Jaito. Government deplored the occurrence last month and they would deplore in a double measure a recurrence of that incident and they had taken precautions in order to prevent the necessity of using force either on the Jatha or on the crowd. That was why they had announced that Jathas should give undertakings that they would proceed in batches of fifty and after reading their Grantha Sahib return without making any political demonstration.

PANDIT MALAVIYA asked why the limitation of fifty persons should be imposed in the case of persons who were going into Nabha

only for religious purposes? It could not be said that they were going there for any political demonstration because at no time had they held any such demonstration. In the face of these facts it was an insult to the Jathas to be told that they should bind themselves not to make any demonstration. It did not become a powerful Government to insist on such undertaking. If they insisted on this undertaking it was perfectly certain, knowing the Sikh temperament as every one did, that they would refuse to give it. And the result would be nothing but an open conflict. But if the Government withdrew their restrictions then no trouble would arise.

In reply, Sir Malcolm Hailey pointed out that what the Government wanted from the Jathas was an undertaking that they would not make any political demonstration, the very thing which they had been stating. He saw no reason why the Jathas should not give an undertaking of what they often said. It was the duty of every citizen to use his influence to see that the Jathas gave this reasonable undertaking. The question was whether the leaders of these Jathas would accept any restrictions or conditions which appeared to hamper them in their relation with Government. The Government's duty was to maintain law and order, but the Jathas were under the influence of men who were misguided and Government desired nothing but that the Jathas should see reason and allow Government to find a solution. In the meantime the Government would not be acting in the best interests of themselves and of law generally if they withdrew the very reasonable restrictions in regard to their entry into Nabha.

Pandit Malaviya: Under what law are these resolutions imposed?

Sir Malcolm Hailey: Under the law of Nabha.

Mr. Jamnadas warned that the Government should not make Jaito the Jerusalem of the Sikhs.

The motion for reduction of grants under head Foreign and Political was withdrawn and the Assembly then adjourned till the next day.

On the 14th March the main interests of the Assembly centred round the two apparently inspired questions of Sir Campbell Rhodes both intended to hit the Nationalist party, one by discrediting it and other by bribing the Independents to break away from the Coalition.

Sardar Mutalik asked a question as to what steps had been taken by Government to start its enquiry into the Reforms, as to whether it was going to be an open enquiry or not. The Home Member replied that it was merely to be an investigation to assess the defect of the existing system and consider the remedies.

Sir Campbell Rhodes thereupon asked ' will the Government consider the advisability of associating with themselves in the enquiry one or two of those Members of the House who have had some experience of the working of the Reforms during the last three years?

Sir Malcolm Hailey:—As I said, Sir, I cannot give a definite answer on this subject at present but we have that suggestion under consideration."

This was intended to shake some Independents by holding imaginary prospects before them with a view to ward off the renewal of attack on the Finance Bill.

But this was not all. Question time being over, Sir Campbell Rhodes again got up and drew attention to Mr. C. R. Das's interview with ' Statesman ' wherein Mr. Das was said to have declared that he did not know about the facts of the case and presumed that some understanding must have been reached with the authorities. In asking the question Sir Campbell Rhodes forwarded his opinion that the decision of the Party was due not to any pact with Government but to the

impact within the Party itself! Pundit Motilal was not there to give a proper reply to Sir Campbell Rhodes as Swarajists did not attend the Budget discussion. Mr. Chamanlal repudiated Sir Campbell Rhodes' insinuation and declared that no such thing as impact had taken place.

Business of the day was extremely dull. Pundit Malaviya and four other members of the Assembly had gone to Jaito and Pundit Motilal and Swarajists were absent. The spectacle of Liberals without Swarajists was really pitiable. The smallness of the numbers on the non-official benches made Sir Malcolm Hailey treat the House with contempt and when Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar launched a strong attack on the manner in which the Moral and Material Progress Report annually issued by the Publicity Dept. had been misrepresenting to members of Parliament, before whom the book is placed, the great movement of Non-co-operation and its leaders, the only reply which Sir Malcolm Hailey condescended to give was "I am quite prepared to let the matter to the vote of the House without giving any reply." Liberals and a few Independents sitting on the non-official benches were helpless. They could not challenge a division in such a depleted House.

EDUCATION

Mr. Ramachandra Rao moving for a nominal reduction of one hundred rupees under the department of Education, Lands and Health, criticised the unsatisfactory progress made in education. He also referred to the slow progress in civil, veterinary, forest, geological, survey and mining services.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer objected to the use of the word "Cooly" in Government documents. This word had a bad odour and ugly association and should be replaced by the word "Labour."

Mr. Joshi complained that the Government of India had been attaching more importance to the University and Secondary Education than to the Primary Education in the territories under their direct control. He advocated to spend more money in the Frontier Provinces in order to bring the tribes under the humanising influence of Education.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta brought into prominence the espionage on Indian students in England and the difficulties these students experienced in getting admission to British Universities. Sir Narasimha Sarma and Mr. Montague Butler defended the Government and attributed the absence of further progress to lack of funds and all-round retrenchment.

Concluding, Sir Narasimha Sarma said that the Lytton Committee's report had been received. The Government had asked the representatives of Universities to meet them in Simla in May. They hoped to be able to fix some procedure for enabling students duly qualified to deserve entry into British Universities, to secure accommodation as speedily as possible. As for espionage he thought that the evil was not the same now as it was some time ago.

INDIA AND THE WAR OFFICE

After lunch Sir Sivaswami Iyer referred to huge amounts outstanding between India and the War Office and urged to send a deputation to London. He hoped Sir Malcolm Hailey would lead the delegation during his forthcoming trip to London. He urged that India Office accounts should be placed before the Public Accounts Committee, that the cost of the education of British soldiers be debited to the British exchequer and that the disbursement of pensions should be handed over to the High Commissioner by the India Office.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao said that the Secretary of State for India was also a member of the British Cabinet. In a dispute between the two countries the Secretary of State could not fully stand for India's right.

Sir Purshottamadas said that only once he remembered within the past half a century the point of Indian Government prevailing in such disputes. He therefore wanted an assurance that the agreement would be placed before the Assembly or at least the Standing Finance Committee before it was given effect to.

Sir Basil Blackett assured that the Government would do their best and that they were as anxious as any one for an early settlement. They would see that the settlement was equitable to India. He said that the decision rested not with the Secretary of State but with the Secretary of State in Council.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao.—Does the Finance Member mean that the Secretary of State in Council succeeds against the British Cabinet in such disputes ?

Sir Basil Blackett said that the Secretary of State in Council exercised very real power in any case. Constitutional difficulty stood in the way of the Government of India seeking previous approval of the legislature. Moreover, the Government did not command a majority in the House and could not be certain that its agreement would be accepted. He assured that he would keep the House fully informed about the progress in settlement.

LABOUR

In moving for a small reduction on the demand under Industries and Labour Department, Mr. Joshi deplored the condition of labour and urged starting more Labour Bureaus. The Government of India should bring inte existence a machinery for arbitration and conciliation. He demanded prohibition of women from work during the time of confinement. He asked the Government to give serious consideration to the question of unemployment. He urged them to institute service-securing agencies and to consider whether some sort of unemployment insurance could not be started. Mr. Chamanlal wanted to have a labour ministry to deal with questions connected with labour. If they had a labour ministry that ministry would appoint certain members of this House to advice on all topics relating to workers and see that no exploitation was made of them but that justice was given to them. Mr. Chamanlal vigorously pleaded for standardisation of wages and make them approximate to those prevailing in Great Britain. Concluding he referred to what he called utter destitution among the workers and wanted the Government to institute a searching enquiry.

Sir Purshottamdas and Mr. Coke appealed to those who pleaded on behalf of labourers to be fair to the capitalists. He assured that the capitalists would not be slow to appreciate the Labour point of view and act according to it provided Labour was reasonable and fair to the capitalists.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chatterjee on behalf of Government testified to the interest which they were taking on behalf of labour. He particularly referred to labour legislation like the Workmen Compension Act and said if nothing more was done it was because of certain difficulties. As regards arbitration boards and labour bureaus and unemployment insurance Mr. Chatterjea said that their proposals had not yet matured. The motion was withdrawn.

ARMY DEPARTMENT

Mr. Ramachandra Rao then introduced an interesting discussion on the Army Department by moving formal reduction in the demand. He wanted to know several details of information regarding capitation charges.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer wanted to know in detail the progress in the Indianisation of the Army. He was not satisfied with the Commander-in-Chief's statement that Indians had been admitted to artillery. He said that Indians were only there as camel-riders and not on higher grades. He wanted to know if Indians had been taken as gunners and whether serious attempt had been made to Indianise the artillery services. Concluding Sir Sivaswami Iyer urged that additional units must be created in order to train in them Indians for air squadron, artillery and other forces.

Before the total demand under the "General Administration" was put and carried, Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar criticised certain statements contained in Prof. Rushbrook William's book on India presented each year to Parliament. He did not care whether the administration of India was good, bad, or indifferent but he insisted that a true account should be presented before Parliament and not statements inserted to throw dust in the eyes of the British Public. It was not a compliment to the members of the old Assembly to say that they voted down the Salt Tax because they had to face the approching elections, and some of the statements regarding Mr. Gandhi, non-co-operation movement and Akali movement were incorrect, and he suggested that in future before the report was placed before the Parliament a committee of this House should be asked to go through it.

Sir Malcolm Hailey did not want to make a reply to the speech of Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar. The demand under 'General Administration' was therefore carried.

After some discussion demands under "Audit, Administration of Justice, Jail and Convicts, Police and Port and Pilotage" were agreed to without any reduction. On demand under 'Ports and Pilotage' Mr. Joshi urged that the report of the Seamen's Recruitment Committee should be given effect to and Advisory Committees should be established.

Sir Charles Innes replied that the Government had decided after consultation with the Government of Bombay and the Government of Bengal not to introduce any change in Bombay for the present, but to improve the position in Calcutta. They had therefore decided to give charge of shipment office to a carefully selected officer who would formulate his own scheme of recruitment in the light of general principles laid down for his guidance and that Advisory Committees were not to be established at present. It would be left to the officer to evolve his scheme.

Sir Campbell Rhodes asked as to whether the Government of India had abandoned the scheme of provincialising Bengal Pilot Service. Sir Charles Innes replied that no decision had yet been arrived at.

The Assembly adjourned till next day after disposing of only 20 demands out of 64.

The Legislative Assembly held on March 15th was the last allotted sitting for voting on demands for grants.

Grants.

Demand under "Survey of India" was granted without much discussion. On the demand under "Meteorology" an interesting discussion ensued. Dr. Gour referred to Sir Purshottamdas's minute of dissent attached to the Inchcape Report, wherein Sir Purshottamdas had urged the transfer to Agra of the Meteorological Head Office, now located in Simla. He pointed out that there was no scientific reason for keeping office on the Simla heights.

Mr. Chatterji said that the transfer of storm work from Calcutta to Simla was done with the best of intentions. At Calcutta, they could not keep more than a qualified Meteorologist, while in Simla they had two or three scientific officers of very high qualifications, who could consult one another and come to conclusions. It did not take more than half an hour to transmit these conclusions to Calcutta. The Government of India had decided provisionally to keep the storm work in Simla and to strengthen the Calcutta Staff.

Mines.

Mr. Joshi then moved for the reduction of the demand under the head "mines" by Rs. 100. He referred to the question of the appointment of women in mines, and asked what replies have been received from the Local Governments, as also on the subject of the introduction of the shift system. If any reform had to be introduced in the condition of labor, it must be done in spite of the opposition of mine-owners.

The motion for reduction was put and lost.

Internal Immigration.

Mr. Venkatapathi Razu criticised the policy in respect of internal immigration, and gave details as to how Madras laborers were taken to the Assam Tea Garden, and suffered there for reasons of low wages and inadequate accommodation. He objected to the laborers being taken away from the Agency tracts. The motion was rejected.

Empire Exhibition.

Discussion next proceeded on the demand under "Miscellaneous items" including the demand for the Store Department and British Empire Exhibition. Mr. B. N. Das, in whose name the motion for the omission of the grant for the Exhibition stood, was not in his seat. The discussion, therefore proceeded on the whole demand.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said that the Exhibition was organised purely as a political propaganda. It was to show that the Empire was one in war and the Empire was also one in peace. He said that India could not associate with other Empire-countries when she was humiliated. He, therefore, asked the members not to be a party to India's participation in it.

Mr. Bell (Bombay) agreed with the previous speaker that the object of the Exhibition was not merely to promote industry, but to stand for the ideal of one-ness of the Empire in peace. He said that by such an Exhibition the chances for an amicable settlement between opposing sections improve, and he reminded Indians of the remarks made by the LONDON TIMES that for India probably there was at present more work to be done in London than in India.

Sir Charles Innes said that democratic assemblies could not go back on the obligations incurred by the policy adopted by their predecessors. The first Indian Legislative Assembly was fully consulted and agreed to participation in the Exhibition. Accordingly, the Government had entered into contracts and if the vote was refused, it would only mean dishonoring their obligations. He expressed profound disagreement with what Mr. Mehta said, because he believed that the Exhibition provided the best opportunity for dispelling those suspicions under which India suffered, while non-participation would only injure her.

Pandit Malaviya said that the question at issue could not be disposed of so easily as was done by the Commerce Member, but it was no use now discussing it, because the motion for a reduction of the vote had not been moved and was not before the House. He reminded Sir Charles Innes that there was another side to the picture

as well. Indians felt that if by participation in the War and in other Exhibitions and Imperial Conferences, where India and Indians had established their names, India could not dispel suspicions and get her due, she would not improve her position by participation in the forthcoming exhibition.

Mr. Reddi asked as to whether the Government could give information about the Devil's Dance about which the Secretary of State had been questioned in the House of Commons.

Sir Charles Innes said that he had wired to the Political Officer at Sikkim to find out whether there was any objection, and he was still awaiting the reply.

The demand was then passed.

CURRENCY POLICY

Mr. Mehta said that the demand under the "Currency Policy of the Government" was not inspiring confidence. The Government should not have credited to revenues the interest on Paper Currency Reserve. He complained that by crediting this interest and excess in gold standard, the Government had made known to the world that the Indian Budget had been balanced ; which in reality was not. His view was that this interest should have been utilised in reducing securities, thereby avoiding inflation. He strongly attacked the policy pursued by the Government in the purchase of silver during the past 40 years which resulted in monopolists in London making India pay the highest price for silver. He advocated the purchase of silver in Bombay or Calcutta by open tenders from all over the world.

At this stage, the clock struck 5, and only 41 demands had been gone through. The remaining 23 demands were agreed to without discussion, and the House adjourned.

Six Day's Result

The result of six days' voting on the demands for grants was that Rs. 4 crores 48 lakhs and 35 thousand were refused under four demands on the first day as the result of the policy of obstruction, while, only in two motions, 25 lakhs and 100 rupees were cut from other demands for grants. These two motions, it may be recalled, were passed as a censure in respect of a certain policy pursued by the Railway Board and the Forest Branch.

Nationalist Party Meetings

With reference to the fall back in the nationalist position on the 11th March and the wild rumours to which it gave currency, and specially with reference to the talk of 'pact and impact' raised by Sir Campbell Rhodes in the Assembly, Mr. V. J. Patel, M.L.A., issued on 15th March the following statement to the Press explaining his own position and that of the Swaraj party in the Assembly:—

"Certain newspapers, whose criticisms I have seen, are very much mistaken if they think that they will in any degree shake the solidarity of the 'Swarajya' party by publishing lying and misleading accounts regarding events of Monday and Tuesday last in the Legislative Assembly. I desire to make it clear that no difference of opinion has arisen between myself and Pundit Motilal Nehru. In fact the whole Swarajya party acts with one mind, one determination and one aim. It is our misfortune and not our fault that we find ourselves in a minority in the Assembly. The speech delivered by me on Monday last outlining the programme and policy of the Swarajya party, and every word of which was endorsed by Pundit Motilal Nehru by way of personal explanation when Mr. Chatterjee was trying consciously or unconsciously to misrepresent both of us, was made by me as a Swarajist. Pundit Motilal Nehru was speaking on behalf of the Nationlist party and studiously confined himself to matters which were common ground between Swarajists and Independents, but as a Swarajist he said he endorsed every word of what I said. Pundit Motilal Nehru has only recently congratulated the leaders of the Swarajya party in the Central Provinces for successfully carrying out the policy of the Party which leavss no room for doubt as to what we would have done if we had a Swarajist majority. The statement made by Pundit Motilal Nehru on Tuesday represented the view of a section of the Nationalist party and this was made clear by him. It has nothing to do with what the Swarajya party as such may do herafter."

Immediately after the Assembly meeting the Nationalists held their party meeting on the 16th, to decide on the next step. Pundit Motilal presided at the meeting and pointed out to those Independents who were not willing to see eye to eye with Swarajists in their full programme of obstruction to agree to the view that no honest Indian could vote the Finance Bill as it stood.

The peculiarly iniquitous and horrible form of taxation, as Lord Olivier described the Salt Tax, must go but a compromise was reached to reduce it to annas seven a maund. Similarly in the interests of the masses and in the interest of trade, Postal rates must in their opinion revert to their previous level. Cotton excise duty must also go and for that purpose Swarajists were to introduce a new clause in the Finance bill, but it appears according to rules new clauses can be introduced only by the Government Member. However the members made it clear that this duty must disappear as soon as possible. The Indian gold-thread Industry which has been crippled by import of cheaper gold-thread from foreign countries must be protected and the Finance Member's proposal to reduce the duty from thirty to fifteen per-cent was to be rejected.

These changes were of a drastic character and would in practice mean throwing out the whole bill in spirit if not in form. But the decision of the Nationalist party was to put the Swarajist motion through. There was however no thought of the whole Finance bill being thrown out on this day, though by an unexpected turn of events it was decided on the next morning to move for the total rejection.

Finance Bill Thrown Out

On March 17th. the Nationalists scored a signal and surprising victory over the Govt. by totally rejecting the whole Finance Bill. The full House met as before on the 10th March, and though obstruction was in the air the Govt. benches were not prepared for the great surprise that was sprung upon them. The Finance Member introduced the Finance Bill, and in a brilliant speech Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, who acted as the leader of the Nationalists on this day, moved for its total rejection.

His speech lasted for three hours and arraigned all the misdeeds of the present Govt. to which the House resounded with applause from time to time. The debate lasted for 5 hours and only five members took part. Sir Malcolm Hailey played at the old game of threatening and dividing the Nationalists, but these were of little avail and the House carried by 60 against 57 the motion of Pt. Malaviya amidst ringing Nationalist cheers

A secret move on the part of government was exposed on this day by Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, and this seemed to have influenced some of the members to vote against Government. On Saturday, the 15th March, the Government of India quietly introduced amendments in the Legislative rules of a drastic character including one which permits the Viceroy to recommend a bill at any stage—a power which did not exist before and which takes away whatever little power the Assembly has in respect of discussion of bills. This amendment was made in view of the Swarajist advent. When questioned by Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar and Dr. Gour, Sir H. Moncrieff Smith, the Home Secretary, admitted that the new provision was not enacted in the light of any difficulty experienced but to meet any difficulty which might arise hereafter. Though he professed that this had been under consideration for two years it was forwarded to the Secretary of State only in November last.

Pandit Motilal therefore, taking Government's words at their face value, connected its despatch with the Swarajist intention to come into the Assembly as declared in the October manifesto. Pandit Motilal described this provision most appropriately when he said that it means that the Viceroy has only to press a button from the Viceregal lodge and the Government Member in charge of a bill will say to the Assembly "Here is the Viceroy's recommendation and you must proceed thus far and no further."

The Question

At question time Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar asked for the reasons that led the Government to make further amendments to the statutory rules under Section 67 of the Government of India Act, as published on the 15th and when the Secretary of State's sanction was applied for and obtained. He further asked if the procedure of placing the draft rules before Parliament has been adopted, and if so when; if not whether the Government would refrain from putting the Rules into force until Parliament had considered them, and until the members of the Assembly had time to understand the curious and complicated process contemplated. He further asked whether the new rules were designed to augment further the Viceroy's powers of exceptional legislation.

The Home Secretary replied evasively as stated above. It appears that the sanction of the Sec. of State was urgently sought and received on the 8th March last. After further remarks the President intervened on behalf of Sir Henry and the matter was dropped for the time. The Finance member then rose.

THE FINANCE BILL INTRODUCED.

RESTORATION OF THE REFUSED GRANTS

The Finance Member announced that it had been decided to restore the four demands for grants refused by the Assembly on Monday (10th) The cut of rupees twenty-five lakhs under Railways and Rs. 100 under Forests had been accepted. It was possible that under a large head like "Railways," involving expense of over sixty-seven crores, twenty five lakhs might be saved. He said that as a result of the voting of demands, the position of the budget (taking account the railway estimates on the basis of the existing system) was that the surplus, after allowing for reduction in Provincial Contributions, etc., would amount to 18,74,100 rupees. Of course, this took for granted that the taxation proposed in the Bill would be agreed to.

The FINANCE MEMBER, in moving the consideration of the Finance Bill, reiterated in some respects his previous reply to critics, and expressed his inability to agree to the tariff and taxation changes urged. He said that no central budget could really be balanced so long as Provincial Contributions existed, and if the Cotton Excise Duty was also to be abolished, he saw no chance of solving in the immediate future the more urgent question of Contributions. He then proceeded to refute the charges very often made about the administration of India, namely, that the administration was extravagant, that the number of officers must be reduced, that military expenditure was colossal, and that vast increase had taken place in taxation. Sir Basil Blackett was surprised, not at the extravagance, but at the cheapness of Indian administration!!! As Lord Selbourne said, speaking on the Government of India Bill, the system inaugurated by the British people in India was the most economical that the world had ever known, or was likely to know. As for highly-paid officials, the Finance Member was surprised at the extremely low number of highly paid officials in India. He had already spoken on previous occasions about military expenditure. He admitted that it ought to be further reduced, but that would take time, and could not be given effect to in the next year's budget. He warned the Members not to use catch-words which had no basis, because he felt that when, in the course of time, they came to administer Government and wanted to make it more efficient, they would find themselves severely hampered by the expectations which they had raised in the mind of the people for reductions in expenses which would not be possible. In conclusion, he pointed out to the House that whatever might be the political considerations, the Budget had a right to claim consideration on financial merits. He maintained that without the Salt Tax at Rupees two, they might be running the risk of a deficit next year, and hoped that the House would keep before it economic and financial considerations, and vote accordingly.

MOTION TO THROW OUT THE BILL

PT. MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA opposed the consideration of the Finance Bill. He recounted India's war services, and the disappointing character of the Reforms. Diarchy had broken down, the Transferred subjects had been starved, the Swarajists in the Central Provinces had thrown out the budget, and Swarajists in Bengal were also going to do so. The sooner, therefore, the existing position in the Provinces was changed, the better for all. The Central Government had also outlived its usefulness. He would have liked the Government to continue under

the old system, when the Viceroy's Executive Council decided upon the extent of taxation and expenditure. What was the use of the Assembly, with a majority of elected members, when a greater portion of the expenditure was non-votable, and on matter of taxation their words were not final? As this state of affairs could not continue, the Assembly put forward a most reasonable demand. The reply to this given by the English members of the Government was cruel. They were told they were incapable of exercising larger powers.

Sir Malcolm Hailey: I deny that statement. I never said that.

Pandit Malaviya said that the Home Member had stated the factors which stood in the way of accomplishing their object. The speaker's belief was that representative institutions were a real instrument to get over the difficulties enumerated by the Home Member, to develop National defence, and make up communal differences. The record of the work of the National Congress was a testimony of the fitness of Indians. Lord Olivier's reply was not satisfactory, and Prof. Richards had made it clear that the Act was not to be changed before 1929. He asked the Government to have the courage to sit at a Round Table Conference and examine the pros and cons of the issues and leave the people of India and Parliament to form their opinion about the conclusions of the Conference.

He pointed out that Indians had been refused the opportunity to manufacture their own salt, and that no Indian member could agree to the imposition of the Salt Tax. If, therefore, they wanted to refuse the Salt-Tax, they must also have the power to effect a corresponding reduction in expenditure, but as they did not possess that power, they could not be asked to vote the Finance Bill. He said: "So long as the Government of India Act is not revised, I find that with my sense of self-respect, and with the little conscience that God has given me, I cannot support taxation either now or in the near future, until the Government of India Act is revised. (Hear, hear). Take away the Government of India Act, if you please. We shall not complain of it, but if you want to rule India in the form of a civilised Government, introduce a measure of Self-Government in the place of the sham you have introduced." (Hear, hear).

GOVT. PRACTISING A FRAUD!

Pandit Malaviya, continuing, said that Earl Balfour, when he went to America, said that the only form of real Government was Government conducted according to the will of the people. Judged by that standard, where did the Government of India stand to-day? When India helped Britain in the war, the British people agreed with the principle of self-determination enunciated by President Wilson, but the principle had not been given effect to. A book annually published, called India's Parliament, was giving misleading ideas about the actual state of things in India to people abroad. He summed up his criticism thus: "With all respect to individual members of the Government, I say that it is a fraud you are practising upon the civilised world. (Hear, hear). Why further humiliate us by inviting us to take part in a League of Nations and an Imperial Conference where our representatives cannot speak with the authority of the people behind them? I hope no elected members would agree to take part in these bodies without the authority of India." Continuing, Pandit Malaviya said that they could not conscientiously vote for the Taxation Bill. Replying to Sir Basil Blackett's observations, Pandit Malaviya held that the Government of India was extravagant, and that the Finance

Member had not yet proved the contrary. He corrected the Finance Member by stating that Indians did not consider the number of officers large or costly, but European officers with fat salaries were very large in number, and their salaries disproportionate with the National income. If he had it in his power, he would considerably increase the number of Indian officers. He would appoint more Ministers, and create more portfolios. He would like to spend more money, and his complaint was that under British rule so little had the income of the people increased that expenditure for beneficient purposes could not be undertaken. The Finance Member had quoted figures of taxation per head in other countries without giving comparative figures of the average income in those countries, which would have exposed his game.

Pandit Malaviya had spoken for more than an hour when the President, finding that the Pandit had to say more, adjourned the sitting for lunch.

A BREEZE

Mr. Neogy, one of the panel of Chairmen, took the chair when the Assembly commenced proceedings after lunch. Pandit Malaviya continued his speech opposing consideration of the Finance Bill. Referring to the army, he reiterated the demand for a National policy, which would give them a citizen army, which was the only means of making an effective reduction in the expenditure on the regular army. He described the financial policy of the Government up till some time ago as scandalous, and urged that the Finance Member must be an Indian. The Pandit then criticised the abuse of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the application of Section 144 of the Cr. P. C. and Section 108, I.P.C., and asked whether there was any time even in the history of India where so many respectable and innocent persons were prosecuted and subjected to indignities and hardships under the operation of a law which was never meant to apply to such persons. Gandhi, Nehru, C. R. Das, Lajpat Rai, and thousands of the best Indians in jail! He asked what had happened to the Assembly's demand for the release of Sardar Kharak Singh. The Pandit was referring to the enforced abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha when up rose the Home Member.—

Sir Malcolm Hailey protested against this reference to the Maharaja of Nabha's abdication.

Pandit Malaviya: You protest to the Chair, and not here.

Sir Malcolm Hailey: I protest against the discussion on the floor of this House of the merits or demerits of the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha or the action taken by the Government.

Pandit Malaviya: Under what rule am I prevented?

Sir Malcolm Hailey: Rule No. 23.

Pandit Malaviya: Yes; but that only refers to questions and resolutions, and not to the Finance Bill.

Sir Malcolm Hailey: I want you to recognise the effect of the President's rulings, given several times in the course of the budget discussion, and they apply equally to a motion for the consideration of a Bill such has been put forward to-day.

Dr. Gour pointed out that the final authority to debar a discussion on these matters was the Governor-General and not the President. It was a well known fact that what the law did not prohibit, it permitted.

Mr. Patel asked the President to decide whether the subject matter to which the Pandit had referred was relevant or not. The

President Mr. Neogy was non-plussed. Just at this stage, Sir Frederick Whyte came in and took the Chair, Mr. Neogy leaving it amidst much laughter.

Sir Henry Stanyon, Pundit Malaviya and Dr. Gour all expressed their views on the admissibility or otherwise of the discussion on the subject to which the Pandit made reference. The President ruled such discussion out of order. Both Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Gour tried to acquaint the President with what happened during his temporary absence when Mr. Neogy presided, but the President adhered to his ruling. Thereupon, Pandit Malaviya referred to the report that many residents of Ferozepore district lost their lives when they went to the Gurudwara at Gangasar to read the Granth Sahab. He emphasised his point that the Government had not protected the religious liberty of Indians, and therefore, that the Government did not enjoy the confidence of the people. British Indians were entitled to protection for performing religious duties in temples situated in the territory of an Indian Prince. Concluding, Pandit Malaviya said that situated as Indians were, they could not lend their support to the Taxation Bill. He knew that the Viceroy would certify it. The representatives of the people had no option but to refuse to support taxation unless they were given rightful voice in framing the Budget. He hoped that every Indian member would support his motion to refuse consideration of the Bill in order that this system of Government might be ended, and they may have a really Responsible Government.

SIR M. HAILEY

SIR MALCOLM HAILEY said: 'In a way, I am not sorry that Pundit Malaviya had put forward his motion, because it has brought us once more to a clear issue.' He then reminded the House that in the first three years of the working of the Government of India Act they found themselves with men who were prepared to work the Act and who greatly influenced the whole course of their administration, but in the new Assembly the Swarajists had come with their declared policy. It was hoped that they would work with the Government. The Swarajists and some Independents had put forward admittedly a compromise motion on the question of Responsible Government. The House fully well knew the reasons why the Government could not accept it. Through all these discussions they were in doubt as to how far the compromise of the Nationalists had gone. We were in doubt, he said, as to whether it was brought about on account of the desire on the part of our friends for complete revision of the Constitution or something more far-reaching. That debate ended there, followed by the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Lords, which was received with dissatisfaction among some of them. The result was that four demands for grants were thrown out, and it was said that this was done to demonstrate a principle. We are still unaware as to what their motives were, whether the rejection of those demands for grants was some obscure form of co-operation, or merely a demonstration or proof of their common programme of completely wrecking the Constitution, for reasons equally obscure. We found ourselves next day on the question of demands for grants when they gave us larger consideration and criticism of the type we hitherto found to be of great effect on our administration. Now Pandit Malaviya has come forward with a denunciation of the whole of our policy in the past, expressing his total inability to accept the motion of the Finance Member on the specific ground that we could not agree to a Round

Table Conference. I have been trying to know the reasons which led to a sudden change of attitude on their part. I have seen in the papers some strong criticism about the attitude of the Nationalist Party, stating that they should have thrown out the budget. Now, I ask, is it for that reason that you have suddenly gone back to the complete policy of wrecking ?"

Proceeding, the Home Member said that he had noticed in many parts of the House criticisms arising out of the fact that the enhanced salt duty would provide the means of relieving the Provinces of their provincial contributions. Also, there was some hesitation on th part of some members in voting for the salt duty at anything like Rs. 2. Was it to get the vote of these members that this motion was sprung up, and to show that it would be easier to throw out the Finance Bill as a whole than leaving it to the Government to certify the Salt Tax at some rate ? Was it really felt that it would be easier to take that course, and thus relieve the provincial members of the necessity of voting one way or the other ? Then, again, there were motions on the paper for reducing the salt tax to seven annas a maund.

I notice that the country has found great difficulty in appreciating the tactics of our friends here. Those versed in the method of the constitutional institutions of Europe have equally found it difficult to apprcciate the tactics of our friends. Pandit Malaviya says clearly and explicitly that so long as he is dissatisfied with the attitude of the Government, he will not join in voting for any taxation at all. I am glad for one thing. It does not affect me personally, for I am about to enjoy a brief period of leisure, but I am sorry for those members of the Assembly who might otherwise have to come up and consider the Tariff Board's Report in Simla. Obviously, Pandit Malaviya will not assist them in any operation of that kind. It is extreme statements of that kind which bring home the nature of the course he proposes. The Hon. Pandit has joined that section which is determined on the complete wreckage of the present Constitution, with all its consequences in India as well as in England. If that is any satisfaction for the more extreme section of the Party which he stood for in the past, and stands to-day, then all I can say is that on calmer reflection he will regret that he has given them that satisfaction. It is perfectly clear that the Swaraj Party has never changed its ideals and its methods.

(Pandit Motilal and others : Hear, hear).

THE BRITISH NATION & PARLIAMENT AGAIN !!

Proceeding, Sir Malcolm Hailey said that the British Nation would not give a constitutional advance to India unless it was satisfied that the measure of advance given was likely to be properly worked, and that to the complete advantage of India. The British Parliament, after many years of demand from India, had as last set India on the road to Responsible Government. Now, what did the Pandit say ? He proposed to throw that back in the face of the British Parliament. If they looked facts calmly in the face, then it would be found that this decision would not help India on the path of Responsible Government. His motion for the rejection of the Finance Bill was exactly a gesture of dissatisfaction, and a sign of impatience and irresponsibility which would make it impossible for the British Parliament to consider any further advance. The King's Government must be carried on. The demands, if rejected, would be certified by the Viceroy ; otherwise, the Government would come to an end. Concluding, the Home Member

said: "Neither you nor your friends will suffer from the results of refusing taxation. The result will rest with the Government. That again, is not responsibility. It is on that ground that I appeal to you all to consider the effect of passing the Pandit's motion. If you follow his suggestion, it would be taken as a sign of irresponsibility. I know that no section of the British Parliament will be influenced in the slightest degree by any such action."

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU.

Pandit MOTILAL NEHRU said that his short experience of the Assembly had shown that the Home Member was a past master in the art which was generally attributed to the whole Government of India, namely, Divide and Rule. To-day he had practised that art to perfection. He had again warned the non-Swarajists not to identify themselves with the Swarajists. The speaker felt proud that he was the author of the October manifesto, and stood by it as a Swarajist, but as he had explained, he was acting in the Assembly as a member of the Nationalist Party, and not as a Swarajist. They came to the councils to co-operate with the Government on their own terms, and passed the resolution embodying their demand by an overwhelming majority. The resolution was voted on by the Nationalists as well as by others not belonging to that Party, thereby proving that the demand put forward in it was the demand of the whole country. It was very reasonable, and had not been put forward to provoke a negative reply. As for the decision to throw out the Finance Bill, the reason was that his Party thought that in any case the Viceroy's Certification must come. It was, therefore, useless for them to waste the day in going into the lobby and coming out on various motions. He said that the Assembly was not refusing supplies. It was not in their power to do so. They refused to be party to supply funds to the Government when that Government was being run without their having any control of the executive in respect of the expenses, or the raising of revenue. The Home Member had said that he doubted that any principle was being established. The speaker thought that it was the oldest principle that they were establishing. He said that his Party's decision on Tuesday had met with both favourable and adverse criticism, but the Home Member apparently read only the adverse criticism. In any case, press criticism had nothing to do with the Party's decision. He said that since Tuesday the Swarajists did not take part in the discussion. In the interval, they had learnt that Prof. Richards, in answering a leading question in the House of Commons, had declared that the Labour Government did not want to interfere with the ten years' programme, nor had the Government of India moved in respect even of its own departmental enquiry. Furthermore the copy of the GAZETTE issued on Saturday last contained the amended Legislative Rules, and had shown that the Viceroy can recommend a Bill at any stage. The speaker had a shrewd suspicion that this had been introduced to meet the Swarajist opposition in the Assembly. Now, therefore, the Government had merely to press the botton, and like an automaton the Assembly had to consider the Viceroy's recommendation at whatever stage a bill might be. He said that their proposal for a Round Table Conference was intended, not for immediate establishment of Responsible Government, but for the immediate acceptance of that right, and the attempt by the Conference to evolve a Constitution suited to the genius of India based on her traditions. Western people had their own institutions, but they could not understand India's needs and

requirements. As for the Home Member's charge that the refusal to consider the Finance Bill would show irresponsibility, he asked: "How is one man responsible for the action of another? You frame the Budget; you regulate the income; you regulate the expenditure. We have no power and no control. The course proposed by Pandit Malaviya is to use the strongest weapon in his hand to protest." He appealed to all elected members of the House to support it.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas

Sir PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS opposed obstruction. He admitted that when men like Pandit Malaviya and Pandit Motilal had urged the grave step of obstruction, there were serious causes necessitating it. He also believed in the principle of self-help, but he felt that the Labour Government must be given time to respond. Moreover, the Assembly having voted expenditure under demands for grants, could not consistently now refuse taxation to meet those obligations. He also felt that if the Finance Bill was rejected, and if it was eventually certified and placed before the House, it would mean the Salt Tax at Rs. 2, while the Assembly had power to reduce it to Rs. 1-4. He appealed to their statesmanship to realise the situation, and prevent serious results as the result of the rejection of the Bill.

Bill Rejected

At five-thirty, the House divided and refused consideration of the Bill by 60 votes against 57 amidst loud Nationalist applause.

The Assembly then adjourned till the next day.

सत्यमेव जयते

Recommended Finance Bill Rejected Again !

The Nationalist party met the same night and discussed the triumphant manner in which it had come out of the ordeal. At the same time the Viceroy in the Government House was deliberating with his Council on the next move. When the Nationalist party meeting had dispersed for the night and almost all members had gone to bed Pandit Motilal was roused by a telephonic message sent to him at 11 p.m. at the instance of Sir Malcolm Hailey, communicating Govt's decision to send back the Finance Bill to the Assembly with the Viceroy's recommendation. This message, the Pundit told the Assembly next day, took him by surprise and it was too late in the night for him to disturb his party members. Early next morning the Party considered the situation. There was no doubt about their decision but they all felt that this move involved a direct affront to the Assembly because, even though the bill had been modified, its rejection was based not on its merit but on outside issues, and how could Government expect the Assembly to eat its words. This action of the Government further confirmed the view that the new rules to which reference was made on the 17th by Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar had been framed solely to meet the Swarajist attack. In the ordinary course under the old rules the Viceroy should have applied the Certificate and the Council of Elders would have passed it and the Bill would have become law.

The Changes in the Recommended Bill

The changes introduced in the Finance Bill are reduction of Salt duty to Rs. 1-4, retention of the old high import duty on Gold Thread, (lower duty proposed would have seriously injured the Gold Thread industry in India), and the retention of old high duty on Motor spirit. It is a curious commentary on the management of the present administration that petrol sent out from Burma to the United Kingdom sells there much cheaper than in India.

The motives behind Government's mind must have been two : firstly, to show that the Finance Bill had been stripped of all reasonable objections so that some of the votes recorded against it on the 17th might be either won or kept neutral ; secondly, Government might have felt that the adverse vote on the Bill was certain and it wanted to show to the outside world, particularly to the Labour Government at Home, that though it had adopted a most responsible attitude, and that despite its 'climb down', the Bill had been thrown out. This would naturally strengthen the hands of Govt. by taking away Labour support from the Nationalists. Govt. could then more easily launch upon a full-fledged policy of reaction which the Die-hards both here and in London had been panting to adopt.

The Viceroy's Message

On the Assembly meeting again on the 18th, after interpellations SIR BASIL BLACKETT rose to announce that he had a message from the Governor-General.

The President read the following message, all members standing :

"In pursuance of the provisions of sub-section (1) of Section 67 B of the Government of India Act, I, Rufus Daniel, Earl of Reading, do recommend to the Legislative Assembly that it do pass the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in or imported by land into certain parts of British India, to vary certain duties leviable under the Tariff Act 1894, to fix the maximum rates of postage under the Indian

Post Office Act, 1898, further to amend the Indian Paper Currency Act 1923, and to fix the rates of Income-tax in the form hereto annexed.—READING, Viceroy and Governor-General."

Sir Basil Blackett said that the Bill was identical with the Bill which was considered, or rather not considered, yesterday but it was an emasculated Bill. The main changes was the fixation of the Salt Duty at Re. 1-4 and all other changes proposed in the original Bill have been given up with the exception of the duty on splints and empty match boxes. He said that only those provisions in the Bill had been retained which were considered essential for the safety and tranquility of British India.

The House thereupon proceeded to transact ordinary legislative business. After this Sir Basil Blackett moved for leave to introduce the recommended Finance Bill. He did not make any speech.

Pandit Motilal Opposes

Pandit MOTILAL NEHRU rose to oppose the introduction. He disclaimed that his opposition meant an affront to the Viceroy or any discourtesy to His Excellency. Nothing was further from their mind. He felt that the procedure adopted by the Government in pursuance of the rules recently framed was an affront to the vote of the Assembly. The new rules have been taken advantage of in re-introducing a Bill which the House rejected yesterday. If he opposed introduction, it was because the rules permitted him to do so. He held that the new rules were unconstitutional in their nature and confessed that the procedure adopted by the Government had come to the House as a surprise. They had thought that the Bill would go to the Council of State. It was only by the courtesy of the Home Member that he was informed last night on telephone at 11 o'clock that the Bill would come before the Assembly that day with the recommendation. It was too late for him to inform his colleagues at that late hour. The speaker further referred to the fact that he and his colleagues were not in the advantageous position in which the Government was. Mr. K. C. Roy, their esteemed colleague, had left on deputation and in his place another member, Mr. Raj Narain, who took his oath to-day, had been appointed. Non-Official members could not fill the seats of the absentees in that manner.

Continuing, Pandit Motilal observed that Government need not have shown such unnecessary haste. He did not want to repeat the arguments used by Pandit Malaviya the day before, which were still unanswered and were unanswerable. He said that the Salt Duty had been reduced by the Government to Re. 1-4 because it was in favour of the people. The Finance Member had described his Bill as having been emasculated because of this reduction.

Sir Basil Blackett dissented from this view.

Pandit Motilal said that the circumstances in which the Bill had been sent back to the Assembly were entirely different and were an affront to the House. He hoped the Hon. members would be jealous of preserving the dignity of the Assembly and that even those who remained neutral yesterday or who voted with the Government would vote in refusing the introduction of the Bill.

Motion of Introduction Rejected

The motion for leave to introduce the Bill was put to the House and rejected. Government did not challenge a division this time.

The New Legislative Rules

Next day, March 19th, the Assembly sat for only half an hour for interpellations. Very interesting side-lights were thrown on the secretly hatched rules under which the Viceroy had the day before used his extraordinary powers for 'recommending' the Finance Bill. Mr. K. C. Neogy asked a question on which followed a series of supplementary questions about the much debated new Legislative Rules, Sir Malcolm Hailey had stated in the Assembly on the 28th January, 1922. "It is not the function of the Governor-General-in-Council to make recommendations to the Governor-General in regard to the exercise of his personal power, nor can they in any way seek to sway his decision." Mr. Neogy asked whether, in view of the above statement, an exception has been made in the Legislative Rule 36A in so far as it contemplated the Governor-General being moved by the Governor-General-in-Council in regard to the exercise of his personal power under Section 67B of the Government of India Act.

Sir Moncrief Smith said that the intention of the rule was merely to afford the Governor-General an opportunity for deciding whether he would exercise his power of recommendation or not. He admitted that it would have been better if the rules had been so worded. Sir Malcolm Hailey's enunciation of the position, as quoted by Mr. Neogy, was correct. The Governor-General in Council would not, and in fact, dare not attempt to control or sway the Governor-General's discretion in the exercise of his powers.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar asked if it was open to the Governor-General-in-Council to move the Governor-General to exercise the power of recommendation. Was it not equally open to the House to recommend the Governor-General-in-Council to move the Governor-General to consider the opinion of the House in respect of a Bill ?

Sir Malcolm Hailey said that the Rules, as they stood, referred to Government Bills, but he imagined that if a private member wanted to get the Viceroy's recommendation in respect of a private Bill, there was nothing to prevent him from doing so.

Mr Ramachandra Rao asked why were not these Rules referred to a Committee of the House ?

Sir Moncrief Smith said that the rule-making power was purely an Executive action.

Dr. Gour pointed out that the Rules made were ULTRA VIRES in the sense that they widened the narrow limits of certification and recommendation contemplated by Section 67-B.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar pointed out that the Committee appointed to formulate Rules, before the Reformed Legislature came into being, discussed these Rules.

The Finance Bill in the Council of State

On the 24th March the " Recommended " Finance Bill came before the Council of State for consideration. Mr. McWatters, Finance Secretary, in moving the Bill gave a brief history of its experience in the Lower House. This recommended Bill now provided just sufficient funds to enable administration being carried on and to provide also for balancing the budget. Government believed that Salt Tax at a rate higher than one rupee and four annas was not actually required to balance the budget and so they had brought it down to the old level. But the effect of this was that they could not make any reduction in the Provincial contributions during the present year and that next year they would have to make up something

like two crores and sixteen lakhs before they could arrive at a stage when they could help the Provincial Governments by providing funds for the Nation-building Departments.

Concluding he said "It is true that this is a 'Recommended Bill' and even if amendments are passed they do not necessarily follow that they become law. But it does mean, if the amendments are passed, that the House refuses to pass the Bill as recommended. Government attach greatest importance to the unanimous vote of this House in favour of the Bill. This House has the privilege of sharing in the great responsibility of Government. Your support will mean that you want the constitutional progress of this country to be orderly and that you refuse your concurrence with the dangerous theory that political progress can be facilitated by irresponsible and obstructive tactics."

Other Govt. members also strongly urged that the bill be passed unanimously. Amendments proposed by the non-officials had therefore to be dropped or withdrawn under pressure. The majority of members were glad that the Salt Tax had been reduced, but not Sir Umar Hayat Khan who was sorry for the reduction. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri and Sir Deva Prosad would have liked to introduce amendments but in view of the requisition of an unanimous vote, they willingly voted in favour of the bill. Messrs. Natesan and Barua raised their voice of protest, but still under the emergent circumstances they supported the bill. The only dissentient voice throughout was that of Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar who kept on persistently saying "No" to every motion. In the end the Finance Bill was passed by the Council next day, the 25th March without any amendments and unanimously, the only dissentient being Mr. Iyengar.

The Viceroy's Explanation

The following was published on the 31st March in an extraordinary "Gazette" giving the reasons which moved His Excellency the Governor-General to pass an order under Section 67(B) of the Government of India Act for the certification of the Indian Finance Bill as recommended to the Assembly and the Council of State:—

"When the Budget for the year 1924-25 was introduced in the Legislative Assembly, the Hon. the Finance Member was authorised by me to announce that as our anticipations for the coming year indicated a budget which would balance on the present basis of taxation and with the salt duty reduced to its former level of Re. 1-4 per maund, the choice between the rate and any higher rate would be left to the Assembly. At the same time my Government, with the full concurrence of the Secretary of State for India, made clear their view that a higher rate of the Salt Duty at Rs. 2 per maund would be in the best interests of the country, since it would enable a commencement to be made with the reduction of provincial contributions in four Provinces and would thereby secure an increased provision for objects such as education, public health and industry, the furtherence of which is our anxious concern. When the demands for grants under different heads of expenditure were laid before the Assembly, that House saw fit to reject, without any examination of the expenditure on its merits and for reasons extraneous to the Budget, the demands for the Customs, Income Tax, Salt and Opium departments, four of the main revenue-earning departments of the Government. These four demands, on the retention of which the revenue of these important Departments necessarily depended, were later on restored by my Government acting in accordance with the powers conferred on them by Section 67A (7) of the Government of India Act

The remaining demands had in the meantime been passed by the Assembly with small reductions under two heads only.

ASSEMBLY'S RESPONSIBILITY.

"When during the next stage of the Budget procedure the Finance Bill was presented for the consideration of the Assembly, the consideration was refused without examination of the details in spite of the fact that the majority of demands for expenditure under different Departments of Government had actually been accepted by the House. The position which resulted from the action of the Assembly, therefore, was that when the Finance Bill providing for means of meeting expenditure which it had already voted came before the Assembly, the Bill was rejected without consideration. The Finance Bill prescribes rates at which taxation shall be levied under several of the most important revenue heads including Salt Duty, Postage and Income Tax, and the Legislative sanction given by the Finance Act of the preceeding years for collection of taxation under these heads would have expired on March 31, 1924. In these circumstances it was my obvious duty, under special powers conferred upon me by Section 67B of the Government of India Act, to take such action as was essential for the interests of British India in order to enable the administration of the country to be carried on and to provide sufficient funds to enable the Government of India's Budget for the coming year to be balanced. It was with this sole object in view that I recommended to the Assembly the Finance Bill in modified form containing only such provisions as were essential for the purpose above mentioned.

BENEFICIAL PROPOSALS.

"The Finance Bill as recommended by me provided for the levy of the Salt Duty at the former rate of Rs. 1-4 per maund, for the existing postal rates and rate of Income-tax, for continuance for a further year, of the provisions agreed to by the Legislative Assembly last year, for credit to the general revenues of interest on securities held in the currency Reserve, and for the imposition of a specific duty on certain material for match manufacture which required to safeguard the revenue and exceeding one and a half crores of rupees (derived from the present import duty on matches). Certain items including the proposals to reduce Excise Duty and Import Duty on motor spirit, to reduce Import Duty on certain component parts of cotton mill machinery and to effect minor changes in the Customs Tariff were omitted from the recommended Bill. These proposals though of a beneficial character were not such as I could hold to be essential for the interests of India. This Bill with my recommendation was presented to the Legislative Assembly, but leave to introduce it was refused. It was thereupon laid before the Council of State with a certificate by me that the provisions of the Bill were essential for the interests of British India and was passed by the Council without amendment. To this Bill as consented to by that Chamber I have signed my assent.

"It is to me a matter of regret that the Legislative Assembly to which important responsibilities are entrusted in voting expenditure to be incurred by Government and in authorising provision of necessary funds to meet that expenditure should have failed on this occasion to consider these important financial matters on their merits. The action which my Government was compelled to take to restore the four grants rejected by the Assembly and that which I found it necessary to take in exercise of special power conferred upon me as Governor-General have, as their sole object, the maintenance of administration to be carried on."

Repeal of Repressive Laws

On March 20th, the Govt. again suffered a crushing defeat at the hand of the nationalists. By a majority of 68 to 44 the Swarajists, backed by almost all the Independents including Sir Purushottam and Mr. Bepin Pal, carried Mr. Shambhudayal Misra's amendment to repeal, besides the old iniquitous Bengal Regulation III of 1818, all other Repressive laws and regulations including the Criminal Law Amend. Act.

After interpellations Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai moved his resolution for early steps to abolish the Cotton Excise Duty. After his speech Mr. Neogy moved an adjournment of the debate till the September session, because, he said, even if the Assembly passed the resolution, the Govt, would not be able to give effect to it during the financial year. Moreover the House was anxious to come at once to the next resolution on the agenda regarding the release of State prisoners.

The Government, the representatives of European commerce and the nominated members, were furious at being deprived of the opportunity to discuss the Cotton Duty, and each one of them vied with the other in trying to show that the Assembly was shirking the issue.

Sir Ch. Innes and Mr. Wilson complained that the Assembly was choking discussion on commercial and economic problems by confining itself to political issues, and Sir M. Hailey put in a remark that the Nationalist party was postponing the debate because they have no case. This was to provoke the Nationalist Party to prove that they had a case by carrying the rssolution urging the abolition of Cotton Excise Duty. But last night the Party had fully deliberated on the matter. They felt that even if they passed the resolution, Government would never give relief during the next financial year while, as Mr. Dunichand of Ambala said, hundreds and thousands of the flowers of the country who were rotting in jail were awaiting the verdict of the Assembly regarding their fate.

Pundit Motilal added that as a sick man could not think of anything else except how to cure his disease, similarly the Indian nation at present was bound to put political matters above others. It was clear that Government was manouvering to postpone the debate on the Repeal of the Bengal Regulation.

Sir Charles Innes threw a small bait to the Bombay benches by saying that he wanted to give his reply to the representation of Bombay Millowners regarding their representation for protection to Cotton Mill Industry. No less than an hour and half was wasted on merely as to whether the debate be adjourned or not. Eventually the President accepted Pundit Shyamlal Nehru's motion for closure and by 61 votes against 49 the House carried the motion for the adjournment of the debate.

Bengal Regulation III of 1818

Mr. AMARNATH DUTT then moved for the immediate repeal of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818. Mr. Dutt said that if the laws of a country are an index of its political progress, Regulation III of 1818 was an anachronism. The Regulation was enacted by the East India Company to meet the special condition of those days. The Repressive Laws Committee last year had also adversely commented on this Regulation, and though the Govt had accepted the report of the Committee, legislation on the subject had not yet been brought forward. This repressive law had been used against highly moral and intellectual persons whose only fault was that they loved their country too well. Law and Lawyers, he said, were to the Govt. like a red rag

to a bull. He claimed the right of free speech and free association, and asked Englishmen to stand for this right and vote with him. He asked, with Regulation III on the Statute Book could they say that they were living under a civilised Government? In England, the Habeas Corpus Act defended the liberties of the people.

AN AMENDMENT

Pandit SHAMBU DAYAL MISRA moved an amendment for the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and all other Repressive Laws and Regulations that still exist on the Statute Book.

Sir Malcolm Hailey asked whether the amendment was in order.

The President said that the proposal to bring similar regulations and exceptional legislation was in order, though he was not fully aware of the precise terms of the Regulations.

The Home Member pointed out that the Bombay, Madras and Bengal Regulations were exactly the same, but the Criminal Law Amendment Act was of an entirely different type.

Mr. O'MALLEY, the Bengal Official, in opposing strongly supported the retention of Regulation III. His speech threw some sidelight as to why the recommendations of the last Repressive Laws Committee were set at naught by his Govt. He said that the report was accepted by the Govt. of India as it was constituted in 1921 (with Sir Tej Bahadur & Sir William Vincent) but that the Bengal Govt. had never accepted the report and instead had told the Govt. of India that it would never be able to carry on the administration without this regulation.

Khan Bahadur SARFRAZ KHAN pointed out that the Repressive Laws Committee had urged the repeal of Regulation III and the confinement of its application to the Frontier.

Sir P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR characterised the amendment as vague. He was for the repeal of Regulation III of 1818 because it was repugnant to the sense of law and justice. As for the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, he left them to the discretion of the Executive to see whether a situation had not arisen for their repeal, and if it had arisen, to consider their repeal.

Dr. GOUR supporting the amendment of Mr. Shambudayal Misra said that the Assembly should not allow the Executive to be independent of the control and sanction of the judicial authorities. He contended that normal conditions had been restored in the country, and therefore, there was no reason why the Criminal Law Amendment Act should be allowed to be retained on the Statute Book.

Sir MALCOLM HAILEY opposed the resolution and the amendment. He was surprised to see Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan demanding the repeal of these laws in the roundest terms; but not long ago the same Khan Bahadur in that Assembly asked the Government not to repeal the laws as they were necessary. (Many voices: Opinions change).

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: I admit that I asked the Government at that time not to repeal these laws, because there were then disturbances in Bombay and Calcutta, but now there is quiet in the land, and hence my change of view. Even Mr Gandhi had to change creed. He was a co-operater first, and after the Jallianwalabagh, he became a Non-co-operator. I was a co-operator but after the certifications and other things I became a Non-Co-Operator.

Proceeding, the Home Member said that the Seditious Meetings Act was very sparingly used, but this measure was necessary because, in a country so large as this, and where there were elements different from those in other countries, the Government could not afford to be deprived of a measure of this character. He charged the Nationalist party for not suggesting a remedy. ("Come to a Round Table Conference," "come to the Law Courts," chimed in Pandit Motilal). But the Home Member could not come to the law courts because, he said, that would disclose the names of his informants and their life would be in danger. Some of the arguments of the Home member deserves quoting. The Bengal Regulation III, he remarked, was no more antiquated than murder, not more archaic than criminal conspiracy, not older than assasination!! In his peroration Sir Malcolm made the astounding statement that if the liberty of twenty persons was deprived to stamp out anarchy, the price was very small!

At 6 O'clock the amendment of Mr. Shambhudayal was put to vote and carried by 68 to 44. The amended resolution of Mr. Dutt was then carried without a division.

Pass-ports to the Ali Brothers.

On March 25 the Assembly met for the final sitting of the March session. Business was confined to the introduction of private bills, but the main interest centred in a motion for adjournment to discuss the question of refusal of passports to the Ali Brothers' delegation to Angora. Without a division the Assembly censured the Government regarding their action in the matter.

Before the House proceeded to Legislative business Mr. Chamanlal asked for reasons why Passports had been refused to the proposed Khilafat Delegation. Sir Malcolm Hailey said Government had laid down two principles. Firstly, that 'Passports' be not given to person convicted of offences against the State, particularly for inciting disaffection among Government Servants, and that members of the Delegation must be prepared to give an undertaking not to take part in political movements against the States they were intending to visit and that no Non-Muslim would be allowed to go with the delegation. In other words this meant that Maulanas Shaukat Ali, Mahomed Ali and Pandit Motilal Nehru could not be allowed to go. Thereupon Mr. Chamanlal moved an adjournment of the House to give expression to the grave unrest caused among Indian Mussalmans by this decision of Government. The President very rightly agreed to accept the motion. In the meantime Government sustained another defeat over Dr. Gour's motion to introduce a bill to repeal the obnoxious legislation called the Criminal Law amendment Act. By an overwhelming majority establishing a record of non-official voting, he was able to introduce his bill by 58 votes against 39 votes. It was regretted by many that by oversight Dr. Gour had not set down the other two readings for the same day in order to pass the Repealing Bill in one sitting, thereby repaying in the same coin the Government who in the old autocratic days in 1908 had forced through this very measure at one sitting.

At 3-30 Mr. Chamanlal moved his motion for adjournment. The manner in which member after member among Mussalmans vied with one another in condemning Government was remarkable. Whether he was Swarajist or a loyalist not a single Muslim voice was sparing in criticising the Government.

Mr. Chamanlal explained the correspondence which passed between Mr. Shaukat Ali and the Govt. of India on the subject of the issue of

passports to the Angora Delegation. The Delegation, he said, was to consist of three batches of persons, including Mr. Mahomed Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Mr. Qureshi, Mr. Abdul Majid and Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru. But the Government replied that they were not prepared to grant passports to any person convicted of offences against the State or for inciting Government servants to disaffection. This reply applied to Maulanas Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. There was no law, argued Mr. Chamanlal, under which the Government could prevent the grant of passports. The Angora Government was prepared to welcome the Delegation, but the Government of India stood in the way of the Ali Brothers. This, as Mr. Shaukat Ali himself stated in the course of a correspondence, was an undesirable and unjustifiable intervention in a purely domestic matter of Muslims. Moreover, the delegates were asked to give an undertaking that they would not carry on any political propaganda. This was in direct contrast with the religious liberty granted by the Queen's Proclamation. By refusing passports, the Government of India was proving that they were not responsible either to man or to God, and that they were engaged in a sinister international intrigue. The Delegation, Mr. Chamanlal concluded, was purely a religious mission of peace and the restrictions in the grant of passports should be removed.

Maulvi Muhammad Shafi (Behar) declared that the Government was not justified in refusing passports to an entirely religious mission. He appealed to the Government not to impose restrictions upon the members of a delegation and thus interfere with their religious liberty.

Khan Bahadur Sarfraz Hussain Khan (Behar) warned that just as in the case of the Akalis the Government created a deep resentment by interfering with their religious liberty, so also their refusal of passport to a Muslim religious mission would be tantamount to interference with the Muslim religion and would enrage the Mussalmans.

Sayid Murtuza Saheb (Madras) said that the Khilafat question was a momentous one. The Government of India should show practical sympathy to Indian Mussalmans by granting permission to the members of the Mission to proceed to the Muslim countries to amicably settle the Khilafat problem. He challenged the Government to prove that the mission which intended to proceed was not a religious mission.

SIR MALCOLM HAILEY, in opposing the motion, said that it was wrong to say that by refusing passports or imposing restrictions the Govt. were interfering with the domestic concern of Mussalmans or that they were engaged in a sinister international intrigue. The State was responsible, he ingeniously suggested, for the conduct and safety of the delegates in countries they wanted to visit, and the State had therefore to exercise its discretion in granting passports before their leaving the Indian shores. Moreover, this was a case of persons requiring access to large bodies of persons who influenced the opinion of their country, religious or otherwise. In these circumstances, it was only a matter of diplomatic usage that the Government of India should ask the country which the delegates wanted to visit whether they had any objection to it and welcomed them, but before asking the Government concerned for their opinion, the Government of India had themselves to satisfy certain requirements. They had, therefore, laid down that the persons who had been ill-advised enough to preach insubordination to troops should not be granted passports. Was that not a reasonable requirement? asked the Home Member. Moreover, Mahomed Ali had not acknowledged the authority of the State.

Mr. Ranga Iyer: Sir, may I remind the Home Member that after his release Mr. Mahomed Ali, speaking on the Independence resolution at the Cocanada Congress, said that he was for Swaraj within the British Empire and he owed his allegiance to the King-Emperor. In view of this change, is it right to pursue the old story?

Sir Malcolm Hailey: I know what Mr. Mahomed Ali said at Cocanada, but I should require from him something more. There are certain persons, who for their own reasons defy the authority of the State. Is it in any way reasonable to ask the State to exercise discretion and give them the benefit of protection abroad? It is the United Kingdom which in the last resort is responsible for British Indian subjects. Each one of the countries which the deputation proposed to visit had lately been subject to trouble. The British Government has every right to exercise the greatest caution in approaching the Governments of these countries in regard to the Deputation. It is possible that by their restrictions two or three might be prevented from visiting the countries they want to, but is that really an offence to the whole Muslim world? Does the whole Muslim world of India subscribe to the plea that the best solution of the difficulties of the Khilafat could be found by Mr. Mahomed Ali and his brother?

Several cries of "Yes, yes."

Sir Malcolm Hailey: For my part, I would require some further evidence. I repeat that it is not right for any one to say that the Government of India, by imposing the reasonable restrictions I have referred to, has been actuated by any feelings against Mussalmans or their religion or that we intended to do anything that would prevent a peaceful and successful solution of the Khilafat difficulties.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a lengthy speech, said that the Ali Brothers had now been released and it was not right to revive the charges of which they had been convicted. He explained that the inclusion of Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru was to help the Mussalmans in becoming really united. The Hindus of India had no cause to fear the unity of Muhammadans.

ADJOURNMENT OF THE MOTION.

At this stage several members pressed for the closure of the debate. The motion for adjournment was then put and carried, the Government not challenging a division.

The Assembly then adjourned till the 27th May.

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT

Jan.–March 1924.

Chronicle of Events.

12 Jan. 24—Col. Wedgwood speaking at a conference of the University Labour Federation at Toynbee Hall said that India would prove the test of a Labour Govt.—they would accelerate the conversion of India into a Self-Governing Dominion.

15 Jan. 24—Parliament opened by H. M. the King-Emperor—no reference to India in the King's Speech, but one to Anglo-Afghan relations.

20 Jan. 24—Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's famous message to India broad-casted.

22 Jan. 24—Mr. Ramsay Macdonald becomes Premier; Labour Party comes to office.

22 Jan. 24—Lord Olivier made Secretary of State for India; Prof. Richards the Under Secretary.

12 Feb. 24—In the Commons Mr. Wardlaw Milne asked question about release of Gandhi. Prof. Richards replied that his release was left at the full discretion of the Govt. of India.

13 Feb. 24—In the Lords Lord Parmoor announced that Lord Olivier would make a statement on India on the 19th.

18 Feb. 24—Interpellations in Commons on: Indian purchase of German Locomotives—Reduction of Indian Police—Lee Commission Report—Boycott of British goods in Bombay—The Nizam's claim to Berar—The Kenya Committee—Mesopotamian Situation.

20 Feb. 24—Independent Labour Party issued statement of their policy towards India, fully supporting Indian claims.

20 Feb. 24 Lord Olivier in making a statement on Indian Tariff and Imperial Preference in the Lords, said that no concession or preference could be given without finding an Indian source of revenue.

25 Feb. 24—Questions in the Commons on Lord Olivier's Statement in the Lords next day.

26 Feb. 24—Lord Olivier's statement in the Lords.

26 Feb. 24—In the House of Commons Mr. Thomas referring to Kenya Indians said that the Whites had first the trust for the natives to execute.

28 Feb. 24—The resumed debate in the Lords—Lords Meston and Balfour on India.

3 Mar. 24—Questions in the Commons on: Round Table Conference—on the Ban on Mr. Horniman—On the Crown Colonies' Committee.

5 Mar. 24—Cabinet Committee on India appointed.—Lord Olivier retracted his statement on Salt-Tax.

10 Mar. 24—Questions in the Commons on: Lord Olivier's Dictum on Salt Tax—on the question of Round Table Conference—On Bengal Regulation III of 1818—On the Massacre at Jaito.

11 Mar. 24—Mr. Lansbury's motion of adjournment in the Commons on the Massacre at Jaito—Joint Parliamentary Standing Committee on Indian affairs moved in the Lords.

17 Mar. 24—Salt Tax again in the Commons—On the Bombay Mill strike—On Restoration of Grants—Joint Parliamentary Committee appointed.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE

The C. P. Legislative Council

Jan.-March 1924.

Council of State—Chronicle.

30	Jan	24	Members Sworn—Committee of petitions nominated—Criminal Tribes and Indian Tolls Bills introduced.
31	Jan	24	Joint Session of Assembly and Council—Inauguration by the Viceroy.
4	Feb	24	Mr. Sethna's resolution RE. the enquiry into the economic conditions of the people of India passed with Sir Dadabhoy's amendment.
	Feb	24	Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy's resolution RE. award of Nobel Peace Prize to the Aga Khan passed.
6	Feb	24	Mr. Sethna's resolution RE. Kenya Immigration Bill was not moved on an assurance given by Sir B. N. Sarma—Mr. Karandikar's resolution RE. Publication of Bills in all their stages along with Council Debates withdrawn.
11	Feb	24	Mr. Sethna's resolution on Mural Paintings at New Delhi passed.
12	Feb	24	Cotton Cess Bill passed—Mr. Vedamurti's resolution on a non-official Capital (Delhi) Committee passed.
13	Feb	24	Debate on the Reciprocity Bill—Sir D. P. Sarbadhikary's motion on the Immigration into India Bill to reciprocate treatment to Indians in S. Africa was passed after a heated debate.
14	Feb	24	The Cantonments Bill passed.
18	Feb	24	Mr. Vedamurti's resolution re. substitution of provident fund for pension system was passed with Mr. Khaparde's Amendment.
20	Feb	24	Mr. Rangaswamy Ayyangar's resolution RE. unemployment in India was negatived.—Lala Sukhbir Singh's resolution on child welfare was negatived.
21	Feb	24	Indian Tolls Bill and the Indian Criminal Tribes Bill passed.
25	Feb	24	Sir D. P. Sarbadhikary's resolution on expansion of the Reforms withdrawn.
29	Feb	24	Budget presented.
5	Mar	24	S. Jogendra Singh's resolution on a survey of irrigation for its expansion was passed.
6	Mar	24	Three Official Bills passed by the Assembly were considered and passed.
7	Mar	24	General Discussion on the Budget.
10	Mar	24	The Kenya Debate—Mr Sastri withdrew his resolution.
11	Mar	24	Official resolution on obscene literature passed.
12	Mar	24	S. Jogendra Singh's resolution for encouragement to the Sugar Industry was passed after amendment and heated opposition by Govt.
13	Mar	24	Sea Customs & Tariff Act amendment passed.
18	Mar	24	Sir D. P. Sarbadhikary's questions on new Legislature Rules.
19	Mar	24	The South African Debate on Mr. Natesan's motion.
20	Mar	24	South African debate continued. Mr. Nateson's resolution carried.
24	Mar	24	The recommended Finance Bill considered.
25	Mar	24	Finance Bill passed.

C. P. Council—Chronicle

15	Jan	24	Council Opened by Governor
16	Jan	24	Council first met for Official business. Official Bills defeated Non-official resolutions passed.
18	Jan	24	The great "No-confidence' debate and Govt. defeat. Council adjourned sine die.
4	Mar	24	Budget presented. Govt. Bills all thrown out.
5	Mar	24	Non-official resolutions passed against Govt.
6	Mar	24	Supplementary Grants all thrown out.
8	Mar	24	Voting on Budget Grants. All demands thrown out except Minister's Salaries which were reduced to Rs. 2 per annum!

The Council of State

JANUARY—MARCH 1924

The Winter Session of the COUNCIL OF STATE commenced on **Jan. 30th** with an attendance of 32 members. Before proceedings commenced the President, Sir Alexander Muddiman, referred to the death of Sir Behram Khan who was a member of the Council and hoped it was the verdict of the House to send a message of condolence to the bereaved family to which the House assented.

Two messages were then read from the Viceroy, one requiring the attendance of the members in the Assembly Chamber next day, to hear the Viceroy's address (p. 115), and the other announcing the panel of Chairman. The President next announced the names of members of the Committee on public petitions.

At question time replying to Mr. Karandikar *re.* separation of judicial and executive functions, Mr. Crerar said that Govt. was still considering the matter and refused to publish papers. Mr. Raza Ali asked if the Premier's book "Awakening of India" was proscribed, to which Govt. refused to reply.

There was on the agenda no less than 26 interpellations, but Messrs. Sethna and Samaldas not being present about a dozen of them were postponed for answer to the next meeting.

On the motion of Mr. Khaparde and of Sir Mahomed Shafi, two bills consolidating certain existing Acts were introduced. Mr. Khaparde in introducing a bill to consolidate the Law relating to Criminal Tribes said that it was intended to bring all the present five measures within the compass of one enactment. There was one slight alteration in clause 14 and that was necessitated by the fact that since the enactment of the amending Act I of 1923, individuals of a criminal tribe may be restricted to an area or settled in a place of residence.

Sir Mahomed Shafi introduced a bill to consolidate the law relating to tolls on public roads and bridges. The Council then adjourned.

The first non-official business day of the Council of State was held on **Feb. 4th.** The first motion on the order paper was by Mr. Sethna for an enquiry into the economic condition of the people and the second was by Mr. Karandikar for the immediate release of Mr. Gandhi. To the latter proposition there were two amendments, one of which was by Mr. Khaparde for the release of Mr. Gandhi without any conditions if, in the opinion of the doctors in attendance on him, sending him back to jail on recovery would be dangerous to his life. Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy who acted throughout as the non-official Government's man had tabled the other amendment to the effect that Mr. Gandhi be released subject to such terms or conditions as the Government may deem fit to impose in public interest. Mr. Karandikar however wrote to the President before the proceedings commenced that he would not move the resolution. The amendments therefore automatically fell.

Mr. Sethna on the Economic Condition of Indians.

The Hon'ble Mr. SETHNA moved for a committee with a majority of non-official Indians to make a full and detailed survey of the

economic conditions of the people of India with special reference to the agricultural population with a view to finding out the average annual income per head of the population, particularly of the agricultural population, and to report on measures to reduce, as far as possible, the existing destitution and to raise the average economic level of the masses. Mr. Sethna quoted the opinions of John Bright, Lord Lawrence, Sir William Hunter and Sir Charles Elliot among others to show the increasing poverty of the country.

Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy moved an alternative proposition to the effect that local Governments should be consulted in regard to the desirability of undertaking an enquiry into the general economic conditions of the people in British India and whether they were prepared to support the proposal for the appointment of a Committee and to co-operate in its labour if appointed.

Sir Narasimha Sarma on behalf of the Government said that far from there being any sign of growing poverty there were distinct indications of improvement in the economic condition of the people! This statement from Sir Narasimha amazed the members specially as being an Indian he was fully aware of the facts. But for the time being he was the mouth-piece of the Govt.

Mr. Sethna, after a lengthy reply to the debate, accepted the amendment of Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, as the thin end of the wedge in the matter of enquiry. The resolution as amended by Sir Dadabhoy was carried.

Next day **Feb. 5th.** Mr. Khaparde moved for consideration of a Bill to consolidate the law relating to Criminal tribes. The motion was postponed for a fort-night.

Sir Mahomed Shafi moved for consideration of a Bill to consolidate laws relating to tolls on public roads and bridges. This too was postponed for 2 weeks on the request of Mr. Raza Ali.

Nobel Peace Prize to the Aga Khan!

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy then moved the following resolution :—"This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council to convey to the Norwegian Parliament, the considered opinion of this House that His Highness Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan is the fit person for the Nobel Prize for peace this year in view of the strenuous, persistent and successful efforts that His Highness has made to maintain peace between Turkey and the Western Powers". This queer resolution was passed after much solemn debate during which the names of such men as Gandhi, Curzon, Lloyd George were mentioned by their protagonists and this formed in all seriousness the main business of the day!

On **Feb. 6th** the Council of State held a short sitting.. An important debate was anticipated on the motion of Mr. Sethna urging upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies the urgent necessity of delaying the progress of the Kenya Immigration Bill through the Kenya Legislature until the Committee to be appointed by the Government of India in pursuance of the resolution of the last Imperial Conference regarding the position of Indians in the British Empire had opportunities of examining the measure and discussing its provisions with the Colonial Office. But as soon as the Council assembled, Sir Narasimha Sarma, member in charge of Emigration, said: 'Sir, I wish to make an

announcement regarding this resolution. I have already stated in answer to the questions put to me that the Government of India have strongly urged upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the desirability of not proceeding with the Kenya Immigration Bill until the Committee to be appointed made its report to us and the Colonial Office. The Secretary of State for India has now wired to forthwith appoint the Committee in as much as a decision has been reached that new drafts of the Bill would be prepared. I, therefore, take it that nothing would be done in the matter of the Immigration Ordinance by the Colonial Office until the Committee meets in London, discusses the question and negotiates with the Colonial Office.

On **Feb. 11th.** Mr. Sethna moved, "That if and when the work of the mural paintings in the buildings at Raisina, including the Government House and Secretariat, is taken in hand, it should be entrusted to Indian artists and preferably to the Bombay School of Arts."

Mr. Ley, of the Industries Dept. Govt. of India, moved an amendment to the effect that if and when the work of mural paintings is taken in hand it should be entrusted to Indian artists if the requisite type could be found in India and that the Government should consider the possibility of utilising the services of art students selected from the Schools of Arts already existing in India. This was only meant to shelve the question. Mr. Sethna said in anger: 'The constitution of this Council was such that not a single non-official resolution was passed during the last 3 years without an amendment defeating the main object of the proposition.' The amendment was however passed by a majority of Govt. votes.

On **Feb. 12th.** on the motion of Sir B. Narasimha Sarma the Council passed, without discussion, the Indian Cotton Cess Bill as already passed by the Assembly.

Mr. Vedamurthi then initiated the discussion on his resolution that the New Capital Committee (Delhi) be reconstituted with non-official members in a majority. Govt. strongly opposed the motion, and Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari then toned it down and moved an amendment to the effect that the New Capital Committee be assisted in its work by the Advisory Committee of non-officials till the work was complete.

After further discussion, the resolution as amended was adopted.

The Reciprocity Bill.

On **Feb. 13th.** the work of the Council of State was devoted to the discussion of an important motion by Sir D. P. SARBHADHIKARI for the consideration of a Bill to regulate the entry into and residence in British India of persons domiciled in other British possessions. This Bill was passed by the old Legislative Assembly at its Simla Session in July last on the motion of Dr. H. S. Gour. Since then there were several attempts made by non-official members to bring this matter before the Council of State to get it passed.

Under this Bill, known as the Reciprocity Bill, the Governor-General-in-Council is empowered to make rules for securing that persons, not being of Indian origin, domiciled in any British possession should have no greater rights and privileges as regards entry into and residence in British India than are accorded by law and administration of such possession to persons of Indian domicile. The Governor-General-in-Council may also provide for the establishment of suitable agents to administer the rules to provide

suitable penalties for the contravention of such rules and to authorise the arrests of any person contravening any such rule.

Sir Devaprasad, in moving for the consideration of the Bill, explained the history of the legislation. As an ex-Member of the Assembly which passed Dr. Gour's Bill and as one who took part in its passage Sir Devaprasad considered it a privilege to make the present motion in the Upper House. He quoted the resolutions passed at the Imperial Conference in 1918 and 1921, and pointed out that the principle of reciprocity had been established thereunder. The Assembly passed the Bill in July 1923, and it was absolutely the minimum that could be done by India in view of the treatment meted out to Indians in certain parts of the British Empire.

Though all Indian members strongly supported the Bill, Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, as usual, moved an amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee for further consideration which meant further shelving it.

The Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI then rose and delivered a very strong speech. He regretted that when the Bill was before the Assembly its passage was opposed by the Government. This fact did not encourage the speaker in the hope that the Government would now vote with non-officials on this matter. If the Government of India were really possessed of the strength of Indian feeling on this subject and if they wished to make themselves really understood in the Dominions, they would have come forward with a motion at least for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee. Was he (Mr. Sastri), therefore, wrong in inferring that the Government were quite content to let the Bill encounter its fate on the shoals of discussion? Reciprocity was in good and in bad matters. Retaliation could only be in bad matters. This Bill was a retaliatory measure. Who could deny it, and he (Mr. Sastri) was prepared to defend this measure as one of retaliation in any court of impartial judges. General Smuts in 1924 himself had said: "We have recognised your (Indians') power to retaliate. Why don't you retaliate? If we ill-treat your people, you are at liberty to ill-treat our people." General Smuts should not, therefore, be dissatisfied with any measure of retaliation. As regards the suggestion of the possibility of dissociating from certain parts of the Empire, Mr. Sastri said: "Reviewing the history of Indians abroad, one can only hang down one's head in shame. If we, Indians, were brought before the bar of public opinion in the world, Indians would have to hang their heads in shame, that they have submitted to these things for nearly 35 years and still longed and hoped for remedy, because they did not wish to be thrust out of the Empire. Every Indian has paid heavily for his desire to be associated with the British Empire and dearer and dearer prices are being exacted at every turn. To tell him that he would dissociate himself from the Empire by merely enacting an innocent reciprocity measure is to abuse the language which the Almighty has given us to-day. After unparalleled indignities, we are not seeking dissociation from the Empire. We are still going down on our knees before the authorities to find some means of consulting our self-respect so that we may still continue to be within the Empire. It is the other parts of the Empire that thrust us out and tell us continuously that we cannot digest the black color of the skin. Let me assure Sir Maneckjee that there are some Dominions who will have no compunction whatsoever. We wish the association to continue,

but it should be put on a proper basis. In passing this measure we want to say we are no longer the old Government of India and the old people of India. Some of the Dominions would not have continuously humiliated us if they did not feel certain that India is not governed by Indians, but by British people who, even in the last resort, do nothing in the way of reciprocity or retaliation. I do hope that the Government of India, I mean its Executive, will permit the wishes of the people of India to find their proper expression and not use the undoubted powers they have of impeding, distorting and misrepresenting India as in the past. This Bill must be on the Statute Book as a feeble belated protest against the continued misbehavior of the British Cabinet and the Dominion Governments. It is still in the power of the Government of India under this Bill to keep it inoperative for a long time. Any defects can be remedied by the Executive Government in making rules. Nobody in the world would be more unwilling than myself to separate certain members of the Army, Navy, and Civil Service from us by passing this Bill; but if it is necessary to protect the self-respect of India, I should not shirk from that duty much as I hesitate.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy's motion for the reference of the Bill to a Select Committee was lost. The resolution for the consideration of the Bill was passed. The Bill was then considered clause by clause and passed without discussion.

On **Feb. 14th** the Commander-in-Chief moved that the bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the administration of Cantonments as passed by the Assembly be taken into consideration which was done and the bill was passed.

On **Feb. 18th** the President announced the personnel of the Advisory Committees. The first resolution on the agenda paper was by Mr. Sethna for the amalgamation of the Imperial and Provincial branches of the Forest Service, as had been done in the case of the Engineering Service. Mr. Sethna did not move the resolution. His explanation was that after discussing with certain persons, he had decided to await the publication of the Lee Commission's Report.

Provident Fund Scheme.

Mr. Vedamurthy then moved that a scheme for granting Provident Fund on the railway system or some such analogous system be substituted as far as possible for existing pension system for Government employees, gazetted and non-gazetted, under the Government of India and Provincial Governments and administrations.

Mr. McWatters favoured the amendment of Mr. Khaparde on the agenda, *viz.*, that the Government should consider the practicability of substituting, either wholly or in a moiety or in such proportion as may be found desirable, a scheme on a contributory fund basis for the existing pension system for Government employees gazetted under the Government of India and Provincial Department and Administrations.

Mr. Khaparde, in moving the amendment standing as above, advised the Government to consider seriously the practicability of combining both the Pension and the Provident Fund system. Mr. Vedamurthi accepted the amendment of Mr. Khaparde. Eventually the resolution, as amended, was carried.

Unemployment Problem.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar then moved that the problem of unemployment in India be seriously considered and satisfactory remedial measures be adopted. He said that he included among the unemployed the educated classes. A state of misery had been caused in India by the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee, and at present many of the Bombay mills had to be closed down, throwing a large number of mill-hands out of work. The youth of the Nation, with infinite capacity for manual and brain work, did not find its market value for even a living scale. The Labor Department must find the exact number of unemployed and exert itself to solve the problem by eliminating the causes. The lakhs of men thrown out of employment by the Inchcape Committee must be given first preference when vacancies under Government or the Railways were to be filled up.

Further discussion on this resolution was postponed till the next meeting on the 20th.

On **Feb. 20th** after some questions and answers regarding the Forest Department the adjourned debate on the resolution of Mr. Ayyangar on unemployment was taken up. Sir Deva Prasad moved an amendment for adding the following at the end of the resolution: "in conjunction and consultation with the local governments concerned." Both the resolution and the amendment were however negatived by a majority.

Lala Sukhbir Singha then moved: "This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that, in view of the great public utility and beneficence of the Child Welfare movement started by Her Excellency the Countess of Reading, he may be pleased to take steps to secure for it generous financial help from Imperial Funds." This together with an amendment moved Sir Deva Prosad as regards better milk supply was negatived.

On **Feb. 21st.** considerable time was given on the question put by the President to the members to ascertain the wish of the House as regards taking a group photo and hanging a painting of Lord Reading. After a satisfactory solution of this august question, the Criminal Tribes Law Consolidation Bill was taken into consideration and passed.

Next came the bill to consolidate the law relating to tolls on public roads and bridges which was also passed.

On **Feb. 25th,** the Council of State's meeting was meant for an important discussion for the expansion of the Constitutional Reforms. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari had tabled a resolution for a Committee of officials and non-officials to suggest measures of Reform under the Government of India Act. To this resolution there was an amendment on the Order paper by Mr. Karandikar that the resolution be adopted without prejudice to the Assembly's resolution passed on the 18th. Sir Devaprasad stated that he had decided not to move the resolution in the Council of State in view of the announcement expected to be made in the House of Lords by Lord Olivier the next day.

On **Feb, 29th,** at question time, replying to the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on the functions and scope of the Government of India's Committee which would shortly proceed to London on the Kenya affair, it was stated that the Committee would confer directly with the Colonial Office. This would be a departure made in the constitutional status of India. The Committee would not, at present, be instructed to deal with any

cases besides that of Indians in Kenya. Whether the Committee would be instructed to proceed to Kenya or not was a matter which would be considered if the Committee so desired. The Committee would be designated the Colonies Committee. Mr. G. A. Natesan asked whether the word Colonies included the Dominions besides the Crown Colonies, and if so, whether the Committee could not be better designated as the Dominions Committee.

Sir Narasimha Sarma pointed out that the word "Colonies" was wide enough, and included not only the Crown Colonies but also the Dominions. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari asked whether the instructions to be given to the Committee would be made public, and whether the Legislature would be in any way consulted.

Sir Narasimha Sarma replied that there was at present no intention of making the instructions public, but the Government would certainly consider the desirability of doing so.

The Financial statement was presented by Mr. McWatters.

On **March 5th**, the Council of State devoted its attention to the discussion of Sardar Jogendra Singh's resolution for a fresh survey of irrigation possibilities both from rivers and wells in the light of scientific advance and for framing a programme particularly providing for the organisation of power lift-irrigation from wells. Sardar Jogendra Singh, in moving his resolution, quoted his statistics to show that there were a million square miles available for irrigation and agriculture but which were not brought under cultivation because of want of provision of water. According to Sir Gangaram, the average annual production of food supply was 81 million tons, while the annual requirement in India for a population of 319 millions was 79 million tons. Thus it would be seen that there was only a narrow margin of 2 million tons. If there was to be famine in any one year, then what was to happen? The whole of India would have to starve.

Mr. Ley, Industries Secretary, opposed the resolution on behalf of the Government pointing out that there was no necessity for an enquiry at present. Sir Narasimha Sarma detailed the efforts of the Government and advised the mover to withdraw his resolution, as no useful purpose would be served by a comprehensive enquiry at present throughout India.

The resolution was put to vote and carried, the Government Members saying "No" but not claiming a division.

On **March 6th** three official bills, passed by the Legislative Assembly, were placed for consideration by the Council of State. The first was moved by the Finance Secretary (Mr. McWatters) for the consideration of the Indian Coinage Act Amendment Bill giving power to the Government to call in coins of whatever date or denomination and to declare that from a specified date such coins should cease to be legal tender.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy moved an amendment to the effect that the minimum period of six months provided in the Bill for making the coins in questions to be legal tender within that time should be extended to the minimum of twelve months, because it was his conviction that otherwise there would be hardship felt by people, especially in villages.

The amendment was carried and the Bill as amended was passed.

Mr. McWatters then moved for the consideration of the Bill providing for the constitution of a Central Board of Revenue and conferring

powers and imposing duties on this Board. This measure was, said the Finance Secretary, the result of the recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee. It would eventually be in charge of Customs, Salt, Excise and Stamps. At present what was wanted was statutory power to appoint a Central Board. The Bill was passed without discussion.

Age of Minor Girls

Mr. Crerar moved for the consideration of a Bill to amend the Penal Code for fixing the age of minor girls at 18 instead of 16 in sections 372 and 373.

On **March 7th** the Council of State met five minutes earlier than the usual time. The meeting was devoted to a general discussion of the Budget. As the Assembly had a holiday, some members belonging to that House were present in the galleries. Half an hour before the proceedings commenced, a group photo was taken of the President and Members of the Council. Interest in this day's proceedings was roused not only because of the Budget discussion, but also because of the fact that the announcement had just then been made of the appointment of the President, Sir Alexander Muddiman, as Home Member in succession to Sir Malcolm Hailey. After question time, therefore, eloquent tributes were paid by members from all sides of the House to Sir Alexander Muddiman. The speech of Mr. Sastri expressed the real feeling, namely, that the nomination of Sir Alexander Muddiman had come as a surprise. Indeed no body had heard Sir Alexander's name mentioned in that connection and no one would have believed that Sir Alexander would have liked to change his comfortable unexacting and dignified position as President of the Elders for the Home Membership.

The Budget Debate.

The inauguration of the Budget debate fell to Sir Umar Hayat Khan who never said a word about the Budget and assumed the role of arbiter of India's destiny and declared that his community wanted a Raj and not Hindu Raj. This was all irrelevant and the President had to bring Sir Umar Hayat Khan to his seat. It was however relieving to find that Mr. Natesan and Sir Devaprasad Sarabadhikari attacked the Budget though Sir Dinshaw Wacha blamed the people of India for bringing about disorder and thereby making reduction in the Military Budget difficult. Mr. Sethna and Mr. Raza Ali however pointed out that peaceful conditions should now result in cutting down Army, but the Commander-in-Chief who had recently developed a very diplomatic way of couching his speeches in a tone of sweet reasonableness expressed profuse sympathies with aspirations of Indians for Indianisation and this wordy sympathy satisfied the House. It was surprising that no member contradicted the Commander-in-Chief that Indianisation would mean more cost. It was true that to establish military schools and a Sandhurst would involve outlay but this would be fifty times counterbalanced by the disbandment of British Troops for internal security, thereby saving 7½ crores.

Mr. Natesan strongly criticised making remission in Provincial contributions on salt tax. He recalled the history of the salt tax and the feeling in India about it and remarked that the salt tax must revert to the old level of Rs. 1-4. He said Lord Olivier's explanation

about his observations on salt tax (p. 291) only proved once again how strong the bureaucracy in India was that even the Secretary of State was compelled not to speak the truth. He next narrated what he described as a tale of woe of his province and asked, was it because Madras was far away that her cry was not heard? All departments, both reserved and transferred, were suffering from lack of funds and although a new University Act had been passed, there was no money to spend on education. It was surprising that money was available to be sunk in new Delhi and in the back bay of Bombay, but not available for really nation-building activities. He urged reduction in Military expenditure and pointed out in support of his argument that even during war half of the troops in India had gone out, half were in India and were considered adequate for defence of India. Was more army required in Peace time?, he asked. He particularly urged the Indianisation of the army and this question awaited urgent settlement at the hands of far-sighted statesman and not mere soldiers. Indianisation of railways which was the other big spending department was equally incumbent.

Mr PHEROZE SETHNA said that the Finance Member helped by the Inchcape cuts was doing his best to straighten out the financial tangle which threatened to choke the solvency of India, but without the windfall the surplus would have given place to a deficit.

Sir Basil Blackett corrected Mr. Sethna by pointing out that the windfall had nothing to do with the surplus and had not been taken into account for the next year.

Continuing, Mr. Sethna pointed out that estimates of Government in recent past had been falsified and this budget also was optimistic, particularly in respect of Customs receipt. He said 40 crores instead of 45 crores would have been near the mark. He thought Government had included in the estimates higher income from imported iron and steel articles as a result of protection of Tata's works. He hoped Government would immediately announce their acceptance of protection. He gave instances of how silk was imported through Indian States where it was under-valued thereby giving loss in duty. Similarly, in respect of matches, devices were being adopted to get materials and make them in Bombay thereby evading duty. He said that decline in returns from Railway, Post Office, Telegraph rate and Salt tax was due to the working of the law of diminishing returns. Proceeding, he objected to taking exchange rate at 1sh. 4⅛d. He urged that it should be taken at 1sh. 4d. He pointed out that the time of the year when Government had made heavy remittance coincided with the busiest season when money was most needed.

Mr. LALLUBHAI SAMALDAS speaking on the budget urged for the reduction of salt tax and reduction of Military expenditure. Referring to salt tax Mr. Samaldas asked how the news of increase of salt tax last year leaked out early and whether any enquiry was made and with what result. The extra 36 lakhs was used up in two months of March and April and the issues thereafter were lower, not because traders reduced their stock, but because of reduction in consumption. The statement made by traders could not be relied upon until they were examined in the presence of the members of the Council. Mr. Samaldas referred to Sir Basil Blackett's explanation of Lord Olivier's speech on salt tax and quoted the views of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who

too in his book on Government of India had condemned the salt tax in no unequivocal terms. Salt tax, he had said, was an exaction and oppression and if people understood, it would only breed discontent. It was a survival of the general exploitation of India's poverty by the profit-making Company. He further quoted Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and urged the Government to widen the scope of the proposed taxation enquiry so that the constant rancour between official and non-official benches might to a certain extent be set at rest. Government should also consider the necessity of helping various provincial co-operative banks to understand the work of debt redemption of agriculturists. They should also start an industrial Bank for helping Industries in India or they must ask the Imperial Bank to do it.

Referring to Army expenditure, Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas suggested the reduction of transport charges under various heads and said that it was possible by this means to save about sixty lakhs. Concluding the speaker agreed with the Commander-in-Chief that Indianisation of the Military service was possible only through education and appealed to H. E. the Viceroy to provide facilities therefor.

Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy congratulated the Finance member on his skilful handling of India's finances. He described the budget as a document of exceptional importance showing great statesmanship.

Sir D. P. SARBADHIKARI said that the Commander-in-Chief had pointed out in the other House that fighting troops could not be reduced; he therefore urged that reduction in auxiliary and other services should be carried out. He wanted proper adjustment of capitation charges and Indianisation of army. Whose fault was it that educational institutions for this purpose were not to be found in the country? If the speaker had his way he would abolish all Arts colleges and schools and start colleges with military course of training. He therefore pressed for the establishment of many more colleges on Dehra Dun model and cheapening of cost of education in them. In this connection he suggested an advisory committee to help the Commander-in-Chief. He deplored the absence of any provision for nation-building departments.

Sir Basil Blackett :—There is 1½ crores for the provinces (laughter).

Sir Devaprasad replied that the Finance Member ought to have known that the Assembly would never agree to the salt tax at Rs. 2.

Sir Dinshaw WACHA deplored that politics and finances were mixed together. His views about military expenditure were well known. But while urging reduction in military expenditure he felt that Indians were not making the task of the authorities easy by bringing about disorders. As for the budget he asked the whole country to welcome it not merely because it was balanced but because the Finance Member with his real knowledge of finances had introduced a new departure into the financial system of India. As for the surplus he said there was no real surplus so long as national debt was there. He hoped the Government would reduce the salt tax to Rs. 1·4. He wished Government had not gone against popular voice. He further said: "I am a free trader and I say protection will be the ruin of this country. I do not oppose some protection to steel or sugar industry for ten or fifteen years but they must soon stand on their legs. You require Industrial brains. I am an old man. I may die tomorrow, but remember my words that protection will be the ruin of this country."

The Right Hon'ble V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI made a short speech with particular reference to Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy's arguments. Mr. Sastri said that the salt tax was an emergency tax and if the emergency of deficit was gone the tax must be removed. Now that there was no deficit but surplus he saw no reason why the tax should not be reduced to the old level.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief then addressed the House and thanked the Council for having spared him from that free criticism to which he was subjected last year. He specially thanked Sir Dinshaw Wacha for having refrained from belabouring him in the way he had done on previous occasions. Much had been said about the growing military expenditure, but during the last few years it had been shrinking. He said : "I hope the maximum has been reached and that in future year we may see reduced grants in the Budget (applause). On the one hand I am doing all that is possible to reduce expenditure, but on the other I am forced to provide money for Indianisation by establishing more schools. There is indeed some difficulty in reconciling the one with the other. I shall make it my business to consider the useful suggestions of Sir Devaprasad with a view to economy.

It must be remembered, H. E. said further, that sixty crores of military expenditure was only 28 per cent of the total revenues of India and nine crores of this sixty crores were used for pensions and two crores for Royal Air force and Indian Marine. Referring to the problem of development of territorial army, he said he was doing his best to find a solution and he would be only too glad to welcome non-official help in the matter and hoped they would eventually evolve a satisfactory programme.

Several speakers then followed. Major Akbar Khan dissociated himself from the view expressed by Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan in favour of forward policy on the frontier. Speaking with life long study and experience of the frontier he said the policy favoured by a majority of frontier men was the close border policy. Mr. Jogendra Singh urged claims of agriculture for facilities in respect of credit. Mr. Raza Ali confined his remarks to military expenditure. He thanked the Commander-in-Chief for sympathetic assurances though these did not go far enough.

Sir Basil Blackett in replying to the discussion said that the report of the Tariff Board had just been received by the Government. He said that remittances to London had helped the issue of emergency currency and had avoided external loan for the next year. He felt that even if the law had permitted the issue of currency beyond 12 crores the Imperial Bank would not have been able to do so in practice. There was stringency in the money market at this time every year due to payment for crops. So far as he could find the reason for special stringency this year was high price of cotton. He appealed to the House to sanction the Salt Tax at Rs. 2.

This closed the general discussion of the Budget. The Council then adjourned till the 10th March.

Indians in Kenya.

On March 10th three non-official resolutions were discussed in the Council of State. The first on the order paper was by Mr. Natesan, recommending to the Government that as soon as practicable they should cause to be published the brief of instructions to the Committee which will confer with the Colonial Office on Kenya, on the Immigration Bill and other matters concerning Indians in the Colony, and the materials placed at their disposal in so far as they have been published already. The same resolution appeared also in the names of the Right Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Mr. Sethna.

Mr. NATESAN requested the President under Standing Orders to allow Mr. Sastri to move the resolution as it was the general sense of the House that one who had made a deep study of the Colonial question should move it. Sir Narasimha Sarma had no objection to Mr. Sastri moving the resolution.

Thereupon Mr. SASTRI moved the resolution. He wanted to know the status and functions of the Colonial Committee, the date of whose departure for England to discuss with the Colonial Office had been fixed very early. The Council should send its good wishes to the Committee whose high sense of patriotism and fearless advocacy, he hoped, would bring triumph to the Indian cause. There was an uneasy consciousness in the public mind that the Kenya Mission last year was almost a complete failure. The Government, on the other hand, believed that the results of the Mission were a substantial gain, but in Mr. Sastri's opinion those gains were of doubtful and equivocal character.

When the Kenya decision was announced by the British Cabinet, the Government of India submitted to it under protest, but even this protest had since been withdrawn or modified. It meant that those priests who presided over the constitutional rituals in England would not allow the innocent word 'protest' to remain in the vocabulary of a subordinate Government even when this subordinate Government was employed in the task of protecting the inherent rights of the colored subjects of His Majesty. Lord Peel, when he was the Secretary of State, had, according to Mr. Andrews, entered into a secret compact with the Colonial Office and stated that so long as he remained in office, he would not raise the question of allowing Indians free and unrestricted rights of sale and purchase of lands in the Highlands. If that was correct, then it was a serious surrender of the position on the part of the Government of India. The Government of India should have published all the available information on this matter and armed themselves with public opinion and repudiated Lord Peel's surrender.

Referring to Lord Reading's opening speech in which His Excellency had approvingly mentioned about adult suffrage, Mr. Sastri said that the grant of adult suffrage and the enactment of a statute practically meant the closing of the door, so far as Indians were concerned, to a common electoral roll. Indians did not ask for adult suffrage but common electoral rolls, but the White settlers had refused this to Indians on the express ground that they were inferiors. The White settlers had always the Government of the country behind them. Indeed the White settlers required no representation in the Kenya Legislature. What Indians wanted was equal representation in the place of the present position

where a minority of Europeans had a majority of non-official element. Indians were in fact entitled to something more than equality. If there should be restriction as regards Immigration, let it be based on numerical strength as in the United States and let it not be guided by the personal caprice of the Protector of Immigrants.

The Colonies Committee should now be asked to raise the whole question of immigration into Kenya and not merely make modifications here and there. The object of the Committee should be not so much the immediate benefit of Kenya Indians as the preservation of the honor and self-respect of India. In the name of India, he ventured to repudiate the slave mentality in dealing with the question (hear, hear). "Kenya Indians do not want that India should surrender her cause for the smallest concession that may be won from the reluctant British Cabinet. They want India to put up the fight, unmindful of the harm that might come."

Sir NARASIMHA SARMA, replying on behalf of Government, said that they had nothing to conceal from the public and if they had not published any correspondence it was because in public interests considered undesirable to do so. The Colonies Committee would however be given all the necessary papers and it would be competent to deal with all questions raised by the Kenya White paper. As for the status of the Committee, Sir Narasimha Sarma said that it was a Government of India Committee, responsible to the Government of India and taking instructions from the Government of India. The Secretary of State would only assist the Committee in England and not interfere with its work. There was nothing to prevent the Committee from expressing their views directly to the Government of India. (Hear, hear). The Government of India held that it was undesirable that there should be any restriction in emigration from one part of the Empire to another excluding Self-Governing Dominions. The Government of India did not see that any case had been made out for restriction being imposed on Emigration to Kenya. It was for the Colonial Office and the Colonies Committee to consider the problem. The Government of India saw no need for further instructions. Assuming that a case had been made out in favor of restriction then the extent of restriction was a matter for discussion. As regards franchise, Sir Narasimha Sarma said that the Government always stood for a common electoral roll. The Committee was free to discuss the question and secure, if possible, common electoral franchise for the Indian community resident in Kenya but the Government of India could not object to Kenya Indians receiving adult suffrage. On the question of the Highlands also the Committee was free to negotiate with the Colonial Office if they thought that time was favourable. Moreover, the Government of India had asked the Committee to try for common electoral franchise for the Municipalities. They had full confidence in the Committee and would look India's honor and status even more than the immediate benefit of the Kenya Indians. They did not countenance first class and second class citizenship. They stood for equality. Concluding Sir Narasimha Sarma said that the Government hoped to utilise the Colonies Committee to deal with some outstanding questions regarding Fiji, but he hoped to make a statement later on the subject.

On this assurance Mr. Sastri withdrew his resolution.

League of Nations.

After Mr. Sastri had withdrawn his resolution, Mr. SETHNA moved that an Indian, suitable in rank and qualifications, should be the leader of the delegation representing India at the session of the Assembly of the League of Nations to be held in September this year. He said that the proper course would be for a representative to be elected by the legislature. This was not posssible to-day because the delegates were supposed to express not their own views but the views of the Govt. as at present constituted. Even then, he suggested that the legislature should elect a dozen men to form a panel out of which the Govt. might select any persons they liked whose views coincided with their own.

Sir Muhammad Shafi said that Govt. would take into consideration the proposals embodied in the resolution at the time of the next appointment.

On **March 11th** the Council had a short sitting. Mr. RAZA ALI wanted to know what had happened to the Tolls Bill passed by the House which the Assembly had rejected. The President said that no message on the matter had been received. Reference was then made to the death of Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, and a message of condolence was sent. On the motion of Sir Muhammad Shafi, the Bill amending certain enactments and replacing certain other enactments, as passed by the Legislative Assembly was then passed without discussion.

Mr. Crerar then moved a resolution similar to the one passed in the Assembly in the following terms: "This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that India do ratify the International Convention for the supression of the circulation of obscene publications, dated the 12th day of September 1923, which was drafted by the International Conference which met at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations on the 31st August, 1923, that in the legislation to be introduced in the Indian Legislature in accordance with the provisions of the Convention it should be made an aggravation of the offence of the offer, delivery, sale or distribution of obscene matters or things, if such is made to persons of either sex below a certain age."

The motion was adopted.

On **March 12th** a message was read that the Assembly had negatived the Tolls bill. On this Mr. Raza Ali wanted to know the procedure the Upper House should adopt. Sir Muhammad Shafi explaining the law said that the bill was dead the moment the other House refused to take it into consideration. There was only one way out of it, that is, to bring in a new bill.

Sirdar Jogendra Singh's resolution moved on the 10th that proper encouragement be given to the Sugar Industry in India by providing large fields for Sugar-cane production was next taken into consideration. Govt. opposed the motion on the usual ground of lack of funds, but was sympathetic if a Sugar Committeee was asked for, as Govt. was always prepared to spend money on committees rather than on any industry of the country. There was a heated debate over the matter. Mr. Sethna wanted Rs. 20 lakhs every year for 3 years. Mr. Natesan wanted only additional funds for the extension of research on the subject, as this was the nearest approach to what Govt. had in mind. Mr. Natesan's motion was accepted.

The two other resolutions on the agenda were one by Mr. Jogendra

Singh for the deletion of the ratio of two shillings to a rupee from statute book, and the other by Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari for transfer to Governors in the Provinces acting with the Ministers of all transferred subjects with the exception of law and order, police, administration of justice and European and Anglo-Indian education.

The authors of both these motions intimated that they did not desire to move them and the Council then adjourned till the next day.

Sea Customs and Tariff Act Amended.

On **March 13th** Mr. Chadwick, Commerce Secretary, moved for the consideration of the Bill to amend the Sea Customs Act in order to give effect to the recommendation of the Fiscal Commission, that in the interests of Indian industries, Customs duties should be generally leviable on goods belonging to the Government, and the Bill should come into force on 1st April. The Bill was passed without discussion.

Similarly, the Council passed a Bill to amend the Tariff Act enabling the Government to levy Customs duties on articles imported or exported by land from or to any territory outside British India.

On **March 18th** Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari asked a series of questions relating to the new Legislative rules published in the *Gazette* of the 15th. These questions were more or less the same as those put by Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar in the Assembly the previous day and to which answers were given by Sir Henry Moncrief-Smith (see p. 209).

The Secretary then announced that the Governor-General had given his assent to the Cotton Cess Amendment Act, the Cantonment Act, the Immigration into India Act, the Central Board of Revenue Act and the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act.

The Hon. Mr. Ley then moved recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council that he should not ratify the draft Convention concerning the use of White Lead painting adopted by the third session of the International Labor Conference held at Geneva in 1921. It was adopted.

On **March 19th** when the Council reassembled a message was read from the Governor-General that as the Assembly had refused leave to introduce the Finance Bill in the recommended form the previous day, he had under powers given to him under the Reforms Act certified the bill as essential and recommended to the Council of State to pass the Bill. It was to be taken up on the 24th March.

Indians in South Africa.

Mr. G. A. NATESAN then moved that the Government should take effective steps to prevent the repeated attempts of the Union Government of South Africa to impose restrictions and disabilities on the Indian community, similar to those embodied in the Class Areas Bill, as the proposed measure constitutes a violation of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914, and would damage Indian interests irretrievably, besides endangering the solidarity of the Empire.

Sir B. N. Sarma trotted out the usual platitudes on behalf of Govt. "We in India," he said complacently, "would do nothing but appeal to the generous instincts of the European community. ..... no speeches should be made here exhibiting feelings antagonistic to the securing of justice and fairplay"!

The Rt. Hon. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI in supporting the resolution, made a strongly-worded speech. He said that Sir Narasimha Sarma has asked them here not to show bitterness of feeling towards the South African Government and that the Government of India was doing its best with the support of His Majesty's Government. What had His Majesty's Government done except to put in a mild word of remonstrance here and there at the unreasonable way of the South African democracy, as Sir Narasimha Sarma called it, but which actually was the narrowest oligarchy going in the world? The British Government, having itself been a party to the violation of the spirit of the Resolution of 1921 in regard to Kenya, was now appealing to the good sense of the South African oligarchy, and the appeal was therefore bound to fall miserably flat. The British Government had also permitted the Government of the mandated territory of Tanganyika to discriminate against Indians, and yet Sir Narasimha Sarma scowled at their showing bitterness of feeling. Sir Narasimha Sarma, echoing with the new-born enthusiasm derived from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, had asked Indians to believe that the heart of South Africa was still sound, but Mrs. Naidu had taken care to say that while the moral heart of South Africa seemed to be sound, the political heart of South Africa was corrupt to the core. Sir Narasimha Sarma was still hoping to get round Gen. Smuts. Sir Narasimha did not know Gen. Smuts, for in 1911, 1914, 1917, and again in 1918, Gen. Smuts had promised that nothing would be done to damage the influence of Indians domiciled in South Africa, but these promises had been scattered to the winds. So long as the Government of India believed in the use of old methods of remonstrance and diplomatic representations and dignified protests, they would only meet with bitter disappointment. The influence of Gen. Smuts was spreading to other Colonies, and the Government of India must protect the Indians in those Colonies from Boer views. The problem in South Africa was beset with so many difficulties that the weapons used hitherto, and to which Sir Narasimha Sarma clung with such pathetic simplicity, would not do. Sir Umar Hayat Khan had suggested that some effective means must be found. "I know he cannot use his bullet, which he once recommended in this Council. (Laughter). I have come to the conclusion that there might be some awakening of British consciousness, some awakening of a deeper sense of responsibility in the British Nation. If on some occasion in the future the Governor-General in Council should say to the listening world that it is impossible for them as representatives of His Majesty's Government, if even his Dominions were unable to protect the just rights of the Indian subjects of His Majesty, when a statement of that kind could be made, the Governor-General and his Councillors of the day should resign their offices, because they could not protect their subjects from the insults of another class of His Majesty's subjects. When that step is taken, I think something will be done which will touch the consciousness of the British Nation. Until something in the nature of a political explosion takes place and crisis is reached, the British Nation will remain deaf and blind. I have not asked anybody to resign now. Between the extreme limit of the begging line we have taken and the beginning of the bullet line, there is a large margin of high-minded and responsible statesmanship, which we

have got to traverse, and we hope that God willing, the interests of the British Empire will still be maintained while we are traversing that margin."

After Mr. Sastri Sir Maneckjee rose and expressed his horror of such loose statements and destructive criticisms as Mr. Sastri's. Such expressions were a positive dis-service to the Empire. This dis-service was however repeated by other Indian members of the House, and before the discussion concluded the House adjourned till the next day.

Next day, March 20th, the debate on South Africa was resumed.

Mr. RAZA ALI referred to the speech of Mr. Sastri and said that that speech gave a correct expression to the public feeling in the matter. No sane-minded person, not even a Moderate of Moderates, should take any objection to the view of Mr. Sastri that the Government of India must resign if a stage arrived when they could not protect Indians from insults offered by another class of His Majesty's subjects. Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy was, therefore, showing signs of nervousness when he deprecated Mr. Sastri's suggestion. Mr. Raza Ali referred to the Colonies Committee and its composition. He asked why, when the Government of India had taken the services of an English official like Sir Benjamin Robertson, they had omitted to take some non-official Indians who had been in close touch with South Africans.

Sir MUHAMMAD SHAFI said that he did not believe that Mr. Sastri's expression of opinion represented even the Madras spirit. At any rate, it did not represent the Punjab spirit. Assuming, for argument's sake, that the Government of India had failed to make an effective impression in order to achieve the desired object, did it follow, he asked, that the Viceroy and the Members of the Executive Council, who are trustees of of Indian interests, should throw down their arms in a mood of pacifism and despair? "I, for one, am not going to resign, simply because, in the imagination of some people, the Government failed in ther efforts. I regard it as my duty and the duty of the Government of India, even if there is a failure, that we should proceed in our advocacy and make renewed efforts in order to bring relief to our countrymen; and have we failed miserably, as it is stated? The very fact of the appointment of the Colonies Committee, which will have the right to negotiate directly with the Colonial Office and will receive instructions from the Government of India, is a great gain. The Committee will achieve, if not all the success we desire, at least reasonable success, and bring relief to our countymen. So, pacifism will not do. It is optimism which is the soul of political strength, and I am one of those who believe that, where one's cause is just and righteous, there is no ground whatever to be down-hearted. The cause of truth and righteousness must triumph in the end."

Sir NARASIMHA SARMA in summing up the debate made a long speech in vindication of the Government's position. He emphasised that the Government of India had not followed a mendicant policy and would not pursue a mendicant policy in respect of any Government, much less in respect of that of South Africa. His Majesty's Government were perfectly in accord with the policy enunciated by the Government of India in regard to South Africa. This fact was testified to by the speech of Lord Peel who stated at the Imperial Conference that as the Government of India appreciated the difficulties of the South African Government, the latter

must also retain a vivid consciousness of the difficulties of the Government of India, and General Smuts could not have paid a greater compliment to the Government of India than that it had adopted an intransigent attitude. The Government of India, Sir Narasimha Sarma assured, had not deviated one inch from the policy of protecting His Majesty's Indian subjects. Whatever might be the position at present in South Africa or elsewhere, India must remember that the constitution of the Imperial Commonwealth was of so fluid a character that she must take into account the difficulties of His Majesty's Government in successfully intervening in a matter of this kind. The Union Government could not be absolved from the blame attaching to it by departure from the spirit of the promise made in 1914 and from the policy pursued by His Majesty's Government when Self-Government was conferred upon South Africa. As regards the suggestion of repatriation of Indians, Sir Narasimha Sarma did not want to say anything which would only encourage the Union Government to drive the Indians out. But if any Indian wanted voluntary repatriation it was the duty of the Government of India to make the conditions of repatriation as comfortable as possible. As regards Mr. Sastri's suggestion that the Government of India must resign in the event of an adverse decision on the Class Areas Bill, Sir Narasimha Sarma said: "I am not surprised at it. I am not grieved either. Speaking personally, when the Kenya decision was announced, I was very uncomfortable. Indeed, as a matter of fact, when I was asked to take over charge, I knew I was going in for trouble. But on the whole I feel now that I did the right thing in resisting the temptation and in resisting the call, because I feel that I have been of some use to my country by continuing to remain in office.'

'I assure you that the Government of India is trying its best, although it has to realise the difficulties of His Majesty's Government and cheerfully submit to its decisions, and so far His Majesty's Government had not told us that we were in the wrong in the matter of our asking the South African Government to alter their policy.'

Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari: What about the suggestion of adding one or two Indians to the Colonies Committee and asking the Committee to tackle the South African question also?

Sir Narasimha Sarma replied that this Colonies Committee was primarily intended to deal with Kenya, and incidentally, with the question of Fiji. Whether the South African question should be brought within their scope of negotiations is a different matter. Concluding, he said that there was absolutely no difference of opinion between the Government of India and the people of India on this question. Lord Reading had done and was doing his best and no further gesture was needed from him as suggested in certain quarters. The example which he set in regard to the Kenya decision and other matters showed that he would put up every fight that it was open to constitutional representatives of His Majesty to make in order to protect the rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects. (Applause).

The resolution of Mr. Natesan was carried without division. The Council then adjourned till Monday, the 24th.

The Finance Bill

On March 24th, the Finance Bill with the Governor-General's recommendation came up for consideration in the Council of State. The galleries were full with visitors, including a few members of the Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Mc WATTERS, Finance Secretary, in moving that the Finance Bill be taken into consideration, gave a brief history of its experience in the lower House, and the consequent certification by the Governor-General. This recommended Bill now provided just sufficient funds to enable the Administration being carried on and to provide also for balancing the budget. Government believed that the salt tax at a rate higher than Re. 1-4 was not actually required to balance the budget, and so they had brought it down to the old level. But the effect of this was that they could not make any reduction in Provincial Contributions during the present year, and that next year they would have to make up something like Rs. 21,600,000 before they could arrive at a stage when they could help the Provincial Governments by providing funds for the nation-building departments. As regards the duty on splints, Mr. Mc Watters pointed out that unless this was passed, a greater part of the revenue from imported matches would disappear in the course of a few months. At the same time it helped the indigenous manufacturers of this material. He then referred to the amendments in the order paper in the names of Sir D. P. Sarvadhikari and Mr. Karandikar. The former wanted to reduce the postal rates to the old level of quarter anna per post card and half an anna per envelope, and also to reduce the rate on book-post sample packets. Mr. Karandikar's amendment was for an alteration in Income-tax rates in respect of Hindu undivided families and registered firms. The effect of the amendments to reduce postal rates would be, said the Finance Secretary, that there would be a loss in revenue of no less than 60 lakhs. As regards the reduction in the rates of book-post and packets, the Finance Secretary informed the House that the Government were themselves examining the question, and hoped that there might be some case for reducing the present rates. It was quite unnecessary, therefore, to amend the Finance Bill at this stage. The rates fixed in the schedule were the maximum rates, and it was within the competence of the Government to make any reduction if it was felt necessary. The Finance Secretary then pointed out the misapprehension under which the other amendments were framed. Concluding, he said: "It is true that this is a recommended bill, and even if the amendments are passed, they do not necessarily follow that they become law, but it does mean that if the amendments are passed, then the House refuses to pass the Bill as recommended. Government attach the greatest importance to the unanimous vote of the House in favour of the Bill. This House has the privilege of sharing the great responsibility of the Government. Your support will mean that you want the constitutional progress of this country to be orderly and that you refuse your concurrence to the dangerous theory that political progress can be facilitated by irresponsible and obstructive tactics".

Sir UMAR HAYAT KHAN was the first member to speak on the Finance Bill. He regretted that the Salt-tax had been reduced when living had considerably cheapened. He condemned the obstructive tactics of the Swarajists, and maintained that the refusal of supplies was an impossibility since the Government must be carried on.

The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa SASTRI said that he was quite willing on his part to respond whole-heartedly to the Finance Secretary's appeal for unanimous support. He was one of those who thought that with a few amendments, the demand for constitutional advance made in the Legislative Assembly was one which should have been supported by every lover of ordered progress. If such a demand had been made in this House, he would have gladly supported it. What he would have asked would have been complete autonomy in the Provinces, combined with responsibility in the Central Government, except as regards the defence of the country, and Foreign and Political Departments. But in respect of that demand in the Assembly, Government had adopted a *non possumus* attitude. His vote should not, therefore, be interpreted as meaning that he was in favour of constitutional advance by slow and numerous stages. It meant that he was not willing at this moment to hamper the operations of the Government to the extent that the refusal of supplies would hamper them.

Sir Devaprasad SARVADHIKARI referred, at the outset, to the amendments which he had intended to move for reducing the price of postcards, etc. He maintained that the moving of these small amendments would not affect the unanimity with which they were going to adopt the Finance Bill, nor would the working of the Government be jeopardised. The figures given to the Council as regards the central revenues were not complete. He had still a suspicion that the Government had with them something like three crores from Railways, which they could now utilise in not only reducing the postal rates, but also affording relief to the Provinces. He joined in the demand for the abolition of the Cotton Excise Duty, and asked what protection was given to the match industry? The unrest in the country was tremendous. Every Provincial Legislature was bent on rejecting the Budget, being dissatisfied with the position in the country. In the Central Legislature also, the wave was sweeping, and the demand had been put forward for an urgent revision of the Constitution. There was nothing in the Budget to show that there would be some Commission, as was the case last year in connection with the Lee Commission.

Mr. G. A. NATESAN accepted the Finance Bill but under protest. He was sory that Madras had been denied even tardy justice as regards contributions. It was action like this that forced some members to adopt policies they were hitherto not accustomed to witness. On behalf of Madras, he urged the Finance Member to come next year with justice. Mr. Natesan characterised Lord Reading's Certification as a blunder, and hoped that the Government would profit by this episode and not attempt hereafter to flout public opinion in regard to Constitutional advance. He asked the Government not to scatter their friends and swell the ranks of their enemies.

After some other members had spoken the motion for the consideration of the Bill was passed, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar's being the only dissentient voice. The bill was then taken clause by clause and after the third clause was passed the Council adjourned to meet again on the next day.

On March 25th, the last stage of the Finance Bill was reached. Mr. Raza Ali wanted a ruling by the President whether, in view of the fact that it was a Bill recommended by the Governor-General, it was open to any member of the House to move an amendment and pass it, if necessary, and what effect it would have, if so done.

The President pointed out that it was open to the House to move and pass amendments although it was perfectly true that if the Governor-General exercised his powers of signing the Bill, the amendments would have no effect. But, at the same time it was open to His Excellency, if he so desired, to withdraw the recommended Bill at any moment and reintroduce a Bill with the amendments made by the Council of State. So the power of moving amendments was not useless. There was nothing whatever to prevent the House from dealing with the recommended Bill in the same way as any other Bill. Indeed, under the new rules it was quite open for the House to move amendments.

The first three clauses of the Bill having been disposed of the day before the remaining clauses and schedules to the Bill were passed without much discussion.

Mr. McWatters then moved that the Bill be passed.

At this stage Mr. Raza Ali occupied the Council for forty minutes. In traversing the grounds, political as well as financial, he characterised the Swarajist action in the Assembly as a great blunder calculated to retard India's progress. This blunder could not have been committed in a calmer moment. The attitude of the Government on the question of the Reforms could not be called as wholly unsatisfactory. Indeed, Lord Olivier's speech was conciliatory, but the feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction still existed; and Mr. Raja Ali hoped that when Sir Alexander Muddiman entered the Home Department, he would help to bring about better relations between the Government and the people.

After a few more speeches the Finance Bill was passed without any amendment.

The Income Tax Bill.

Mr. McWATTERS then moved for the consideration of the Bill as passed by the Assembly to amend the Indian Income Tax Act, 1922, for the purpose of providing for the assessment of the income, profits or gains of an Association or Club which was neither a Company, nor a firm, nor a Hindu undivided family. In the course of his speech Mr. McWatters informed the House that the Government would consider as a separate case on its merits the question whether provident funds of private Companies should be exempted from Income Tax or not, and if so to what extent.

Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari thanked the Government for this assurance. The Bill was then considered and passed without amendment.

The Council then adjourned till the 27th May.

The C. P. Legislative Council.

Members.

PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Madho Chitnavis, K C I E

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS.

,, Hon'ble Mr B P Standen
,, Hon'ble Sir Moropant Vishwanath Joshi

NOMINATED MEMBERS.
OFFICIALS.

Mr. Arthur Edward Nelson
,, David George Mitchell
,, Charles Evan William Jones
,, Cecil Upton Wills

NON-OFFICIALS.

Mr. V B Kekre
Raja Thakur Raghuraj Singh of Pandaria
Mr. William Pasley
,, Ganesh Akaji Gavai
,, Sukhaji Urkuda Katangale
,, George Paris Dick, C I E, Bar-at-Law
,, Ramkrishna Raoji Jayavant M B E
,, Golam Mohiuddin, Bar-at-Law
,, Ramkrishna Rao Shrikhande, M A

ELECTED MEMBERS

Mr. Prabhat Chandra Bose
,, Gyan Chandra Verma
,, Raghabendra Rao
,, Chandra Gopal Misra
Dr. N B Khare
,, B S Moonjee
Mr. Balwant Raghav Deshmukh
,, Kanchhedilal
Pandit Kashi Prasad Pande
Mr. Gokulchand Singai
,, Gopal Ramchandra Wakhale
,, Prabhakar Dhundiraji Jatar
Seth Sheodass Daga
Mr. Ravishankar Shukla
Thakur Chhedilal
Mr. Ghanshiam Singh Gupta
,, Beni Madhav Awasthi
,, Gopal Rao Rambha Joshi
Choudhry Daulat Singh
Mr. Vishwanath Damodar Salpekar
,, Krishna Rao Mahadeo Dharmadhikari
,, Krishna Rao Pandurang Vaidya
,, Laxman Rao Waman Rao Halde
,, Namdeo Yeswant Rao Dhopte
,, G V Deshmukh
,, Deorao Mukund Patil
,, Raghunath Ramchandra Pathak
,, K R Mohariker
Maulvi Saiyid Muhammad Amin Shams-ul-ulama
Hon. Syed Hifazat Ali (MINISTER);
Mr. Mohammad Masud Khan
,, M. K. Siddiqui
,, Shyam Sunder Bhargava
Hon. S M Chitnavis I S O (MINISTER)
,, M K Golwalkar
Rai Sahib D Laxmi Narayan
Rai Bahadur K S Nayudu
Mr. Shripad Balwant Tambe
,, Ramchandra Anant Kanitkar
,, W G Mohrir
,, Punjabrao Deshmukh
,, Ramrao Madhorao Deshmukh
,, Tukaram Shoram Korde
,, Umedsingh Narayansingh Thakur
,, Janardan Bhalchandra Sane
,, Y M Kale
,, Nathu Ragho Patil
,, Mahadeo Paikaji Kolhe
,, Dattatraya Krishna Kane
Khan Bahadur Saiyid Abdur Rahman
Mr Syed Muzaffar Husain
,, Mansur Ali Khan
,, Balkrishna Ganesh Khaparde
,, Shriram Surajmal

The Council Opened

The Central Provinces Legislative Council opened on January 15th amidst lively scenes. Forty one Swarajists mostly clad in *Khaddar* were the centre of attraction. The galleries were packed with numerous visitors among whom were Pandit Motilal Nehru, Doctor Tej Bahadur Sapru and others. All members having taken oaths of allegiance, the President, Hon. Sir G. M. Chitnavis, made a short opening speech wherein he requested all members to use all their talents and opportunities to serve their country and hoped that the Council would lay the foundation of the future Indian Parliament. Doctor Moonji, the leader of the Swarajisit Party, while thanking the President for congratulations and welcome, made a brief but

very forceful speech which was very much appreciated by the whole House and the spectators who cheered him when he resumed his seat. Doctor Moonji said: "I have noted your remarks about making the present Govt. popular. I assure you on behalf of my party that we have been doing and we shall do our utmost in future to really popularise the Government at the earliest possible date and to make it a success in the sense in which Government of any independent nation of of the world can be."

After this H. E. the Governor accompanied by the Judges and other officials came in procession and read his short opening speech in the course of which he said:

In making the appointment of Ministers, he was faced with a situation that no member of the majority party was prepared to take office. They thus refused to accept the responsibility of their position. Some members classed as Independents were also not prepared to accept office. The sphere of selection was thus narrowed. Appointments have been made after careful consideration and with a full sense of responsibility for the future Government of the Province.

The financial position has substantially improved and they seemed to have reached a turning point in the series of deficits which had crippled so seriously the activities of the Government during the past three years. The budget estimate of the current year anticipated an excess expenditure of 15 lakhs over revenue and the latest revised estimate showed balanced budget.

Concluding the Governor said: 'A heavy responsibility rests on you, for it is upon your work that the future advancement towards full responsible Government will largely depend, and I sincerely hope that all will work whole-heartedly with the Government towards this common goal. Whatever the future may be, the King Emperor's Government must be carried on and I appeal to all members to place the progress and welfare of the Province before party considerations.'

On Jan. 16th. the Council first met for official business. There were 5 officials bills which were all postponed for consideration or circulation.

The Hon. Mr. Chitnavis, Minister of Education, moved that the Central Provinces Primary Education Amendment Bill be taken into consideration at once. Dr. Moonje opposing said that a grave constitutional crisis had arisen in this province. H. E. the Governor on his own admission had appointed two Ministers who did not command the confidence of the House. He said that the Governor had no such power and his action was a constitutional error.

The President pointed out that this question would be decided when the No-Confidence motion was discussed but as long as the Ministers were there it was their duty to allow him to make the motion.

Dr. Moonjee then moved in the form of an amendment that the introduction of the Bill be postponed. It was, however, pointed out that the amendment was a direct negative and could not be moved. After some discussion the President asked for time to consider the matter and promised to give his ruling later.

The Hon. Mr. B. P. Standen then moved that the Central Provinces Settlement Bill be referred to a Select Committee. Mr. E. P. Pande (Independent) moved that the consideration of the Bill be postponed till the August session as the Bill was a very contentious measure and contained provisions on which there were serious differences of opinion. The Hon. Mr. Standen said that there was no necessity for circulating the Bill again as it had already been done. He was not prepared to withdraw the motion.

The President pointed out that the only method of postponing a further consideration of the Bill was for the House to vote against the motion. No amendment could be allowed.

After further discussion, the Hon. Mr. Standen agreed in deference to the opinion of the House to circulate the Bill again for opinion and this permission was unanimously accorded by the House.

After lunch the consideration of the Primary Education Bill was resumed. Mr. Kanitkar of Berar moved that the consideration of the Bill be postponed until the March session. On the President allowing it, Mr. Kanitkar's motion was carried.

Modak Smoking Bill.

The Hon. Mr. Chitnavis, Minister of Excise, introduced the C. P. Modak Smoking Bill and explained its objects.

Dr. Moonjee objected to its introduction on constitutional grounds.

Mr. Kanitkar again moved that the Bill be re-circulated.

The Minister accepted it and the House accorded permission.

Weights and Measures and Cattle Trespass Bills

The Hon. Syed Hifazat Ali, Minister of Local Self-Government introduced the C. P. Weights and Measures of Capacity Bill.

A Swarajist member moved that the Bill be re-circulated, and the same Minister again introduced the Cattle Trespass Amendment Bill which was also postponed. All the five Government Bills were postponed and the whole business was over before 2 p. m.

This concluded the Government business, for which two days were allotted. The Council then took up non-official business.

Non-official Resolutions

There were in all nine non-official resolutions, two of which stood in the name of Mr. Kirde (Liberal) and were allotted to be taken up next day. There was one resolution in the name of Mr. Syed Hifazat Ali which was given notice of before he became a Minister. The Hon. member desired to withdraw his motion, but the House refused leave. The President promised to give a ruling in the matter next day. The remaining six resolutions which stood in the name of the Swarajists were withdrawn.

Mr. V. B. Kekre, nominated member for Mandla, moved a resolution recommending to Government to confer on the Mandla district the right to elect its member to the Provincial Legislative Council. The Hon. Mr. Standen opposed the resolution on the ground that Mandla district was the most backward in the province. The resolution was put to vote and carried by an overwhelming majority. The Swarajist members did not take part in the debate but solidly voted in favour of the resolution.

Mr. Kirde (Liberal) moved a resolution in connection with road levelling. Syed Hifazatali, Minister of Local Self-Government opposed it. The resolution was carried, the Swarajists supporting it.

Another resolution was moved by the same member to take steps to improve sanitation in rural areas. This was opposed by Government and withdrawn. The Council then adjourned till the 18th when the "no-confidence" motion was to be discussed.

The 'No-Confidence' Motion

NAGPUR—18TH JANUARY 1924

In the C. P. Legislative Council on January 18th, the President having announced that though the 'Non-confidence' resolution was received late he was willing to waive rules and allow it for discussion, Mr. RAGHABENDRA RAO said :—

Hon'ble Sir,—I rise to move "That a formal address be moved to His Excellency the Governor submitting that the Hon'ble Ministers do not enjoy the confidence of the Council and he be pleased to dismiss them forthwith."

In doing so Mr. Rao wanted first to clear some misunderstanding. The motion was not intended to cast any reflection on His Excellency the Governor personally in respect of the decision he had taken in appointing the Ministers. Nor was it intended as a censure on the reserved wing of the Government. Equally in unmistakable terms, Mr. Rao said, nothing is intended against the Hon. the Ministers personally. After refering to the unprecedented character of the motion in the annals of Legislative Councils of this country, Mr. Rao said :—

AN UNPRECEDENTED MOTION

Sir, before I come directly to the matter in issue I will remind the hon'ble members of the development that has taken place in the constitutional history of this country during the past few years. The Government of India Act of 1919 is, political opinions on its merits apart, a distinct phase in the relations that govern this country with the British Parliament. By virtue of that Act the main spring of authority in the provincial sphere of government has shifted from the British Parliament to the Indian electorates. In other words, Government through the agents of British Parliament has been substituted by Government through the representatives of the people. This responsibility for administrative and legislative action in their own field, according to the Parliamentary Report, is fixed beyond the possibility of doubt on the Ministers and the majorities in the provincial legislatures that support them.

In the result, the British Parliament having framed a constitution, delegated, if not abdicated, its authority to the electorates and constituted a Governor as it were the custodian of the purity and integrity of that constitution. Therefore it follows that although the Ministers seek their appointments through a statutory act of the Governor under certain limitations, the retention of their offices is solely dependent upon the confidence and approbation of the electorate as reflected in the legislature. The question that is before this House for determination is when under the constitution a Governor having once exercised his statutory authority in appointing Ministers, is it or is it not open for the legislature to remove them if they do not enjoy the confidence of the majority party and other minority parties taken together ?

Sir, for the direct object that my motion has in view, I will confine myself to that dictum and will request every Hon'ble member in this House to be influenced by that dominant consideration alone in voting with me.

There are other constitutional and political considerations that may be necessary to focus by each of the different groups of political thought in this House, but those should not be the determining factor in the decision to which I want the House to arrive.

Having stated the position on which I take my stand, I will ask the Hon. members of this House to bear with me for a while in taking stock of the situation and apply the realities as they present themselves to us in solving a constitutional issue of no mean difficulty.

His Excellency the Governor in discharging his responsibilities dissolved the Legislative Council on the expiry of its term, and very rightly held the elections. Without worrying the Hon'ble members with the mass of uninteresting details, I would at once state that out of 54 elected seats that were thrown open a large majority of them were captured by the Swarajya Party, and except for a few special constituencies, there are hardly any seats left in the general constituencies to which other than Swarajists have been successfully returned. That being

the position, it is said that His Excellency the Governor sent for the leader of one of the 3 Swarajya Parties constituted on territorial basis and offered him one of the 2 Ministerships, although it is not stated if it was then contemplated to offer the other Ministry also to a person not belonging to the Swarajya Party. The leader of the Swarajya Party very appropriately refused to accept the offer of the job and as a result thereof we have now before us 2 estimable gentlemen who have thought it fit without reference to majority and minority parties to accept the moral and constitutional responsibility of running the Transferred Departments on behalf of the electorate and the Legislature. That is the position in a nut-shell. It is, therefore, very pertinent for every one of the Hon'ble members in this House to ask the Hon'ble Ministers to show their credentials and tell us in a convincing manner their justification for acting in the manner they have done. They must state to us the numerical strength behind their Ministeries. They must tell us their political complexion. We have a right to demand from them their policy and future course of conduct. My surprise, Hon. Sir, is not that His Excellency has offered the two offices to the two elected members of two different and conflicting political opinions in this House, but that they should have accepted the offices without calculating and consulting the controlling factors that are now asserting their unquestioned right of removing them.

Reforms & Power Of Electorate

As I told you before, and I repeat it again, the fundamental basis of Diarchy is the transference of Political and Constitutional power from British Parliament to Indian Electorates and their representatives in the Legislature, and a person who accepts the responsibility of running the administration must be aware of this power, and the undisputed fact that the authority with which he is invested as Minister springs from the electorate. If the electorate and the legislature do not wish to avail themselves of the services volunteered by this patriotic gentlemen, it passes ones political comprehension to appreciate their justification in taking upon themselves the self-imposed but none-the-less onerous responsibility of carrying on the Executive Government in relation to the Transferred Departments. If the legislature refuses to exercise its function of controlling the administration assigned to it, the responsibility in relation to that part of the Government devolves, if it devolves at all, on His Excellency the Governor as the delegate of the King's Executive Government, but under no circumstances on him as the constitutional head of the Provincial Government in relation to the transferred side. If the Hon'ble members follow me so far they will not have much difficulty in appreciating the point that I wish to emphasise before this House.

The Issue On Which Elections Fought

Again, it has to be remembered that the elections in this as in other provinces have been fought not on the manner and method of working the Government of India Act in its application to the Provincial sphere of Government, but on the broader issue of utilizing the constitutional power that it confers on the electorate for the more comprehensive issue of re-adjusting the political and constitutional ties that bind this country with the British Parliament. In sending the majority of the Hon'ble members to this House the electorate have clearly and definitely mandated them to ignore the ephemeral advantages that Dyarchy may offer in its very limited scope and repudiate their readiness to further any flimsy structure that may be imposed by globe-trotting doctrinaires. The attitude of the British Parliament is clearly embodied in the preamble to the Government of India Act.

The Last Council And Its Unrepresentative Character

Hon'ble Sir, ever since the 19th of December 1919, when this Act was passed by the British Parliament, the people of India with one voice have been trying to convince the world that they were not prepared to avail themselves of this Act. Those of the Hon'ble members who remember the history of the Indian National Congress which held its sitting at Amritsar must be aware of the authoritative opinions that were expressed on these Reforms. The Congress said that constitutional advance made was unsatisfactory, disappointing, inadequate and unacceptable. Thus the cry of 300 millions of people has been going from one end of the country to the other for the last four years. During the time of the first election, as Hon'ble members are aware, the country refused to avail itself of the Reforms with the result that the people who sought elections and came into the Legislative

Councils were not the respresentatives of the electorate in any real sense of the term. Well, after three years, we find the electorate, to whom the responsibility under the law was given, have preferred to choose their representatives to the council for some definite purpose. The avowed object of the electorate is not to further the object that the act has in view but to so utilize it as will confer upon us the undisputable right of determining a stable constitution as will be compatible with the national aspirations of the country. We are, therefore, within our constitutional right in demanding the immediate removal of the Ministers. It is a moral and constitutional obligation that is imposed upon us to ask the Ministers to resign, and we shall spare no methods to compel them to do so. By virtue of our pledge we may not accept the office, but because of the position taken by us, no one, I hope, can maintain that it takes away our constitutional right of exercising our legitimate vote of dismissing any person who, on our behalf and in our name, wants to exercise the right of governing the transferred subjects under a Government. If we do not avail ourselves of this right, it is perfectly open to us to prevent any one also from exercising that right in our behalf. It is with this view, Sir, that I am submitting this motion for consideration of the House. It is the only correct position that we can consistently take, and which, I maintain, is in conformity with the highest traditions of every conceivable parliamentary practice.

KING'S GOVERNMENT & GOVERNMENT IN PEOPLE'S NAME

Now Sir, the justifications that have been put forward for selecting the Ministers are two. It has been said that one of the Ministerships was offered to the majority party, and because they refused, it was offered to some independent members of the House. But, so far as we know, His Excellency the Governor has not thought fit to communicate to us who those independent gentlemen were. That being so we have before us two gentlemen who have taken the responsibility of administering the transferred departments because His Excellency has asked them to oblige his Government (laughter) and carry on the King's Government. I know that the King's Government is to be carried on. King's Government has been carried on in this country for the last 150 years. In the Central Provinces, the King's Government has been carried on ever since Maharattas were unjustly deprived of their power. King's Government had been carried on in this province during the semi-military autocracy of Sir Richard Temple. It was also carried on under the benevolent despotism of Sir Antony Macdonell. In more recent decades, King's Government was carried on under the unquestioned civil autocracy of Sir Reginald Craddock. We cannot prevent any one from this House to carry on the King's Government. But it is perfectly open to us to tell to any one not to carry it in our name. We desire to tell them in unmistakable terms that we do not and possibly cannot accord our sanction to it so far as it rests on our responsibility. His Majesty's Government, I have no doubt, will be carried in the future, as it has been prior to the Dyarchian era, if there are determined servants of the Crown bent upon carrying it on inspite of the co-operation of the people of this province. It is often emphasised and it is likely to be emphasised again that the Governor has appointed the ministers because there were no other people willing to take up that office. But I reiterate and emphasise my point that the King's Government may be carried on, but let it be carried without the sanction of the legislature, We say that the Ministers are not our real representatives in the Government, much less of the electorate. We believe that this form of Govt. is not suitable to us, and we do not want to give any opportunity to any one to carry that form of Government with a mistaken notion that he is carrying on in the name of the legislature. Let not people outside believe that we have lent our support to this form of Government.

It might be pertinently asked of me to suggest the course to those responsible for the good Government of the province. It is not for me to suggest what course or method should be adopted. I know the Government of India Act amply provides for carrying on the King's Government. If ever my advice is sought I shall tell them that there are provisions in the Government of India Act to carry on the Government by other provisions of the Statute, but under no circumstances by virtue of the provisions which are applicable to the Governor's Province and through the Ministers. That is our distinct and clear position. I have for the time being passed over all the other dominating factors and have simply emphasised on the constitutional aspect of the question, and recommended to His Excellency the

Governor to pull down the Ministry or to dismiss them if they do not follow the accepted principles of constitutional conventions. That being the case I press the motion for the consideration of the House.

APPEAL TO MINISTERS & THEIR SUPPORTERS.

Sir, I know there are some schools of thought in this House which may not probably share the opinions which we share. To them I appeal to seriously think the wrong they are committing in supporting the Ministers. Are they not killing the fundamental principles on which representative and responsible government is based? Can they conceive a system of Government, much less a constitutional form of Government, wherein two Ministers are foisted on the legislative Council, and those Ministers are prepared to carry on the Government without the consent and concurrence of the legislature? I know there are some Hon. members in this House who believe in diarchy and who seem to think that they should be able to take any form of Government that is imposed upon this country. I know some of them are still anxious to work out this form of Government. But I ask them, have they accepted or not responsible government as an ideal at last? I hope there is not one Hon'ble member who does not subscribe to this doctrine. If they accept this aspect I ask them to answer if that is the way to attain that goal? Are they not killing the very conception of responsible government either by accepting or supporting these Ministries?

Most of the Hon'ble members can recall constitutional reforms and the manner they were urged by provincial governments. The Governors of the five provinces had suggested a scheme of Government in which they did not want Ministers out of the elected members but out of the members of the House. I ask my Hon. friends, to bring home that principle and consider what is the system of Government that is now being imposed upon them. Is it in any way different? Is it in any way separate? Can it any way indentify itself from the system of Government that we had before diarchy was introduced? That being the position, I must ask the Hon'ble members, particularly my friends of the Liberal Party, if it is constitutional for the Ministers to accept office against the will of the legislature? I understand that the senior Minister is a shining light of that worn-out and discredited creed known as Indian Liberalism (Laughter). I ask him, is it consistent and in consonance with the principles of the liberalism of Ranade, Mehta and Gokhale which liberals have been so long exploiting? May I ask him if he has the moral support of the Liberal Party behind him in accepting this office? What is his future programme? How does he justify his action? It would be unfair for me to demand any explanation from His Excellency to justify his choice of Ministers. Under Responsible Government, it is the Ministers that ought to assume responsibility for the actions of the Governor. I hope, instead of being His Excellency's shield, they will not make him their shield and will not retreat under the protecting cover of the Hon'ble the Revenue Member and the Home Member. (laughter). Is it on the support of official subordinates who are sitting behind them that the Hon. the Ministers propose to lay deep the foundations of Responsible Government? (Cheers).

As regards the Junior Minister, I know his position is of a different nature. His appointment has been made by ignoring the majority party.

In conclusion, he commended the resolution to the House.

Mr. G. R. Joshi, Independent, moved an amendment to the effect that the words 'request them to resign' be substituted in place of the words 'dismiss them forthwith' Mr. Joshi made it clear that he entirely supported the motion.

Mr. Rao accepted the amendment.

THE GOVT. REPLY

The Hon. Mr. B. P. STANDEN opposed the resolution. Mr. Standen dealt with the whole constitutional aspect of the question and showed how the majority party themselves had acted unconstitutionally in bringing forward their resolution. If there had been any deflection from constitutional practice on the part of His Excellency, it had been forced on him by the Swaraj Party. The courage of the Hon'ble ministers and their sense of duty in accepting office in circumstances of peculiar difficulty must evoke the admiration of everybody who wished to see Government carried on in a constitutional manner. The mover of the resolution had based his argument on the statement that the Parliament had delegated to the people of this country the responsibility for the Government of the country. That was not so.

Parliament had said that in time it proposed to delegate the full responsibility to the electorate, but in the meantime it would only delegate a part of the responsibility, namely in the transferred subjects.

Had the leader of the Opposition, when he was invited by His Excellency to take up the Ministry, made a condition that His Excellency should accept his policy with regard to the transferred subjects, he would have been within his constitutional rights. But when he refused office because he would not serve under a diarchy he was unconstitutional. His action was not only unconstitutional but unreasonable, when it was remembered that His Excellency had no power to make the alteration which the Swarajists required as a condition of accepting office.

The speaker then pointed out various means whereby the party could have worked for the attainment of their goal, and pointed out several fundamental principles of responsible government which they had ignored, and said if they persisted in their resolution and if the Ministers resigned, which he hoped they would not do, the only course open to the Government would be to ask the Secretary of State to transfer the transferred subjects to the reserved departments. That would be a retrograde step which all those who wished to see the political advancement of India would immensely regret.

The Hon. Mr. S. M. CHITNAVIS, Minister for Education, explained how he was forced to accept office against his strong inclinations and the circumstances leading to it. The policy of the Swaraj Party, he said, was to bring about a deadlock in the Government. This again forced him to consider his position. It was only a keen desire to avoid a set-back in constitutional progress. He shared the view in common with his party that one common object, which all patriotic Indians had at heart, namely, the attainment of responsible government, could not be achieved by destructive methods. The right policy in his opinion was to try to improve the present constitution and not to wreck it. The mover had made it clear that if his resolution was passed, his party was prepared to face the possibility of a reversion to the type of Government which would afford the people not the smallest chance of influencing the policy of Government from within. Had they not had a spell of unadulterated bureaucratic Government long enough in the past to give them a genuine distaste of it even now? Proceeding Mr. Chitnavis said, having accepted office with open eyes and in full anticipation of not only want of support but actual solid opposition, he also considered that duty required that he should continue there till some one from the majority party was prepared to step into his place.

The Hon Sir M. V. JOSHI said that the resolution raised issues involving serious consequences. An appeal had been made to constitutional practice. That appeal came with ill-grace from a party which ignored the very first principles of the constitution. The party which brought a motion of no-confidence must accept office. If not, what right had they to expect constitutional practice to be followed by Government? He had great faith in the Labour Govt. in England, and asked: was it prudent when the Labour Party was coming into power, to ignore the advice of men like Col. Wedgwood? He also confessed anomalies in the Governor's action.

At this stage Mr. A. F. NELSON, Chief Sec. to the Govt. used some indecent language towards the Swarajists for which he was called to order, made to withdraw his words, and reprimanded by the President.

DR. MOONJEE'S SPEECH

Dr. B. S. MOONJEE, the leader of the Swarajists, after banteringly referring to the sense of decorum of Englishmen like Mr Nelson—an Oxonian—came to the constitutional aspect of the matter, and said;

What I have understood of the constitution, I place before my hon'ble friends on the Government side. What does the Government of India Act, which is what forms our present constitution, say? What does the Royal Proclamation, which is the basis of the constitution, say? If you care to see what the Royal Proclamation says, it is this....."while retaining the confidence of the legislatures, to co-operate with my officers.' It is the Royal wish as expressed in the Royal Proclamation, that the Ministers shall retain the confidence of the House. The first essential therefore in this constitution as expressed by the Royal wish in the Royal proclamation is that only such Ministers should be appointed who have the confidence of the House. Next to that comes the Joint Select Committee's Report. I shall quote only one paragraph. What was the desire of the Parliament? What was the inspiration which has

given rise to this Govt. of India Act? Clause 4 reads thus :—"The Committee are of opinion that the Ministers selected by the Governor to advice him on the transferred subjects should be elected members of the Legislative Council, enjoying its confidence and capable of leading it." Now, can anybody here say that the Ministers enjoy the confidence of the House? Are the Ministers capable of leading it?

Are the Ministers, as desired somewhere else, that is, in the Instrument of Instructions, as I am going to read out presently, capable of placing the wishes of the people at the disposal of the Govt.? Clause 4 of the Instructions: "Nevertheless you shall encourage the habit of joint deliberation before yourself or your Councillors and your Ministers, in order that the experience of your official advisers may be at the disposal of your Ministers." That is one part of the business, and the second part of the business is: "And that the knowledge of your Ministers as to the wishes of the people may be at the disposal of your Councillors."

Now this second point is further elaborated in paragraph 6 of the same Instructions: 'You shall have due regard to his (Minister's) relations with the Legislative Council and to the wishes of the people of the province as expressed by their representatives therein.'

I ask anybody here to reply if the Ministers' position conforms to this. Has the basis, on which the Government of India Act has been constituted, been complied with in the present instance? I am perfectly certain it has not been complied with, as has been admitted very candidly in his speech by the Hon. the Home Member Sir M. V. Joshi. I am very thankful to him for his admission. I am now in a position to say, particularly after I have heard the speech of my Hon. friend Sir M. V Joshi, that the action of His Excellency the Governor is not only unconstitutional but is also illegal, that is, against the spirit of the law, the Government of India Act. This is an assertion I am going to repeat again and I am just now going to prove it. I am much obliged to my Hon. friend for his speech.

Governors Unconstitutional Procedure

My friend has candidly admitted that we, members of the Swaraj Party, "are within the four corners of the constitution". And at the same time he has admitted on behalf of the Govt.—he will correct me if I am not quoting him aright—that the 'Govt. has done a thing which is seemingly unconstitutional. I was wondering why the Legal Remembrancer, paid so heavily for the purpose, has not placed the legal and the constitutional meaning of the Government of India Act before the House, but instead of going to the root of the question and tackling it has thought fit to carry us into the wilderness of history in order to try to show that the responsibility for the present situation was upon the Swaraj Party, when the responsibility, in the sense in which he means it, does not lie on the Swaraj Party. I was wondering why he has not gone to the root of the question, and here is the explanation which very candidly has come out of the mouth of my Hon. friend Sir M. V. Joshi, the Home Member. I am glad he belongs to the same race, the same civilisation, to which I belong—Indian civilisation. He has candidly admitted that it was a case of emergency which was placed before the Government—emergency caused by us, Swarajists no doubt. We admit it; we are prepared to take all the responsibility for causing that emergency. I am glad that the Hon'ble the Home member has admitted that emergency. Other Government members also will admit that it was a case of emergency. Under an emergency, what are the powers of His Excellency the Governor? And those powers are given here—Sub-Sec. 3 of Sec. 52 of the Government of India Act. But when I looked into the Government Gazette—what did I find in connection with the announcement of H. E. the Governor appointing the Ministers? The Government Gazette only says that it is in exercise of the power conferred by Sec. 52 Sub-Sec. 1 of the Government of India Act, that H. E. the Governor is pleased to appoint so and so to be a Minister of the Local Government. I was expecting to find therein that the Governor was acting in a case of emergency, but there is no such thing. Now the Hon'ble the Home member says it was a case of emergency. While H. E. the Governor says that he was acting under normal circumstances, that is under Sub-Sec. 1 of Sec. 52 of the Government of India Act. Then which hypothesis is correct—the Governor's or the Home Member's? Am I to explain taking both the hypotheses as correct? I should better take the Hon. Sir M. V. Joshi's hypothesis first. A case of emergency that is contemplated under the Act is only a temporary one caused by a vacancy. This vacancy was caused because the life of the old Council came to an end, and the life of the new Council has just begun. His Excellency the Governor knows it perfectly well as has been already admitted by his address, and he has his knowledge

ON OVERSEAS INDIANS

Jan.–March 1924.

Chronicle of Events

23	Nov	23	Kenya Immigration Bill published in the Official Gazette.
31	Dec	23	Kenya Legislature opened by Sir Robert Coryndon who assured that there could be no question modifying the principles laid down in the White Paper.
4	Jan	24	Kenya Constitution Bill passed. Indian Members resigned.
8	Jan	24	Class Areas Bill of 1924 published in the Union Govt. Gazette.
8	Jan	24	Natal Provincial Council passed the Hulett Ordinance refusing Municipal Franchise to Indians, subject to Governor-General's consent. This ordinance was identical with one passed previously by the council but vetoed by the Governor-General-in-Council.
13	Jan	24	Indian Merchants of Johannesburg started agitation to fight the Class Areas Bill.
19	Jan	24	East Africa Indian Congress with Mrs. Naidu as President.
20	Jan	24	Report of the British Guiana Deputation published.
21	Jan	24	Earl of Athlone, new Governor-General of South Africa, presented with Address by the Cape Indian Union who prayed that he would sympathetically consider their position there.
			Mass meeting of Durban Indians strongly protested against the class areas bill and raised funds to fight it.
29	Jan	24	Colonial Secretary, Mr. Thomas, at the reception of Empire Journalists at the Colonial office said that the policy of the Kenya white paper would be followed by the Labour Govt.
4	Feb	24	Meetings against class areas bill held throughout Natal—resolution passed that if the bill became law, the matter would be brought before the League of Nations. Deputation of Natal Indian Congress waited on the Minister of the Interior protesting against the Hulett ordinance.
4	Feb	24	Nunan-Lukhoo Memorandum on Guiana Colonisation Scheme published.
8	Feb	24	Sir Joseph Nunan expounds his Colonisation Scheme to forty members of the Indian Legislatures at Delhi.
14	Feb	24	Mahatma Gandhi issues his Statement RE. the Class Areas Bill.
15	Feb	24	Indian Associations of South Africa send a Deputation to the Home Minister, Union Govt. making representation against the Class Areas Bill.
21	Feb	24	Speaking at Pretoria Mrs. Naidu said that India's message to Indians was 'within the Empire if possible, without, if necessary.'
24	Feb	24	Mr. Sastri's lecture at the Criterion Club, Delhi, on Indians Overseas.
29	Feb	24	Imperial Indian Citizenship Associations' appeal to the Viceroy RE. Indians Overseas.
17	Mar	24	Mrs. Naidu interviews Mr. Duncan on the Class Areas Bill.
18	Mar	24	Mahatma Gandhi issued statements on the Guiana Colonisation Scheme—Standing Committee, Indian Legislative Assembly, Delhi, consider the Guiana Colonisation Scheme. Mr. Pillay was invited but was absent.
30	Mar	24	Smuts-Naidu interview RE. the Class Areas Bill.
1	April	24	Second Reading of the Class Areas Bill in the Union Parliament.

confirmed from the experience of the last three days' working of this Council, that the Majority in this House does not support the Ministers, and also that the majority party i. e, Swarajists' Party is pledged not to accept office. Therefore this emergency, this vacancy, is not an emergent vacancy, is not a temporary vacancy, but is a vacancy which is a permanent vacancy lasting for the life-time of this Council. Is that the thing contemplated to be remedied under Sub-Sec. 3 of Sec. 52 of the Government of India Act according to the views of my Hon. friend Sir M. V. Joshi? I do not think my Hon. friend will maintain this position in his calmer moments. Then is it the hypothesis of His Excellency the Governor that is to be our guide in the matter? His Excellency has been acting, as he has told us in the Government Gazette, under Sub-Sec. 1 of Sec. 52 of the Government of India Act while appointing the Ministers. Then he was acting under normal circumstances, not emergent temporary circumstances. And the normal circumstances, as I have said a minute before, are those that are indicated by the Royal wish in the Royal Proclamation and specified in the Instructions that have been given in the Instrument of Instructions to H. E. the Governor and further elaborated by the Joint Select Committee's Report; and the normal circumstances, as contemplated by the demand by the Reformed constitution are that only such Ministers have to be appointed as can command the support of a Majority in the Council. Taking both these hypotheses, I am positive, unless the other side is going to give a right and legal solution of the difficulties that have arisen, I think I have a right to assert—having listened to the arguments so far advanced from the Government side—that the Governor has not only not acted within the powers conferred upon him by this Act, but also unconstitutionally.

Hon. Sir, now an attempt has been made to throw the whole responsibility for this constitutional crisis upon my party. There was no need to make the attempt. It was an admitted fact. It was a predetermind attempt on our part to bring about such a crisis. It is in this Council I am proud to say the first opportunity has come which we were anxiously waiting for, to bring about a crisis, to bring about a situation where constitutionally the Government cannot proceed further unless it exercises its executive powers which are based upon the military strength it possess. We are told that our motive is to exert pressure on the Government by the power of majority which we possess. There is a desire in high circles to see as to how we exercise that pressure. There is a saying in Sanskrit which says that what is learnt of the Guru, the teacher, is practised upon the teacher himself by the pupil. My English friends know very well how they extracted their constitution from the unwilling hands of His Majesty the King John. Their method of extracting it was different, was a method based upon force. My method and the Swaraj Party's method of extracting further concessions, of expanding my constitution, is non-violent, is more humane, is based upon the laws of love and the principles of Ahimsa. His Excellency the Governor has blessed those who are constitutionalists.

CONSTITUTIONALISTS AND UNCONSTITUTIONALISTS

Now, gentlemen, you see who are constitutionalists and who are unconstitutionalists in this land—you, or we, the members of the Swaraj Party, on the admission of the Home Member. We are within the four corners of the constitution and you seemingly unconstitutional. When the report of this speech of mine goes to His Excellency the Governor he will percive that he was correct in his prophecy of welcoming the constitutionalists, that it is really we who are true constitutionalists at heart, in speech and in action, that we know how constitutions are to be made, how rights are to be secured and concessions are to be extracted. My Hon'ble friend, Sir. M. V. Joshi and I are both Indians, let him not be terrified; let him not be obsessed with false fears of how the Englishmen at home will take our actions in the Legislative Council. Will they not be displeased and disappointed and say that we are bad fellows and even rascals? —such ideas need not be taken into consideration and need not frighten you out of your wit. You and I are Indians; I recognise no difference between you and me. If I scratch you I find me in you, and if you scratch me you shall find yourself in me.

Mr. K. P. PANDE moved for closure of the debate which was carried.

MR. RAGHAVENDRA RAO'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

Mr. E. R. RAO.—I think, Sir, in the debate we have gone through to-day we have unnecessarily laid emphasis upon the merits of diarchy and that has been used as an argument in support of and against the consideration of the motion.

I think that was slightly beside the point. The point is that the electorate are using this Council for a definite and decisive purpose and we, as their representatives, are bound within the terms of our mandate.

As regards the Government members who have spoken, I will try to answer every one of them. The Hon. the Revenue Member has distinctly told us that, in the event of no Minister coming forward, the Local Government will move the Secretary of State for a change in the Devolution Rules so that when emergencies arose in the Government of the Central Provinces there would be no distinction of Transferred and Reserved subjects and that all existing Transferred subjects would be transferred to the existing Executive Councillors of Government. If that contingency ever arose, no one will be more happy, no one will be more anxious to congratulate the Hon. the Finance Member than we of the Swaraj Party. That is exactly what we are aiming at and that is what we are pledged to do.

Then, Sir, the Hon. Sir Moropont Joshi has emphasised one point and asked us a definite question. He says "why of all the provinces the Central Provinces has been successful'?" One explanation I have got, and which is psychological and which lies in the Central Provinces being the heart of India; it knows how to beat for the feelings of the rest of the country. Our friends in other provinces have made a tactical error in ignoring the importance of the provincial legislatures as field of action and laying undue emphasis in trying to capture the machinery of the Indian Legislative Assembly with the result that in most of the advanced provinces the majority of the seats have been captured by members of the Swaraj Party. If we go to the United Provinces, we will find that the Swarajya Party there has entered the Legislative Assembly to the total exclusion of all other political parties. Similarly in Bombay, in Bengal and even in the benighted presidency of Madras the Swarajists are in an absolute majority. This is not a unique feature of the backward Central Provinces only but is the case in every advanced province. It was an unfortunate strategic lapse for which no one need be thanked. My Hon. friend to my left must share the credit for the preponderating majority I share with him. We know, Sir, in attempting to wage war against the bureaucracy the Central Provinces is our battle-field. The first battle for responsible Government will be in the Central Provinces and the whole country is watching with feverish anxiety for results which may surprise many. And I wish to say we shall not spare any possible effort to achieve what we intend to do.

Then the third point which the Hon'ble the Home Member would emphasise is 'What would Colonel Wedgwood think of us when he becomes the Secretary of State.' We are used to that sort of ex-officio loyalty to the coming Secretaries of States all along. The Liberals have been never tired of telling 'if you are unreasonable and overbearing, the party in power in England will not help.' That day is gone. This game of Indian Liberals has been going on for many years and the British Government knows well how to deal with them. We of the Nationalist Party base our claim for the attainment of Swaraj not on the patronage of any political party in England, but on our inherent right and capacity to exact it from those who have arrogated all power to themselves.

AWAKENED INDIA AND ELIMINATION OF EVILS

Indian Nationalism has awakened to the truth of eliminating certain evils as a preliminary to the attainment of Swaraj. That evil is the debasing domination of an alien and selfish bureaucracy. Our first battle will be begun. The temper that the members of the British element has shown us to-day is a sufficient index of what the future is going to be and we shall manipulate our forces as occasion requires. I remember very significant expressions used in the last debate of the Legislative Assembly by Sir Malcolm Hailey, the most intellectual spokesman of the Indian Civil Service, 'Pacific Gotha and Constitutional Huns' and I have also seen to-day the way in which the European members of this Council have tried to utilize the provisions of the Government of India Act and have tried to explain away the principles of the Government of India Act. We require no further demonstration. If there is one class of men to whom those epithets could be suitably applied it is to the representatives of the European Services in this House. If ever the history of responsible Government in India is going to be written in this country, sufficient space would have to be allotted to these worthies for explaining away a statute of the British Parliament and negativing the fundamental principles conceived by it.

If the motion before us to-day is carried by this House, there are two responsibilities which accrue from it. The responsibility, if this motion is carried,

is upon the two Ministers. If they resign, it would be well. If they do not, we shall have to record in the Council how a Statute of the British Parliament known as the Government of India Act was strangulated and mutilated in the hall of the Central Provinces Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Minister for Excise and the Hon'ble Minister for Pilgrimage of this province. They will have to answer this before the bar of Indian history. I ask them to think over and realize what they are doing.

THE PROBLEM BEFORE THE GOVERNOR

Speaking of the responsibility of Governors as an academic subject, I want to emphasise on those who enjoy the powers of a Governor that those powers are not illusory. The power given to the electorate and to the legislature, under the Government of India Act with reference to the transferred subjects, are meant to be real and to be effective. If there is a Governor who cannot respond to the demand of the Legislative Council, if there is a Governor who cannot respect the feeling of the electorate, if there is a Governor that exists in the Empire who cannot be responsive in the directions I have mentioned, he must be removed and recalled. I will cite in support of what I say a quotation from the very person who conceived the idea of diarchy, I will cite from Mr. Curtis' work known as "Dyarchy". He says—"I hope that a Governor who interferes with powers clearly vested in Ministers and Legislative Councils, or fails to support them in the execution of those powers, will be summarily recalled." I warn every member of this House to bear that in mind, I warn my two friends the Hon'ble Ministers to bear that in mind. Are they prepared to compel this Legislative Council to **create a formidable agitation that will enable us to move for the recall of His Excellency if he fails in the discharge of his responsibility to the Legislative Council** because he has failed in the discharge of his duty to the British Parliament? I hope, Sir, that they are taking a very serious responsibility and I will ask them to think twice before they spurn the decision of this House. Is it worth while after all the troublous times we have just passed to create this agitation? Is it to serve the people of India or of the Central Provinces that they are taking this course? I appeal to the Hon'ble members with all the earnestness I can command, not to abet in the stirring up of an avoidable agitation. There is no other alternative before us. If it is not possible for the Government, if it is not possible for those in authority to accept the motion by persuading the Ministers to resign, or in case they fail to dismiss them, the only alternative for us is to walk out of this Council at this very moment, go from village to village and tell thousands of our people in the Central Provinces that a Governor who fails to discharge his duty does not deserve to be vested with power. That is the programme to which we are pledged and which we mean to do. They alone can save the situation. If the Hon'ble Ministers are anxious to do public service, there are other institutions than Dyarchy and I beg of them to think seriously and to ponder a hundred times before they decide to flout, before they want to trample public opinion as the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy has been doing during the last 150 years. I desire to avoid a situation in which we shall be compelled to repudiate the constitutional authority of the Ministers. Most of the Swarajists are controlling local bodies and, I assure you, Sir, that if the Ministers continue in office, the local bodies, Local Boards, Municipalities and Village Panchayets, will be perfectly justified in repudiating them. I am speaking, Sir, with responsibility as a responsible head of more than one Local Body. Many of my friends here may not recognize the authority of the Ministers for a single moment if they persist in holding office inspite of the adverse vote here. We shall not carry out their orders. That is the position. And in doing so, we shall be perfectly constitutional, we shall be perfectly legal and within the four corners of the Government of India Act. You cannot trifle away with the feelings of 140 thousand of your countrymen in favour of a few bureaucrats in the portals of the C. P. Secretariat.

THE ALTERNATIVE BEFORE THE GOVERNOR.

He then said: "What is the alternative to His Excellency the Governor? I will suggest, if I may do so, an acceptable compromise. The prudent and constitutional step would be to dismiss the Ministers and to carry on the Government under the other provisions of the Government of India Act. That will perfectly satisfy us so far as this motion is concerned". Mr. Rao then appealed to the British Members of the Council, who have persistently been opposed to Diarchy, to help him to end it.

THE VOTING

The no-confidence motion was then put to vote at about 6-45 P. M. and declared carried. A poll was demanded with the result that 44 voted for the motion and 24 against it. The motion reads as follows :—

"That a formal address be moved to H. E. the Governor from this House submitting that the Hon'ble the Ministers do not enjoy the confidence of the Council and he be pleased to request them to resign.

THE MESSAGE TO THE GOVERNOR.

After the 'no confidence' resolution was passed Doctor Moonjee, leader of the Swaraj Party, handed over to the Hon. President a message from the Council to the Governor to be presented through him as President. The Government members objected and after arguments on both sides the President ruled that for want of previous notice discussion in support of the message was not in order. The message runs thus :—

'Your Excellency, this Council respectfully places before your Excellency for your Excellency's immediate and most earnest consideration the peculiar constitutional situation that has developed as a result of discussion on the motion of no confidence in the Ministers that has just been adopted by this House. It is as follows :—

'That it is unconstitutional to appoint ministers who do not command the support of the majority in this House and do not therefore represent and are not competent to place at the disposal of the Government the wishes of the people as expressed by their representatives in the Legislative Council and that such action is quite contrary to the spirit of the Government of India Act under which these reformed legislative councils have been constituted, and also to that of the instrument of instructions of H. M. the King Emperor to H. E. the Governor of these provinces, and also to that of the Royal Proclamation of December 24th, 1919, and overrides the recommendations of the Joint Committee.

'That your Excellency is already aware that the majority party in the Council is pledged not to accept office till the present system of Government is mended suitably to the wishes of the people on the principle of self-determination ; that consequently the working of your Excellency's Government of the Province on constitutional lines has now become an impossibility and thus a situation of grave constitutional crisis has arisen.

'Under the circumstances this Council respectfully requests Your Excellency to bring this grave constitutional crisis to the notice of the Government of India and the Secretary of State in Council at an early date requesting them to take immediate steps to establish full responsible government (Swaraj) in India in accordance with the national demand to be shortly presented to H. E. the Viceroy.

THE COUNCIL THEN ADJOURNED SINE DIE.

The Budget Session—March 1924

The C. P. Legislative Council commenced its Budget session on 4th March, 1924 with a fully packed House

The Hon. Mr. B. P. Standen, Finance Member, presented the Budget for the year 1924-1925. It showed a revenue of about 532 lakhs and an expenditure of 529½ lakhs—an increase of 5¾ lakhs over the revised estimate for last year. Details are omitted as the Budget was not sanctioned.

Wholesale Rejection of Govt. Bills

The Hon. Mr. S. M. Chitnavis, Minister for Education, re-introduced two Government Bills, one that of the Central Provinces Education Amendment and the other of the Central Provinces Madak Smoking Bill.

But both were summarily rejected by the Swarajists' overwhelming majority, 23 being for and 37 against the motion.

In opposing these Government measures, Mr. Raghavendra Rao succintly brought home to the House the glaring inconsistency of Ministers still persisting in holding offices and said that in doing so he was dominated purely by constitutional considerations. As the result of passing of the No-confidence motion people all over the country thought that the Ministers would themselves immediately resign or the Governor will dismiss them forthwith. But so far nothing has yet come to pass, and therefore Swarajists were bound to oppose every measure brought by Ministers.

Hon. Mr. S. M. Chitnavis made a personal explanation in which he stated that immediately after the passing of the "No-Confidence" motion he had intimated to H. E. the Governor his unwillingness to continue in office, but he was asked to continue for some time to come and hence he was still there.

The other Minister, the Hon. Sayed Hifazatali, re-introduced the Central Provinces Weights and Measures of Capacity bill but this too met with a similar fate. The Hon'ble Mr. Standen then moved the Central Provinces Tenancy (Amendment). Bill, but Swarajists opposed it and the Government again was defeated.

On MARCH 5th, the Council met for non-official resolutions. The first resolution moved by Mr. Gavai, proposing increase of pay of Kamdar Mahars in Berar, was lost Swarajists remaining indifferent.

Mr. Korde moved that the Government should supply boring machines to the public in Berar in view of water scarcity. Government opposed the resolution which was carried by 40 votes against 15, the Swarajists supporting it.

Mr. D K. Kane moved that before making further new appointments of Bench Magistrates or Honorary Magistrates the opinion of local bodies should be obtained by Government and no person who is not approved by the local bodies should be appointed by the Government. Speeches were made strongly criticising the method of selection of these Magistrates. Dr. Moonje appealed to Mr. Kane to withdraw the resolution as the objective of the Swaraj party was clear and they did not wish to waste time over these details. Mr. Kane then withdrew his resolution.

Mr. K P. Pande moved on behalf of Mr. P. C. Bose that the proposal of the Retrenchment Committee bringing all Conservators of forests offices to Nagpur be not given effect to. It was passed against Govt. by a big majority.

Mr M. K. Golwalkar moved a resolution recommending to Government that immediate steps should be taken to reserve one Judgeship in the Judicial Commissioners' Court for members of the C. P. Judicial Service and that the next vacancy should be filled by one of them. He quoted from the speeches of the Home Member in 1921 and strongly pressed that the Government should accept the resolution and not explain away their previous promise.

The Hon. Sir M. V. Joshi said that the Government had no intention of resiling from its former position viz, that an officer of the Provincial Judicial Service was eligible to get post but not necessarily get it at once. The Government promise did not extend beyond removing the ban on that Service but as to the question of giving effect to it immediately it was impossible because there were six seniors in the Indian Civil Service whose claims could not be ignored!

Government opposed the resolution which was however carried by 37 against 15 votes.

On MARCH 6th supplementary grants were taken up and all demands were rejected by overwhelming Swarajist majority.

After a few questions were answered the Hon. Sir M. V. Joshi, Home Member, formally moved that Rs. 43,000 be voted for stamps. Mr. Raghavendra Rao, on behalf of the Swarajists, while opposing this motion said that he was only exercising his constitutional right of the Legislature.

The Ministers failed to resign even after the passing of the no-confidence motion and the request addressed to the C. P. Government to place on table the correspondence that passed between the Government of C. P. and the Governor-General-in-Council on the situation created by constitutional crisis was not complied with, and the Government has thus treated the Legislature with the greatest possible discourtesy. Thus the Legislature was perfectly within its rights to reject the demand made on behalf of Government. The motion was put and rejected.

The Hon. B. P. Standen, Finance Member, then moved the motion for Supplementary demand of Rs. 2,34,000 for superannuation allowances and pensions which was again rejected by an overwhelming majority.

These collosal defeats seemed to have created much nervousness among Government members and the general discussion over the Budget which followed was keenly watched both on this and the next day.

On MARCH 8th voting took place on Government grants which were summarily rejected one by one by solid Swarajist majority. While formally moving the Government demand of Rs. 24,62,400 under Land Revenue Reserved, the Hon'ble Mr. B. P. Standen said that as the Swarajists were determined to throw out the whole budget on political issues he was not going to make a long statement. On being put to vote the motion was rejected by 39 to 22.

Under Excise transferred, the Hon. Mr. Chitnavis moved for the grant of Rs. 7,47,000. The motion was similarly lost. Demands for grants under Stamps, Forest, Registration, Irrigation and General administration Reserved were moved and rejected without discussion or division.

Reduction of Minister's Salaries

After the Government grants were rejected, Mr. K. P. Vaidya pressed his amendments of reducing the Ministers' salary to Rs. 2 per year when the whole House burst into laughter. After the mover of the amendment had read out his speech, Doctor Moonjee, said he could not reject the whole salary of the Ministers as under the rules he had to vote only a minimum sum.

The Hon'ble B. P. Standen opposed this amendment and said that the Government would accept any motion for the reduction of pay of the Ministers. If the salary was reduced to a figure which made it so small that the Ministers could not serve and to ridicule the Ministers and also if the Government found they could not retain the Ministers in office, it would be necessary for His Excellency to take over the the Transferred subjects under temporary administration rules pending reference to the Secretary of State for India for the reservation of those subjects (hear, hear from Swarajist benches).

More Demands Rejected

Then proceeded voting on grants for half an hour and had the rules permitted, the Hon'ble President and the Government movers would have been spared much trouble to stand and repeat over again the government demands with the most formal technicalities. The entire budget was thrown out without discussion or division in forty minutes. Thus out of a total provincial expenditure of Rs. 5,29,36000, the Swarajists voted only Rs. 2/-!

Abolition of Divisional Commissionerships

After this, non-official resolutions were taken and Mr. K. P. Pande's resolution recommending 'abolition of Divisional Commissioners' posts during the present financial year' was carried by an overwhelming majority to the utter dismay of the Government and the nominated members.

Preferential Treatment to Depressed Class Students

The resolution moved by Mr G. A. Gavai representing the depressed classes recommending the depressed class students to be admitted preferentially without any consideration of marks they get in the examinations, was carried by 44 votes to 10, the Swarajists solidly voting with the mover.

THE ADJOURNMENT MOTION.

The adjournment motion on the affairs of Narsinghpur was then taken up. Mr. Nelson gave the government version, while Messrs R S. Shukla and Daulat Singh narrated the true facts. After about 2 hours' discussion Messrs Rao and Moonje attempted to put the matter to vote which would have been tantamount to a vote of censure, but the President ruled it out of order. The Council then adjourned till the 10th.

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS.

On MARCH 10th the Council met for the last time. After interpellations Dr. N. B. Khare, (Swarajist) moved his resolution to the effect "that no articles manufactured in any part of the British Empire outside India should be used in any department by the local Government or by its contractors unless they are not obtainable in any other part of the world." He said that so long as power rests with alien masters no encouragement to indigenous industries conflicting with those of British capitalism can be expected (laughter). The British came to India as traders and the consolidated British power was ruthlessly used by the British Parliament to kill Indian industry. After citing historical evidence to prove his contention, the speaker remarked that if India had been independent she would have retaliated and imposed prohibitive duties on the British goods. The part of the resolution which recommended purchase of articles from other countries except British was based on political consideration. The adoption of this resolution, he said, would be the best way of reaching the British electorate and drawing their attention to the misdeeds of their Agents in India. The Britisher is supposed to keep his conscience in his pocket and hoped that it may be roused from slumber by picking holes in it and thus may be induced to listen to the voice of reason and justice (laughter). The speaker appealed in conclusion to the Government members to vote for the resolution if they really felt the insults hurled upon India by England and her Colonies.

The Hon'ble Mr. Standen demanded a division which showed 40 for and 22 against.

THE SWARAJISTS' MESSAGE TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

Dr. Moonjee, the leader of the Swarajist Party, then presented a long message to the Secretary of state to be communicated through the Hon'ble President and H. E. the Governor which the Hon'ble President, Sir G. M. Chitnavis, after stating at great length his reasons ruled out of order though the said message was allowed to be read in the House.

After this the President declared the Council prorogued.

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

The following is the text of the letter referred to above :—

Sir,

I have to inform you that I shall propose in this session of the Central Provinces Legislative Council under standing order 73 (2) that the accompanying communication as an expression of opinion of this Council in response to the appeal of the Secretary of State for India for friendly co-operation with the Government for finding out "a proper line towards Home Rule in India" be forwarded through the President to H. E. the Governor and I hope and trust you will be good enough to give full opportunities to all for full discussion of this draft communication.

Nagpur City C. P.
5th March, 1 2 .

Yours faithfully,
B. S. MOONJE.

COMMUNICATION.

This Legislative Council of the Central Provinces respectfully requests H. E. the Governor to convey to the Right Honourable Lord Olivier, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, the opinion of this Council expressed as follows on the situation created by the great Labour Party coming into office in England and the statement regarding India made by the Secretary of State for India on the 26th February, 1924 :—

1. The accession to power of the Great Labour Party of England had raised high hopes in India that the time had at last come for the practical vindication of the claims of loudly proclaimed mission of England in India, for it connoted to India the enthronement of the great principles of equality, justice and self-determination, the three essential elements of Democracy, in the policy of the British Ministry and it was believed that it will have a determining effect when the British Cabinet will be called upon to settle the future relations between England and India as it has been called upon to do.

2. It needs no special mention here that it is for effecting a practical consummation of these high principles in the world's daily life that the Great Labour Party itself has been brought into being and that its coming to power now, after a long continued struggle, had led India to hope that it can rely on its active and virile support in her efforts at attaining her birth right of Swarajya, i.e, full Responsible Government and Dominion Status by a process of "Bloodless Revolution" similar to one by means of which the Labour Party itself, as has been so aptly described by one of his colleagues in the ministry, has succeeded in coming to power. But the statement of the Secretary of State for India, embodying as it does not only his own but also the considered opinion of His Majesty's Government, is so very unfortunate, particularly under the present circumstances in India, that it cannot but be regarded as highly unsatisfactory and disappointing in that it propounds the following conclusions :—

(a) That the position taken in the preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919 that progress in the policy of progressive realisation of responsible government can be achieved by successive stages, and that the time and manner of each such advance can be determined only by Parliament, has been fully supported and even such a progressive realisation of responsible government is now regarded, it appears, merely as an ultimate ideal and not as an item of practical politics realisable in the near future.

(b) That the Secretary of State could not see his way to go further than what Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Home Member of the Government of India, calls the Departmental enquiry for finding out defects, if any, in the working of the present Government of India Act and remedying them; but that if it be found that on such enquiries no advance is possible under the rule-making power already provided by the Parliament under the statute, then the "question of advance must be left as an entirely open and separate issue on which the Government is in no way committed."

(c) That the establishment of full responsible government in India, now on the recommendations of a Round Table Conference as proposed by the Swarajya Party and accepted by the Legislative Assembly, would be more than perilous and would be big with disaster to the people of India and His Majesty's Government is not prepared to accept the responsibility involved.

(d) That though His Majesty's Government has pinned its faith to the programme of Constitutional Democracy, conditions indispensable for stable working of that system as are existing in Europe and America are not at present established in India and cannot be established at a few months' notice by the deliberations of a Round Table Conference or the permature appointment of a Commission under the Government of India Act.

3. These conclusions run counter to the general principles and particularly that of self-determination advocated by the Labour Party which cannot be better elucidated than by quoting here the Resolution adopted by the Labour Party in one of its conferences, which is as follows:—

"This Conference demands the full and frank application of the principle of self-determination in the organisation of the Government of India that is now in progress in such a way as to justify all the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people. It emphatically protests against the militarist and repressive measures adopted by the British Government and expresses its sympathy with the peoples now held in subjection. It denies the right of any Government to govern a people against the will of the majority. Whilst expressing the hope that all the peoples in the British Empire will prefer to remain as parts of the Empire as soon as their aspirations have been dealt with in a thoroughly conciliatory manner, by the granting of adequate measures of autonomy, it declares the final decision must rest with those people themselves."

4. It is sad to contemplate that the statement of the Secretary of State for India has reassured the reactionaries and die-hards in England by falsifying and removing apprehensions that were raised in them as a natural consequence of the noble reputation established by the Labour Party, and the Council has noted with painful surprise that during the debate on the statement in the House of Lords, Lord Meston should have been encouraged to remark, drawing as if it were a sigh of relief, that "after Lord Oliver's statement, his apprehensions that he had leanings towards the policy of abdication were at any rate materially allayed."

5. We hereby beg leave to take this the earliest opportunity of bringing to your notice that in the course of our working in this Council a situation of grave constitutional crisis has developed, offering in its solution a long cherished opportunity to the Labour Party of England, if it had so desired, of giving practical effect to those noble principles and of reviving and restoring the faith of Indians in the good wishes of England towards India, which alone can automatically propel India "to come nearer to England rather than to stand apart from her, to get at her reason and her good-will."

6. This Council echoes with emphasis the opinion, so pithily expressed in the message sent to India by the Prime Minister on the eve of the accession to power of the Labour Party, that this "approach and the good-will should be mutual" and gladly responds to the appeal by declaring that Non-co-operators as most of us are, we are fully prepared to co-operate with the British Government if it be equally prepared to maintain the dignity and self-respect of the Indian nation of historic civilisation by conceding to her the right of self-determination in her attempts to formulate her own constitution for full responsible government of Dominion Status within the British Empire.

7. It should be no news to you that ever since its inception the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 and particularly that "the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by the Parliament" has been repudiated by the Indian National Congress, the premier political organisation of the Indian people, irrespective of their caste or creed, and that ever since its promulgation, the one theme that has been exercising the minds of all political parties composing the Indian National Congress has been with practical unanimity that Indians and Indians alone shall be the final arbiters and determiners of India's political destiny and status within the British Empire.

8. The situation of grave constitutional crisis referred to above, as developed in this Council, is briefly as follows :—

(1) That H. E. the Governor has appointed Ministers who do not command the support of the majority in this House and do not therefore represent and are not competent to place at the disposal of the Government the wishes of the people as expressed by their representive in the Legislative Council and that such action is quite contrary to the spirit of the Government of India Act under which these Reformed Councils have been constituted and also to that of the Instrument of Instructions of His Majesty the King-Emperor to H. E. the Governor of these Provinces and also to that of the Royal Proclamation of December 24th, 1919, and over-rides the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

(2) That the majority party in the Council is pledged not to accept office till the present diarchical system of government, which has been thoroughly condemned on all hands, is mended suitably to the wishes of the people on the principle of self-determination, so as to grant Dominion Status and full Responsible Government in the Central and the Provincial Governments.

(3) That consequently the constitutional working of the Government of these Provinces as at present constituted has now become an impossibility thus precipitating the situation of grave constitutional crisis.

This Council, under the circumstances, respectfully suggests that the only just and proper solution of the difficulty, resulting in mutual advantage and establishment of good-will, peace and contentment, lies in granting the right of self-determination to the people of India and the early mending of the present Government of India act to embody the constitution which the people of India themselves shall have framed.

India in the British Parliament

After the General Elections in England in December last Parliament was opened in State by H. M. the King on January 15, 1924. In the King's speech there was no reference to India but the mention of Afghanisthan forbode evil. Within six days the Labour amendment to the King's speech proposing a "No-confidence" motion was passed and the Conservative Government fell. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald became the Labour Premier. The fall of the Baldwin Ministry ended the activities of Lord Curzon and relieved India from the menace of another Afghan War. The tone for months past of Anglo-Indian and Juncker newspapers, the order of withdrawal of English ladies from Kabul, the utterances of the Simla Govt., the veiled threat in the King's speech—all pointed to an Imperial plot to plunge the country into another war. The rising tide of discontent in India was to be met by the diversions of War, the upshot of which naturally is more advancement and pension, more honours and emoluments to the mighty fashioners of Imperial policy.

The plot however failed. Labour came into power on January 22 and Simla hastily scrapped its war plans and subdued its repressive ardour. Speculation ran rife as to who was to be the new Secretary of State for India; and high hopes were entertained for the gallant Colonel Wedgwood. For the last three years Home Rule for India had formed a main plank in Labour's political platform and the injustice done to India formed one of their main denunciation of the capitalist Government in England. The National Executive of the Labour party issued in November 1922 a manifesto, which said: "Labour advocates the recognition of the real independence of Egypt and and Self-Government of India". So far back as June 1920, the annual Conference of the Labour party passed the following resolution:—"This Conference demands the full and frank application of the principal of Self-determination in the organisation of the Govt. of India in such away as to justify all the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people". Mr. Macdonald himself in his message to the famous Amritsar Congress of 1919 declared that when Labour come into office it will not be bound by the objectionable clauses of the Reforms Act. Mr. Adamson, the Chairman of the Labour party, reflected their settled policy "that the bill is a definite move in the right direction, our principle criticism being that it does not go far enough, and that we are failing to take the people of India themselves to assist in the successful accomplishment of the great tasks we have in hand". The Joint Council of the Labour party and the Trade Union Congress passed a resolution on Feb. 22nd 1923 urging the people and the Government in India to join in a conference of all shades of political thought, to explore the possibility of peace based on a general amnesty.

After all these pledges Labour was expected to "deliver the goods." Disillusionment however soon came. Col. Wedgwood did not go to the India Office, instead Sir Sydney Olivier, a Colonial Governor, was raised to the peerage and made the Indian Sec. of State. And the Premier on the eve of taking office sent the famous message to India couched in language, not surely befitting a Labour leader, modelled on the forms of a Lloyd George or Winston Churchill. Its imperialistic vein gladdened the hearts of the Tory reactionaries in England and relieved much heart-burn. This was delivered to Saint Nihal Singh and runs as follows:—

The Premier's Message.

"I watch sometimes with no little anxiety the progress of affairs in India. During all my political life I have anchored myself firmly upon the conviction that if progress is to be well-rooted it can only be carried on by what is called political or constitutional ways. We have seen in our own generation all sorts of revolutionary movements which seemed to be successful and which have broken contacts with the past; but in the end, after much physical suffering and the creation of evil tempers and a vicious spirit, they have had to return to pick up the contacts that had been broken and to apply the very principles they had rejected.

"I can see no hope in India if it becomes the arena of a struggle between constitutionalism and revolution. No party in Great Britain will be cowed by threats of force or by policies designed to bring Government to a standstill; and if any sections in India are under the delusion that that is not so, events will very sadly disappoint them. I would urge upon all the best friends of India to come nearer to us rather than to stand apart from us, to get at our reason and our goodwill.

"I deplore the evidence of a backward spirit in some sections here, but let no one misread causes and effects. When an appeal is made to revolutionary methods, whether those methods are active force or passive force, a reaction towards the opposite extreme is bound to come, and men and parties of the most sincere goodwill are hustled off the stage, whilst the two forms of reaction—that of the Right and that of the Left—kick and tear and swear against each other until the failure of both has been demonstrated.

"I know that the approach and the good-will should be mutual. My appeal is therefore not only to Indians but to the British constituencies as well."

Mr. George Lansbury.

'This statement' says Mr. Nehal Singh, 'should be read in conjunction with a message received by me from Mr. George Lansbury. He wrote to me a few days ago in answer to my request :—

"The Labour Party will soon be in office though not in power. Our friends in India may rely that whoever is in charge of the India Office will be in full sympathy with all the best hopes and aspirations of Indian Nationalists. They must not however expect miracles because the position of a Labour Government that is in office and not in power will be very difficult.

"Labour men will be able to introduce a new spirit into the relationships which exist between the Indian people and the British people. Those of us who for years have been advocating a free partnership between the two peoples will continue to do our best to bring this about.

"The Labour movement has never stood and never will stand for that blatant kind of Imperialism which considers people of another colour and another race either alien or inferior to themselves. We believe in the principle of self-determination for all nations, and therefore must at the earliest possible moment assist in applying that principle to India, Egypt and all other countries that come within the scope of what is known as the British Empire, but which we shall prefer to call the Commonwealth.

"The chief thing at this moment is that our Indian comrades should exercise a little patience, give us an opportunity of consolidating our position, and then together we shall be able to build such a Federated Commonwealth of free people bound together of their own free will as will finally lead to the federation of the world."

'If these statements' Mr. Nehal Singh says, 'mean anything at all they mean that for the time being Labour, as it has come into office, can do little for India except in the way of infusing a new spirit into the Indian administration. Any move to help India which requires Parliamentary sanction will have to depend entirely upon the good-will of the Liberals and Conservatives, for Labour does not have a clear, decisive majority in either House of Parliament. I doubt that Mr. Macdonald, by nature a cautious man, will embark upon such a course lightly and risk a defeat which I am sure would be certain because the British people who are materially interested in India are so strongly represented in the new Parliament that they will not permit India to become adult.'

He continues: 'India under Labour will, in any event, be better-off than under the Conservatives—and even under the Liberals. But, on the other hand, I see no signs of Labour rushing in to deliver India from the bureaucracy and make her self-sufficing in respect of her domestic affairs.

'Hope, therefore, must be tempered with sanity. It must, moreover, be clearly recognised that if Mr. Macdonald is to do his best for India he can do so only if India fulfils the precedent condition which he has laid down, namely, has abandoned what he calls 'methods of active or passive force.'

Col. Wedgwood.

In December last Mr. Nehal Singh interviewed Col. J. Wedgwood who, as everybody supposed then, was going to be the Labour Secretary of State for India. About this interview Mr. Nehal Singh writes as follows:—

'I asked the Colonel what he thought of the position created in the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Councils by the unexpected gains of the 'Swaraj Party"

"They were not unexpected by me", he replied. "The same position might have been reached long ago if the Swarajists had realised their strength. It was a great tactical blunder to abstain from Council membership, and I am glad they have realised it themselves".

"What do you think of the developments in Bengal and Ministerial prospects generally?"

"Well," said the Colonel, "I was extremely glad to see that Lord Lytton had invited Mr. C. R. Das to take office, and I am equally glad to learn that he has declined the offer. I don't quite know what is to happen next, but I suppose one of the other parties will try to carry on for the time being, scraping together such support as they can from various quarters". But, the Col. confessed, that he was hopeless of finding any lasting solution under the present system.

"The result of the elections", he went on, "must force the question of the revision of diarchy into the immediate forefront of Indian politics. We are bound to recognise that the result of the elections has been to put

into the Assembly and into the provincial Legislatures the real leaders of Indian thought, and it is for them to make good three wasted years. The best thing the Swaraj Party can do is to begin to prepare for the next elections, by which time they may become well-nigh irresistible ".

Colonel Wedgwood recognises the right of the Indian Opposition to resist all the measures of the Government by every constitutional means, but he draws the line at any obstruction deliberately designed to wreck the Councils. Such a policy, he thinks, is bound to fail because it only means stopping supplies, which is impracticable. " Obstructive non-co-operation is all right when a party is in a minority, especially a Nationalist Party, but when it comes into power (like the Swaraj Party) such a policy becomes unworkable ".

" Do you think that the Government of India Act could and should be revised before 1929, and may we look to a Labour Government to make a move in that direction ?" I asked. Colonel Wedgwood would give no pledge as to what might be expected from any Government not yet in office, but he expressed his personal conviction that the Act would have to be revised before the expiration of the ten years period, and he thought the inquiry provided by the Act should commence without delay. He was afraid that the Viceroy and the Governors will be forced to rely more and more upon their powers of certification if the Legislatures refuse to function. " But would that be possible under a Labour Government here", I asked ? " It is inevitable under any Government," he replied, " until the Home Rule issue is finally settled."

The Premier's Queen's Hall Speech.

At the meeting held last year at the Queen's Hall in England on June 27th, to support the Indian demand of equality of status with the Dominions, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald presided and spoke as follows :—

'The movement responsible for this meeting is the Indian Constitutional Movement and it aims at what, I think, most of us who have liberal minds must accept as the essential condition of Imperial unity, namely, the recognition of Dominion Status for the great national elements of the Empire itself.

'What Britisher can have any doubt ? When we went to India first of all and became responsible for its administration our representatives made it perfectly clear that we were not there as dictators nor as masters. We did not conquer India by the sword. We declared, "We will educate India ; we will protect it in the ways of peace ; we will take it by the hand ; we will instruct it so that when the time comes—and we did not use that expression as a method of indefinite procrastination but as a very definite expression—then we will say to the Indians : Your country is yours, your Government is yours. And we shall seek your justification not in your continued subjection to us but in your own capacity for Self-Rule and Self-Government."

'In more recent times during the war we recruited armies and we enlisted moral fervour under the banner of nationality. We made our promises. We said, 'Come and help us in our hour of need, and your reward is to be the self-respect that comes from self-government.'

'I believe that some of our people have rather gone back upon that,

I believe some of them are not quite sure now but think we went too far. I believe that in the hearts of a good many of them there is a feeling that the promise was a bad promise. Very well. If it was bad, you can go back upon it, but do remember this that if we do go back upon our promise, we can only do it at the expense of our own good name.

'As regards Kenya that is a more complicated problem. The Indian had pledges regarding that too. And he valued those pledges, because he claims steadily and persistently that, being a British citizen in name, he should enjoy all the rights and equalities of British citizenship. Therefore, as the British immigrant becomes possessed of political authority over the natives he finds in possession of the land, the Indian regards that peculiar right or privilage—whichever name you give it—as being a peculiar attribute of British citizenship, and in this particular colony, where he has been for generation, he declines to regard himself as a subordinate creature and ask the same privileges and those given to other British citizens in that Colony. In this region, there are now three races, there is the White occupation, there is the Indian occupation, there is the African occupation. Whatever view may be taken of that, I think you will all agree that that creates a very complicated problem in Imperial statesmanship. Figures in relation to political authority have something more to do with the problem, and when the White immigrants ask that irrespective of numbers they should be put into supreme authority over the Indian settlers and the African natives, then that is a proposition which no intelligent Britisher will ever subscribe to. I am not at all sure but that the only solution is the continuance of a form of Crown Colony Government until the situation is a little more straightened out and under which even-handed fairplay and justice and protection will be given to all.

'The third point we are to discuss is the Salt Tax. The Salt Tax is a very old problem and a very irritating one to the Indian Government. It has a past and its past is one of continued controversy. It is not so much financial. It is political.

'It is exactly the same sort of thing as we fight here that the costs of Government should be borne by those who are most able to bear them and ought not to be put in unjust proportions upon the backs of people whose income was only just enough to keep them in a decent standard of living.

'Its political origin at the present moment is to be found in the Rowlatt Act far more than in any financial trouble in which India finds itself. That stupid piece of political blundering has been the cause of all the troubles. So far as every true Britisher is concerned, he will subscribe to the doctrine that the risks of freedom give a greater security to the Nation. I am not at all satisfied myself that the extra Salt Tax has been a financial necessity. The only reason why it could have been imposed in justice was that the extension of Indian income had stopped, that Indian Trade, Indian profits, Indian property had ceased to yield the required income for the Government of the country, and of that I, for one, am not at all convinced."

So much for the Labour Premier's professions. The following pages which record the proceedings of Parliament on Indian affairs show to what extent these professions have since been put into practice.

House of Commons—Interpellations on India.

FEBRUARY 18TH, 1924

Purchase of German Locomotives

On the 18th February last a series of questions were asked regarding the acceptance of a Hanover firms' tender for five locomotives for State railways in India. Col. Howard Bury urged that in view of the great unemployment in the iron and steel trades of Britain, the Under-Secretary for India should take steps, by amending the East India Loans Act or otherwise, to ensure that contracts for Indian State railways are placed with British firms. Mr. Hannon and Sir Grattan Doyle put similar questions.

Prof. RICHARDS replying emphasised that the High Commissioner now purchased stores for the Government of India. He was directly responsible to the Government of India and in accordance with the resolutions of the Indian Legislative Assembly, accepted by the Government of India, these purchases, in the interest of the Indian taxpayer, were made in the best market. The High Commissioner, under instructions, followed the ordinary business principle of accepting the lowest satisfactory tender. With regard to quality, reliability and other considerations, he pointed out that British manufactures, under the conditions laid down, would be able to secure the great bulk of the orders placed.

Replying to Mr. Pringle, Prof. Richards said that he was aware that Earl Winterton in the last session when the East India Loans Act was passed, successfully resisted, on behalf of the late Government, an amendment such as was suggested in the question. He added that Lord Olivier did not consider that it would be equitable to limit the discretion of the Government of India in this matter by the amendment of the East India Loans Act or otherwise.

Replying to Mr. Renier, Prof. Richards said that during two years only a very small proportion of orders for the material required by the Indian State railways were placed on the Continent. No purchase of Indian railway material by the Government of India was being made from the proceeds of the loans guaranteed by His Majesty's Government.

He pointed out that last year, about 97 per cent. of such orders came to Britain.

Reduction of Indian Police

Replying to Col. Yate, who alleged that reductions in the Indian Police had resulted in a great increase in crime, Prof. Richards declared that there was a general decrease in crime, despite an increase in crimes of violence in certain provinces, while the strength of the force had been generally maintained or increased.

He referred to the reductions in Bengal and the Punjab and declared that clearly the Governments concerned were devoting to this branch of administration their full attention and as large funds as their resources permitted.

Lee Commission Report

Replying to Mr. Hope Simpson who asked when the first report of the Indian Public Services Commission was likely to be published,

Prof. Richards said that he was not in a position at present to add anything to Earl Winterton's answer in the Commons of January 21. The Commission was still taking evidence.

Earl Winterton suggested that the report of the Commission should be debated in the Commons as soon as it was published. (Opposition cheers). Prof. Richards promised to convey the suggestion to the Leader of the House.

Boycott of British Goods in Bombay

Sir Mitchell Thomson drew attention to the Bombay Corporation's tender forms opposing the use of British Empire manufactures except when they were not available elsewhere.

Prof. Richards said that he had heard from the Government of India that the resolution had been passed but he had not yet heard of any action taken thereon.

Nizam's claim to Berar

Replying to Mr. Wardlaw Milne and Col. Howard Bury with regard to the letter of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad to the Viceroy, claiming the Province of Berar, Prof. Richards said that he understood that the Government of India was considering the letter. The representations contained in the letter could not be considered by Lord Olivier unless and until the letter was received in a constitutional manner through the Government of India. An assurance had already been given that no steps would be taken in any case without giving the people of Berar a full opportunity of expressing their wishes. Asked whether he had any information as to why the matter was only raised now and why there was such a long delay, Prof. Richards asked for notice.

The Kenya Committee.

Replying to Mr. Scurr, Prof. Richards, Under-Secretary for India, stated that the purpose of the Kenya Committee, which the Government of India was appointing in accordance with the decision of the Imperial Conference, would not be limited to the proposed Immigration Law. It would be open to it to make representations not only on that subject, but also on the operation of the Franchise Law and suggest modifications thereof if it was deemed advisable.

Mesopotamian Situation

Commander Kenworthy asked whether the Government had considered the situation in Mesopotamia and whether they contemplated any change or modification of the policy of the last Government and what was the estimated expenditure in Mesopotamia for the present year.

Mr. Macdonald replied that the Government were carefully considering the matter in view of the obligations imposed by the Mandate on the one hand, and the undesirability of their remaining in Iraq any longer than necessary to set the Arab Government on its own feet on the other.

The estimated expenditure in Iraq from the British exchequer for the year ending March 31 was £6,900,000.

He understood that a substantial reduction was anticipated for 1924-25.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY'S ASSURANCE

On Feb. 20th. the National Council of the Independent Labor Party issued a statement fully re-associating itself with the demand of Indians for political and economic liberty, assuring Indian workers of its sympathy and support in their struggle against "inhuman" conditions, welcoming the release of Mr. Gandhi, and calling for the unconditional release of other Indians imprisoned for political offences. The statement reiterated the view that the Kenya decisions should be reconsidered, urged the immediate appointment of a Commission to revise the Government of India Act, and in view of the adoption of Pandit Motilal Nehru's resolution by the Assembly, asked the British Government to consider the advisability of inviting the representatives of Parties in India to a Conference with regard to the acceleration of full Self-Government

THE STATEMENT OF LABOUR POLICY.

The statement of the Labour Government on Indian affairs was promised to be made in the Lords by the Secretary of State on the 19th. Owing to some indisposition of Lord Olivier this was postponed till the 26th. On February 25th. Mr. Saker asked whether Mr. Richards would consider the desirability of appointing a commission to examine the working of the Mont-ford Reforms, with a view to seeing what greater powers and extensions of franchise were immediately possible. Mr. Richards replied that the question was receiving consideration.

Sir Henry Craik asked whether the House should understand that the Government would reverse the policy of the Act of 1919 by speeding up the time for revision of the constitution.

Earl Winterton asked if an opportunity would be given to the House to discuss the question of appointment of a Royal Commission, in the event of Government deciding thereon, before the announcement was made. Mr. Richards replied that he would convey the suggestion to Lord Olivier.

PREMIER SAYS IT IS NOT A STATEMENT.

On the same day, Feb. 25th, replying to Mr. Wardlaw Millne and Mr. Hope Simpson, who asked whether the statement on India would be made in the Commons concurrently with Lord Olivier's statement in the Lords, Mr. Macdonald said that Lord Olivier was not making a general statement. He was only replying to a question but if there was a general desire for discussion on Indian affairs in the Commons, arrangements could be made for consideration of the India Office Vote in the Committee of Supply, if representations were made through the usual channels. He added that the Govt. were constantly devoting attention to the situation in India.

Mr. Hope Simpson asked if the Premier would inform the House before the India Office issued any orders to India. Mr. Macdonald said that it would be impossible for him to give that pledge because the Government were daily communicating with the Government of India.

Mr. Hope Simposn asked whether Mr. Macdonald agreed that if the question of re-examination of the Act 1919 arose, this was a matter which should not be settled before its being discussed in the House. Mr. Macdonald replied: "Certainly, no such large departure of policy can be contemplated without first informing the Commons."

Lord Olivier's Statement

Labour Government's Indian Policy

HOUSE OF LORDS—26TH FEBRUARY 1924

The following is a verbatim report of Lord Olivier's statement on India in the House of Lords on February 26th 1924. He said :

Affairs in India are giving His Majesty's Govt. a very great anxiety.

I wish to deal first with the history of this matter.

On August 20, 1917 a declaration of policy was made in the Commons by the then Secretary of State for India as follows : —

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realisation of Responsible Govt. in India as an integral portion of the British Empire."

This was incorporated in the Preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919. This declaration was coupled with the following provision :—

"Progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of India's peoples, must be the judges of the time and the measure of each advance and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which they found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility".

The elections were held in 1920. The Indian Home Rule Party and the Swarajists abstained from taking part in those elections under the influence of Gandhi. In order to show what was the feeling of the Party to which I belong, at that time, and what is their feeling now, I will ask leave to quote words used by my Right Hon'ble friend, the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the House of Commons.

"To my mind there has been no more lamentable blunder made by the Indian people than their refusal under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi to go to the Councils."

The experiment was, therefore, not started under the complete conditions which were contemplated. Some exception has been taken to the working of this criticism by Indian Home Rulers as ill-chosen. I will deal with this criticism later, with a view to better understanding of how I think that criticism should be interpreted, merely observing now that it seems to me there is some excuse for some of the objections which have been taken to it.

Demands of the Swaraj Party

In December 1923, fresh elections were held for the Provincial Legislative Councils and the Indian Legislative Assembly. The Swarajist Party decided on this occasion to take part in the elections and run their candidates. On October 11th, the Party issued over the signature of Pt. Motilal Nehru an election manifesto in which the basis of their programme was set forth as follows :—

"The Swarajya Party believes that the guiding motive of the British in governing India is to serve selfish interests of their own country, and that the so-called Reforms are mere blinds to further the said interests under the pretence of granting Responsible Government to India, the real object being to continue the exploitation of the unlimited resources of the country by keeping the Indians permanently in subservient position to Britain and denying them at home and abroad the most elementary rights of citizenship.

"It is daily becoming abundantly clear that the British, while professing equality of treatment, are in practice subjecting the whole Indian nation to humiliation and insult in all parts of the world where the British influence is supreme. The Party notes with pride and satisfaction that the people of India are resolved to submit no longer to the national humiliation imposed upon them by the autocratic will of their British rulers, and in full consonance with the Congress it expresses its emphatic opinion that Indians have no option but to continue to carry on the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation with the present system of Government until it is radically changed in accordance with the will of the people as expressed through their chosen representatives."

The practical programme of the Party was then thus laid down :—

"The demand to be made by the members of the party on entering the Legislative Assembly will, in effect, be that the right of India to control the existing machinery and system of Government shall forthwith be conceded and given effect to by the British Government and the British Parliament. The immediate objective of the Party is the speedy attainment of full Dominion Status, that is, securing of the right to frame a constitution, adopting such machinery and system as are most suited to the conditions of the country and to the genius of the people. They will, when they are elected, present on behalf of the country its legitimate demands as formulated by the Party as soon as the elections are over, and ask for their acceptance and fulfilment within reasonable time by the Government."

"If the demands are not granted to the satisfaction of the Party, an occasion will then arise for the elected members belonging to the Party to adopt a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the Councils with a view to make Government through Councils impossible. But before adopting such a policy, the representatives of the Party in the Councils will, if necessary, strengthen themselves by obtaining the express mandate of the electorates in this behalf. In no case will any member of the Party accept office on that programme."

On that programme the elections were held, and in certain Presidencies this Swarajist Party obtained strong representation, notably in Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces and the Central Provinces, and so strong was the representation that, with the assistance of less out-spoken radical parties, they were able to command a majority in the Councils. I am informed by a telegram which I received to-day that in Bombay obstructive tactics are being pursued in accordance with that programme. Votes of 'no confidence' are moved and carried, and the Swarajist Party refuse to take office. Moderate and non-controversial Bills, like Protection of Children Bill, in Bombay are thrown out by the Swarajist Party.

I feel sure that Your Lordships will agree with me that the belief expressed in that Election Manifesto which was signed by Pt. Motilal Nehru, who

was one of the most prominent speakers of the Swarajist Party in the proceedings last week in the Legislative Assembly, is a mistaken belief,—ill-informed and ill-inferred belief and unjustifiable belief. When I saw that extraordinary pronouncement, one of the first things I had to ask myself was, what are the reasons? What is the ostensible justification for expression, by a presumably responsible and intelligent politician, of such a view with regard to the purpose and intentions of the British Government and people concerning India? I took pains to inform myself by communications with the Viceroy, by discussions with my public advisers and by letters which I received from persons and reformers in India. I asked as many as I could of the Indian Reform Party in this country in order to ascertain what were the ostensible and arguable grounds for such an uncompromising pronouncement. I found that the grounds and reasons were many, that the grounds and reasons were many and unreasonable, which were advanced for the feeling of mistrust. Let me give Your Lordships first some general reasons supplied me by a very high authority. He says, the alleged favouritism of the predominant British Services and appointment of the Lee Commission, contrary to the wishes of the Legislature, failure of Reforms to finance nation-building departments such as education, slow decrease of military expenditure, alleged favouritism of British manufacture in Store-purchase policy, measures taken to punish and repress disorder even when the latter has a political aspect, are interpreted in an extremely wide and liberal spirit.

LORD FINLAY'S MOTION*

I find again and again certain recurring references to things which seems to rankle very generally in the minds of the Indian Home Rule Party. The first is a matter to which I regret I have to refer in Your Lordship's House, but I am giving you what are the grounds of mistrust, reasonable and unreasonable. One general cause of distrust in the minds of the Indian Home Rule Party is the resolution passed by Your Lordships House on the motion of the noble and learned Viscount Lord Finlay on the action taken by the Government of India in regard to General Dyer. I read the debates and also looked through the division list and I know what many of Your Lordships think on that matter. I want to take this opportunity on behalf of myself and the Party to which I belong to say that I believe that the criticism of Government of India's action passed by Your Lordships' House does not represent the opinion of a great majority of my fellow countrymen. It may seem presumptuous for me to speak on the subject, but in my official life I have been connected with parts of the world where riots frequently occur and I have been concerned in two, in one of which one of my dearest friends lost his life, and in the other I got a large ridge on the back of my skull by contact with what is known as rock stone. In both of those cases life had to be taken. I speak as all administrators speak with full appreciation of the rules which should govern the protection of life in such matters, and the first impression I received of the Amritsar action was that if it had been taken by an officer of my own, it would have led to his immediate suspension from duty.

Marquess CURZON of KEDLESTON: The Coalition Government was in office at the time of the Amritsar occurrence.

* For the full debate in the Lords on Lord Finlay's censure of the Govt. of India for their disapproval of Genl. Dyer, the reader is referred to the INDIAN ANNUAL REGISTER 1921, P. 553 et. seq.

Lord OLIVIER. I beg your pardon. The conservative Party was in office when the Swarajist manifesto was written and the Conservative Party have an obligation laid upon them owing to resolution passed by Your Lordships that many of Your Lordships were sympathisers.

Marquess Curzon: The Conservative Party was not in power at the time. It took place in 1919. The Coalition Government was then in office.

Lord Olivier: I entirely agree with the noble Marquess. I was discussing what were the reasons for the extraordinary pronouncement in the Swarajist manifesto of October last and one of the reasons was that as the Conservative Government was then in Office the Indian people would have imputed to them sympathy with resolutions passed by this House. I hope I make myself clear. I am speaking of the causes of distrust expressed in the manifesto of last October but, according to the papers I have been reading lately, soreness crops up again in connection with the deplorable incident at Jaito in which Sikhs were killed last week. It is obviously one of the unfortunate things which act unjustly and as I believe have prejudiced many Indians against the attitude of English people.

'THE STEEL FRAME' SPEECH *

In the second place, there is the injudicious language used by Mr. Lloyd George in a speech in Parliament which is known throughout India as the 'Steel Frame' speech, in which he compared quite justly, so far as the present time is concerned, the Indian Civil Service to a steel-frame upon the stability of which the whole structure of the Indian Government rests. I do not think any exception can be taken to that phrase under the present conditions.

But he went on to say, being carried away by his enthusiastic admiration for the Indian Civil Service, "whatever we may do in the way of strengthening the Government of India, one institution we will not interfere with, we will not deprive of its functions and privileges, and that is the British Civil service in India." This was directly contrary to the statement of August 20th 1917 which said that we should progressively Indianise the service and that the position of the British Civil Service in India would be modified obviously if you are contemplating the establishment of self-Government in India. It is in the long run impossible to say that you will maintain intact, as Mr. Lloyd George promised that he would maintain intact, the Indian Civil Service. It was a prediction which appeared to be a departure in policy from that which His Majesty's Govt. had already laid down.

It was seized upon and is constantly quoted in India as the "steel frame" speech. This is one of the considerations which is constantly pointed out when I ask the Indians why they consider that British Government has changed its policy. They say, "Lloyd George told us so". I do not know whether that is adequate reason for believing that there has been a change in policy, because we have it on very good authority that the speeches to which I have referred are sometimes adapted to the immediate purpose in hand, and the immediate purpose in hand on this occasion was the encouragement and enheartening of that splendid Civil Service which he was eulogising.

Unfortunately the other Party to the contract was listening, and although it is possible to make these encouraging statements to two different parties when they are in two different rooms and to suppose, when they come together, you can get rid of the idea which you implanted in two different

* For this speech of Mr. Lloyd George see I. A. R. 1922, Vol. II. p. 208 xxv.

minds, it cannot be so when a speech is made in Parliament because it is immediately telegraphed all over India and when it is in contradiction with the statement which was already made in Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George had been injudicious though I do not suppose for a moment that he intended to be or could possibly have meant that it was the intention of the Government to stop Indianisation of the Indian Civil Service, and to establish for all time in India the British administrative organisation of the Indian Civil Service. The declaration of August 20th 1917 definitely promised a transition in that respect. That is one of the causes of the unfortunate mistrust, and I think Your Lordships will agree with me, on the whole, an irrational and not well-inferred cause.

Salt Tax Certification.

In the third place there was the Certification of the Salt Tax last year. The Government of India decided that it was necessary that they should balance their Budget and that they could not balance their Budget without doubling the salt duty.

When the Assembly threw out the resolution doubling the salt tax, the Government of India had to certify, as is provided in the case of certain Crown Colonies as well as India, that this was essential in public interest and that the resolution must become law. That produced an unfortunate effect in India as that kind of action always does. In my own experience wherever it has been had recourse to in Colonies, it has been held to be a direct slap in the face and stultification of what the elected members in India and elsewhere consider to be the first principle of democratic Government, that you shall not have taxation without representation and that representatives of the people should decide in matters of taxation. The unfortunate part of the matter was that there was double prejudice. I remember that many years ago I was brought up to regard the French Revolution as having been brought about by the imposition of the odious gabelle or Salt Tax. I think most of us have it ingrained in our bones to regard the salt tax as peculiarly iniquitous and a horrible form of taxation. That is certainly very widely held in India because every woman who goes to buy a farthing's worth of salt in the market and next week was to buy another half-farthing's worth, finds that taxation has been increased.

You have millions of people affected by a tax which although the amount is infinitesimally small is felt throughout the country and has produced a real popular feeling against the action of the Viceroy in over-riding, as he is held to have done, the first principles of the New Constitution.

The Kenya Question.

The fourth and the most important consideration is what is known as the Kenya business. I hope my noble friend on my right will not think that I am going to say anything which need cause him any apprehension or uneasiness. He may be regarding me as a patient in the dentist's chair regards the dentist. But I assure him I certainly shall not hurt him, but I entertain certain feelings in regard to Kenya which I feel bound to express in this house. I was associated last summer with a number of persons, Members of Parliament in the other House, and others who had been much interested for many years in the fate of African natives, and it was, if I may say so, enormous satisfaction to us when the noble Duke of Devonshire, after considering the whole Kenya question, definitely laid down for the Government of Kenya

principle that had been adopted in the covenant of the League of nations for the Govt. of mandated territories, thus extending that principle to the British Empire. This is a great and lasting achievement on the part of the noble Duke for which all who are interested in native affairs are profoundly thankful.

He said that we should administer the Kenya Colony not primarily in the interests of the White settlers and not primarily in the interests of Indians, but primarily in the interests of, and as trustees for, the natives of the Kenya Colony. Certain questions were raised with regard to the privileges of White persons and Indians. The demands, neither of White settlers nor of Indians with regard to the franchise, were acceded to, and that which is practically a Crown Colony system of Government was established, whereby the Crown and its nominees were put in supreme control. Three decisions were taken which Indians have felt to be very grievously injurious and insulting to themselves.

The first was a comparatively minor matter of the reservation of land in the Highlands, and the prohibition of its sale to Indians. I do not think this can be considered to be in any way a really substantial grievance.

The second was the statement that Immigration Regulations must be laid down in order to protect the natives of Kenya against the economic competition of the natives of India. No immigration legislation has at present been passed or adopted at the time when this immigration legislation was promised. There had been considerable increase of Indian immigrants, which really only represented an increase on the influx that had taken place during the War, and the Colonial Government had some reason for alarm. Local legislation was passed in respect of the Immigration Ordinance which was sent Home to the Colonial Office.

The Colonial Office considered that the provisions of this draft Ordinance were quite unnecessarily drastic, and said that the draft Ordinance would not do. They returned it back for a fresh Ordinance, and there the matter stands at the present time. Meanwhile, under the agreement made at the Imperial Conference, a Committee of Indians has been appointed which is to deal with the interests of the Indians in the Dominions, and this Committee will have the opportunity of considering and making representations on any immigration laws which may be passed with regard to the economic effects of Indian immigration into Kenya. I have given attention to the matter and I went into the controversy of last spring with regard to Africa. I have been all my life primarily concerned with the interests of Africans and the Negro races, and I have no prejudice whatever in favor of admitting Indians in injurious competition with the African natives, rather the reverse.

I must say, however, from my own investigations into the subject, that I have never seen any evil results manifested in the Kenya Colony or elsewhere by the immigration of Indian settlers. My experience has been that their interests do not conflict, but that almost universally Indian settlers are of value to the communities which they enter. Consequently, my own feeling is and always has been, that I should like, on behalf of the Government of India, to be sure that a very sound and strong case has been made out before agreeing to the restrictions upon Indian immigration into Africa, and that, if there is any economic argument in support of such restriction, I should like it to be fully considered. I am sure that that course will be taken by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and by the Under-Secretary. I am sure that they are going to approach this

question of the necessity for restriction upon immigration with perfectly fair and straightforward minds and without any prejudice or any desire to exclude Indians, but with absolute determination to test the matter on its proved economic merits. If it should be proved that Indian immigration is deleterious to the natives of Kenya, then I cannot imagine that Indians would repudiate what they now support, namely, the doctrine that these territories are first to be administered in the interests of their native inhabitants. I have absolute confidence in the Secretary of State for the Colonies and in the Under-Secretary for the Colonies that they are going to be as careful in doing justice in this matter as I, who speak on behalf of the interests of India, could possibly desire them to be.

Then, there is the matter of franchise, which has caused the greatest consternation and irritation in India, because we have established in Kenya differential franchise as between Indians and White men, neither of them being the original denizens of the country. That, of course, is a grievance against which Indians in the Dominion of South Africa have been struggling for years. It is the grievance which brought Mr. Gandhi into being as an influential factor in Indian affairs. It is a new departure in our Crown Colonies. The Crown Colony of British Guiana, which desires to have Indian immigration, has published a statement that there is no differentiation against Indians in that Colony. Before the White Paper was issued, we had the report known as the Wood-Winterton report, and in that report, they did not recommend discrimination. They recommended the principle which we have always adopted in our West Indian and West African Colonies, namely, equal franchise for all persons of equal qualification, and they were quite prepared to say that, "if you have a large number in your Colonies, you should have such a franchise as will exclude those who are not fitted to exercise it."

That was the principle to which I myself agreed, and with which I was sympathetic, but the Duke of Devonshire was not able, in arranging the compromise settlement, to see his way to adopt that. He adopted the principle which would always, I am afraid, be a cause of soreness to Indians and to myself, because I associated myself entirely with what my predecessor Lord Peel said, namely that this kind of discrimination between franchises is one of the things which are most dangerous to the unity of the British Empire. This principle I have held all my life. If you want to disrupt and break up the British Empire, the way to do it is to make this discrimination between one race and another on the ground of color and not on the ground of qualification.

However, my Lords, I want to make an appeal to Indians interested in the matter, and to those who feel with them, to have a little patience. Crown Colony Government is not an ideal Constitution. In a Crown Colony Government, it appears to me, it is not at all necessary that you should expect to have exactly the same principles of franchise as you would have under a clearly constituted democratic Government. Its representations are not arranged for the purposes of control, because elected members cannot control the Government. The Secretary of State controls the Government. These representations are conceived in order that various sections of the population may be adequately represented. I myself have served in the Colony, where I went out owing to the

recommendations of an eminent financier, and where all the elected members of the Council had resigned their appointments. I had to conduct the whole session without any elected members. Then there was a fresh election and elected members came back.

In Kenya the attitude has been taken that Indian members of the Council will not vote for the new Constitution Bill, and will not come into the new Council, when constituted, as representative members. I am convinced that that is politically, and from the point of view of common sense, an unwise policy. You must look at the fact that a Crown Colony Constitution is not a satisfactory thing. The purpose of it is to give representation to various interests and any interest which does not take advantage of such representation as is given to it is doing harm to its constituents. The way to advance is to go back into the Council, to work in the Council. I feel strongly that discrimination is injurious, but still, having regard to the purposes of such a transitional Constitution as that of Kenya Colony, I do deplore the attitude that is being encouraged by Indian Swarajists. That is how the position rests. The Indian Committee which has been appointed will, on this point as on others, have every opportunity of making such representation as it may think right to His Majesty's Government, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies will fully consider those representations.

I have now indicated the principal difficulties which I find to be rankling in the minds of Indians. I return to the proceedings in the Indian Legislative Assembly. The opening of the proceedings in the Legislative Assembly took the form of a resolution moved by Mr. Rangachariar, claiming the immediate grant of full Responsible Government to India. In respect of that resolution, moved by Mr. Rangachariar, the suggestion of the principal signatory of the document from which I have quoted was in the form of the following amendment:—

"(*a*) This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establishing full responsible Government in India."

Your Lordships are aware that the Government of India Act provides that not later than 1929, a Royal Commission shall be sent out in order to consider what further modifications can be made in the Indian Government. This resolution claims an immediate overhaul in the system of Government. It continues, and for the said propose:

"(*b*) To summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend, with due regard for the protection of rights and interests of important minorities, a scheme of Constitution for India; and

"(c) After dissolving the Central Legislature, to place the said scheme before the newly elected Indian Legislature for its approval and to submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute."

That, of course, was an entire departure from the principles laid down in the Government of India Act and from the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee of the Houses of Lords and Commons upon that Act. The Home Member, in the Indian Legislative Assembly, in concurrence with His Maesty's Government, took this line. For the present, we stand by the provisions of the Government of India Act. It must be

admitted that no proper opportunity has been given for the working of the Legislatures for three years.

Let us first examine what are the inconveniences, what are the faults in the working of that Act which can be remedied without any fresh legislation, what are the complaints of its work as an instrument for the efficient carrying on of Government, not as an ideal Constitution but for the purposes for which it was constituted, a transitional instrument for carrying on public services. Let us first examine these. We will then go on.

DEFECTS IN THE REFORMS ACT

Sir Malcolm Hailey promised to investigate what modifications can be made in the provisions of the present Act by rules which may be made under the Act, which rules will require the consent of Parliament, either by resolution or on being laid before Parliament. If that course were taken it would remove, or should remove so far as possible, any working defects which might give excuse for Non-co-operation with the present scheme of the Government of India Act. We could not see our way to go further than that.

It appeared to us that to accept or to indicate that we might be prepared to accept, on the recommendations of a Round Table Conference, a new scheme for now establishing full Responsible Government in India, three years only after the institution of the scheme of Reform which was adopted because we were convinced that the establishment of full Responsible Government would be worse than perilous, would be disastrous to the peoples of India, and when the purposes which that transitional scheme was designed to fulfil have not been availed of, it would be a responsibility which His Majesty's Government are not prepared to accept. There, then, at present, is how the matter rests. We have had a full debate in the Assembly, and the Home Member for India has stated very fully the views of His Majesty's Government. I should like to read to you Sir Malcolm Hailey's observations. Speaking on February 13, he said:

"We have again considered the position very carefully, and I am anxious to emphasise that in what I say, I speak with the full authority of His Majesty's Government

"We still hold to the position I took up then on behalf of the Government. Before His Majesty's Government are able to consider the question of amending the constitution, as distinct from such amendment of the Act as may be required to rectify any administrative imperfections, there must be full investigation of any defects or difficulties which may have arisen in the working of the transitional Constitution now in force

"In 1919 the Parliament after the fullest consideration laid down a scheme, transitional in its nature, but nevertheless carefully devised, with a view to effecting steps necessary for progressive realisation of the ideals embodied in the preamble of the Act. It is not to be supposed that the British people would be lightly inclined to consider a change in that Constitution, and it is bound to concentrate attention, for the present, on such imperfections in working as may have been disclosed. If our inquiries into the defects of the working of the Act show feasibility and the possibility of any advance within the Act, that is to say, by the use of the rule-making power already provided by Parliament under the Statute, we are willling to make recommendations to this effect. But if our inquiries show that no advance is possible

without amending the Constitution, then the question of advance must be left as an entirely open and a separate issue on which the Government is in no way committed."

That is the statement Sir Malcolm Hailey very carefully framed, and I thought it well to read it to Your Lordships' House so that you might know exactly what has been the position of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government in this matter.

Now I want to expound very shortly, if I can, what is the position of His Majesty's present Government towards this question. His Majesty's present Government, as Sir Malcolm Hailey stated in his observations, are in sympathy with the purpose of the Home Rule Party in India. They are in sympathy with the purposes of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, that is to say, progress towards Home Rule, but their view is that unless the Parliamentary system is welded together by predominant common interests from its foundation in the electorate upwards, no theoretical Constitution that may be arrived at by a concordat among leaders of divergent interests for the mere purpose of establishing an ostensibly democratic form can prevent it from flying asunder. This has so far been found to be the case in Ireland, largely because the dividing power of difference in religion is stronger than the uniting force of common political interests. This is very much more the case in India, as I need not labor to point out to your Lordships' House.

Hindu Muslim Unity

The concordats for common political action which the Hindu leaders have recently made with Muhammadan leaders have displeased their followers on both sides, and have merely exacerbated mutual intolerance and antagonism, exhibited by increase in cow-killing and increased playing of bands outside Muslim mosques between the whole sections of community, for whom these divergent religions are a much stronger moving and guiding force than any common political interest. When these religious rivalries are aroused we have seen again and again, and quite recently in Malabar, for instance, how uncontrollable and murderously they act.

The interests of a small enfranchised class of Hindus in maintaining their position and distinction over outcaste masses are infinitely stronger than the common political interest of the two classes.

The interests of Muslim leaders, as again we have recently seen, tend to be coterminous rather with Islam than with either India or the British Commonwealth. Mr. Gandhi has faced this fact, the predominance of religious over secular interest in his countrymen, as fundamental, and builds his policy on it.

Mr. Gandhi

I am glad, and the Party that I represent are glad that Mr. Gandhi has been released from prison, because it is repugnant to human feeling that a man of his character should be treated as a criminal. But the terrible practical reactions of his philosophically innocent teachings merely illustrate the exceesses into which the Indian popular temperament is prone to be driven by any such ferment. We have had our precedent in revolutions of evangelicalism in England and Europe.

Mr. Gandhi denounces and condemns the whole idea of Western

democracy on which Swaraj leaders, or, at any rate, the Hindu section of them, are working and on which we have been trying to work for India in the Morley-Minto and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Not less completely do Roy of Berlin and his Communist missionaries from the Bolshevist school at Tashkent condemn and denounce the buorgeoise republicanism of the Swaraj movement, demanding dictatorship for the proletariat, and emancipation of outcaste and lower caste masses.

The Marquess CURZON :—I am sorry to interrupt the noble Lord, but is he reading from any document or is he giving us the considered opinions of His Majesty's Government at this stage of his speech ?

Lord OLIVIER.—Yes. All that I have read from this paper is the opinion of His Majesty's Government.

To continue my observations on this point : among these three, we have pinned our faith to the programme of constitutional democracy, but we claim to know by centuries of experience in Europe and America the laws and conditions indispensable for a stable working of that system, which is not native to India, and it is perfectly plain to us that those conditions are not at present established in India, and cannot be established at a few months' notice by the deliberation of a Round Table Conference or the premature appointment of a Commission under the Government of India Act. I would like, for a moment, to make excursions into analogical historical survey.

I belong to the Party, and I have belonged to that Party for forty years, which has achieved a certain amount of political success. The Duke of Northumberland, who spoke the other day in this House, deplored the fact that the precepts of the venerable Mr. Hyndman had not been followed by that Party. The precepts of the venerable Mr. Hyndman, who was the first missionary of Socialism in this country, were practically that the Socialist movement should go on until the day was ripe, and that then there should be a revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Party to which I belong defeated Mr. Hyndman's Party. The Second International has been able to exercise, I think, a considerable influence upon the Party programmes of Socialism in the rest of Europe. I remember that about thirty years ago I was at the International Congress at Zurich, at which many of those terrible revolutionaries were present. There was the British Deputation of about fifty, of whom some thirty were British Trade Unionists, four were Members of Parliament, and there were Mr. Pickard of the Durham Miners, Mr. Davies of the Birmingham Brass Founderers, Councillor Hobson of Sheffield, Mr. Bernard Shaw, with my humble self as Secretary of the British Section. There was also a gentleman whom Viscount Cecil no doubt knows, Mr. F. J. Whelan, who is a member of that International gang of revolutionaries which is now occupied in endeavouring to subordinate arms to arbitration, and another gang which is trying to do the same in regard to industry. The Party to which I belong did not start off as did the earlier Socialists. The first thing it had to have was an intelligent and understanding constituency which would know what they were driving at, and would rally unitedly their representatives. In Parliament here, as in all our political development, we did not begin at the top, but at the bottom. We saw that there could be no Parliamentary stability whatever, and no progress in any kind of change or

revolution, unless the Parliamentary Constitution and representation were based upon a real, vital, organic constituency of common interests and understanding, which as I have said, is singularly absent in India.

We say that it is impossible for the Indian people, for Indian politicians, at once to leap into the saddle and administer without disastrous religious and other dissensions an almost ideal Constitution which might be framed, when we contemplate the interval which shall occur before the revision of the Constitution. We do not look at it in this way. We do not say—I mention this as I notice that some offence has been taken at this—we will make you a nice little half-way Constitution, we will put in nice Governors and intelligent officials to show you how to work British Parliamentary institutions. We say, you have to arrive at the other side of the river. You have to arrive at responsible government. We provide you, according to the best of our abilities, with what we think, and what you think, so far as we can make out, is a sea-worthy boat. The only way you can get to the other side of that river is by getting into the boat and rowing. It is no use whatever to stand on the bank, to refuse to get into the boat, and to say that we are not going to go anywhere without responsible political government. This is a case of *Solvitur Ambulando*. You must get into the boat if you want to make political institutions stable. You must become a Member of Parliament and have a constituency. You must learn to work with persons who differ from you, without at once calling for a holy war from your followers, an experiment, however, which has largely been followed in Ireland, where they resorted to methods which seem likely to be popular in India. There is of course that danger, and it is the view of the Labor Party that you must build up not only your political Party, but your political constituency. That can only be done by Parliamentary experience ranging over a certain number of years.

Sikh Religious Revival

Before I pass from this terrible danger of religious fanaticism, to which I referred as being dominant in India, I want to mention one very painful occurrence which has been brought to my notice in the last few days, and upon which, I think, the House would like to have some information, namely the late recrudescence of killing and conflicts in the Panjab, among the Sikhs. I will deal with this matter as briefly as I can, but it is one about which your Lordships will want to know, as far as can be ascertained, the facts. The Sikhs are a religious denomination. They are not racially denominational, and though they properly belong to a tribe, they are a very ancient stock, one of the most ancient European stocks, according to Professor Arthur Keith, and one of the finest both in brain conformation and in bone conformation, of any of the races that ever appeared on the earth. I know an Englishman who came into contact with the Sikhs and who has the greatest admiration and affection for them. They are a people of a fine, ancient, noble race and they are one of those ancient and noble races which have, if I may say so, a constitutional apprehension of the spiritual life. They are profoundly religious.

Some little time ago, the Sikhs had a religious revival. They found themselves in this position, that the shrines that had been established for the reading of their scriptures and for the worship of gods had in later times fallen into the hands of corrupt priests, Mahants, who had taken possession of properties and annexed shrines and were abusing their

authority for the purposes of gain and dissipation. The Sikh religious community clamored for reform. They formed themselves into a puritan reform movement. It is unfortunate that the Sikhs were not placed, when their Reformation came, as we were. If this thing had taken place in this country, it would have been solved without difficulty. The reigning Prince would have placed himself at the head of the reform movement. He would have declared himself a defender of the Faith, and himself would have confiscated the disputed properties, and would have bestowed them upon his principal religious supporters. The time has passed when that simple mode of procedure can be adopted, and such a method did not occur to the authorities of the Panjab. The Puritan Sikhs took the law into their own hands, and following a very august example, they themselves said that it was written in their scriptures: "your house shall be called the house of prayer, these men have made it a den of thieves," and they went into the temple and cleared them out. They broke down the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of those who sold doves, and turned out the prostitutes, and other sources of gain that the Mahants were using in these places.

That was a very simple, puritan, direct action. That kind of action necessarily led to violence. In the first place, the Mahants themselves suffered violence, and in the second place, when the Mahants saw what was coming upon them, they organised a band of followers with long staves, kerosine tins, torches, and fire-arms, and lay in wait for the people that were coming to turn them out. When those people had come into the Temple they shot down and massacred a large number of them and they poured kerosine upon them and burnt them,—a very horrible thing. I have seen a telegram to the Prime Minister, and I have seen a long, printed document sent to Members of Parliament, reporting this atrocity and laying it upon the shoulders of the Government as having supported the Mahant, ignoring altogether the fact that the Mahant was immediately criminally prosecuted and transported. That was carefully left out of record and out of the statement sent here to the Prime Minister, apparently by a responsible person. However, Government took action, and very reasonable action. The Government said: "Let us establish a Sikh Board of Control, which shall be made the repository of all the interests of the Sikh religion and of the property of the Sikhs, so that these Temples may be administered in the interests of the Sikh religion." That law was passed, but it remained a dead letter.

The Nabha Question

Why did it remain a dead letter? Because the Sikh movement had been laid hold of by the political movement at Amritsar, which is the centre, as your Lordships are aware, of revolutionary propaganda and disturbance. To cut a long story short, this last tragedy was directly engineered in order to create a fracas between the Government and the Sikhs, so that it could be said that the British desired to repeat the tragedy of Amritsar, and shoot down honest, religious Sikhs. Advantage was taken of the fact that the Maharaja of Nabha had been deposed—no, not exactly deposed, the Maharaja of Nabha was a profligate and a vicious ruler, who entirely ignored the interests of his country for several years. We did not then interfere. He had committed outrages upon the subjects of the neighbouring Maharaja, and the latter brought action against him. The matter was judicially dealt

with. The whole record of the Maharaja of Nabha was gone into, and it was intimated to him that he should pay compensation to his neighbour, and should remit his office in favour of his son, his son being placed under Regency. The people of Nabha were perfectly content at this. They knew that they had got a good riddance.

But the central revolutionary committee at Amritsar laid hold of this, and I have seen newspapers deliberately representing that this was an act of oppression on the part of the British Government, who wished to depose and destroy a patriotic Sikh Chief, and that the British Government were intending to desecrate the shrines of the Sikh religion in Nabha. They therefore organised a movement from a hundred miles or so away. They sent instructions to religious Jathas, simple-minded puritans, that the shrines of their religion were being outraged, and that they must go in pilgrimage and claim their right of praying and reading the scriptures in these shrines at Jaito. The pilgrims themselves knew not why they came. They said that "these are the orders of the Committee. It is part of our Sikh law that we must obey the laws of our spiritual superiors." Five hundred pilgrims, who were non-resisters, and about 1,000 peasants and others, went in pilgrimage to Jaito in order to read their Scripture. They were informed that they would not be allowed in the shrine to enter but only fifty at a time for the purpose of making their devotions. They refused to accept this term, to enter fifty at a time. The pilgrims themselves passed on towards the shrine, and the band of 1,000 opened fire on the Police and the Troops drawn up in front of the approach. The result was this deplorable incident, in which, again, State Troops and the Police had had to fire on a crowd of innocent and religiously minded people, stirred up by a small revolutionary Committee, with whom they had no actual connection whatever.

If that kind of thing can be done for political purposes, if the religious instinct of the people can be traded upon for political and revolutionary purposes in that way, is it to be supposed that ambitious politicians under a perfectly liberal Constitution are not going to appeal to religious fears and feelings in pursuit of their policies? That appears to me to be the incident of what is repeatedly done in India, namely, that the religious feelings are traded upon in order to serve political purposes. In what I have said, I have been forced to omit all references to large sections of the aspect of the present Indian problems which are of immense importance. One of them at least I must not be suspected of having overlooked.

It is inevitable when a Home Rule movement springs up in a country, whose administration has been foreign, that hostility and injustice should be shown towards the agents of the hitherto ruling power. It is advanced uncompromisingly that the British have no right in India. The right of British statesmen, public servants, merchants and industrialists to be in India to-day lies in the fact that they made the India of to-day, and that no Home Rule or national movement could have been possible had it not been for their work. The Indian Home Rule Party have adopted, and we have joined with them in adopting, the methods of the British administration.

Our statesmen and our public servants are loyally co-operating in

The No-Tax Campaign.

After the session of the Congress the Kenya Indians determined to carry out the resolution of the Congress on the non-payment of the Poll-Tax. All the taxes and the licenses were payable before the end of January and a wide campaign was organised to rally all the Indians against the Poll-tax. The Revenue officers of the Government, on the other hand, were equally determined, and setting aside the usual law, brought into force a practice alleged to have been in force for the past three years making the payment of the Poll-tax a condition precedent to the issuing of trade licenses, passports etc. Indians were prepared to pay for the trade licenses, and this harassment made their task all the more difficult. They however remained firm. They paid all other taxes but refused to pay the poll-tax of 30 shillings per adult male, and for this they were sentenced each to a month's hard labour. The movement spread rapidly to the distant districts of Kenya and a large number of people prepared themselves to court arrest. Some 300 Indians thus went to jail. But the policy of the Government not to issue licenses unless the poll-tax was previously paid could not succeed. Government then changed their tactics and went on issuing licenses with the one hand and delivering summonses for recovery of the tax with the other. The plaintiff and the trying Magistrate were the same person and he went on making attachments on the properties of the defaulters. Some of the wealthiest and the most important merchants were subjected to the attachment proceedings, and the leaders were sent to prison. The merchants began to court arrest joyfully, and then the Government again changed their tactics. They began to summon the leaders of the movement before the court, but the leaders raised constitutional points and stated that the Poll-tax ordinance was totally illegal and the continuance of it against the Indians was ultra-vires. They also brought the treaty which the Sultan of Zangiber had signed with the British and the Foreign Jurisdiction Act 1890 and the various Orders in Council 1902, 1906 and 1921, stating that the Crown or the Legislative Council had no right to tax them unless with the consent of Parliament. They stated that in the year 1912 when the Poll-tax ordinance was passed, the Indians had neither direct nor indirect representation on the Council, and therefore they were not bound to pay the tax.

Mrs. Naidu's Campaign.

The agitation for the no-tax campaign went on unabated for 3 months. On February 6th a huge demonstration was held at Mombasa. A big procession went round the city singing national songs exhorting Indians all over the colony to join the movement as a body. A huge mass-meeting was held at night where Mr. D. B. Desai presided and recalled the case of a similar campaign successfully carried out 25 years ago. People attending the meetting all took a solemn vow to resist to the last and not to submit to the daily gathering pile of insults and indignities heaped upon them by the Whites. Mrs. Naidu herself made

over, and the representatives of Indian interests in this country have suggested a mission to India. His Majesty's Government, while they are open to consider any practical proposals, are not yet satisfied as to what may be the best means for establishing that closer contact and better understanding that are so manifestly desirable. Some means of arriving at that closer contact must, they are convinced, be sought, and they hope, after due consultation with the Government of India, to be able with the least avoidable delay to decide upon the means they will desire to adopt.

Plea for Co-operation

In the meantime, His Majesty's Government is unequivocally friendly towards the Indian Constitutional Reform Party, and appeals to that Party for patience and circumspection, and for co-operation in using the Councils for their essential purposes of efficient administration, according to the views of members on any particular question, and not as a field for administrative sabotage, and political ascerbation. His Majesty's Government, during the short period since it took office, has been continually pressed for attention to urgent matters, and it has been impossible for it to explore all the factors of the difficulty in the present Indian political atmosphere. It is only a week since the critical debate in the Legislative Assembly took place. The investigation of the situation which the Government of India has already promised to make cannot fail to assist that Government to furnish His Majesty's Government with further considered advice upon the problems involved, and as to the best possible lines of approach to any further developments.

सत्यमेव जयते

The Lords Debate—Continued

LORD CURZON, following Lord Olivier, referring to the unfortunate events in the Punjab in connection with the Sikhs, said that the Sikhs had been not only violent warriors but also were the most loyal subjects of the Crown and there must have been deplorable misunderstanding somewhere to have brought about this situation. He did not apportion the blame to anybody and expressed the opinion that the Government of India were perfectly right in enforcing the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha, but there must have been something wrong in a state of affairs which allowed a religious movement to develop into a political agitation, associated with dacoity and accompanied by violence and crime. The Government of India must really take this in hand. He was glad that a strong and fearless man had been appointed as the Governor of the Punjab, under whose administration, he trusted, that an end might be put to the trouble, and the Sikhs would return to their old loyalty and co-operation with the Government. Lord Curzon criticised the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi and expressed the opinion that it was the work of the Bombay Govt. In view of Mr Gandhi's expression of his intention of prosecuting his previous creed, we might he said, be faced with a recrudescence of the old agitation, and we had tied our hands, for we could not again imprison him. He asked how the release of other political prisoners on medical grounds could be refused Continuing, Lord Curzon said that he understood that Lord Olivier, on behalf of the Government, had promised that there should be a series of investigations and consultations with the representatives of Indian opinion, and if such investigations disclosed the advisability of an advance within the Government of India Act, the Government would make Regulations, and submit them to the Legislative Assembly, the Secretary of State, and Parliament. He hoped that His Majesty's Government would not sympathise with the proposal for a Round Table Conference. It would be impossible to imagine a more disastrous method of approaching the situation. The experience in Britain of a Round Table Conference did not encourage the hope of any success. They did not want any more Royal Commissions. The Government ought to approach the men who were working the Reform Scheme in India, namely the Governors and the Viceroy and ask them how the Reforms were progressing. He concluded by emphasising that the Government were bound, by the whole history of this question, to consult Parliament with regard to any changes.

The debate was adjourned till the next day.

ON FEBRUARY 28TH, LORD MESTON, resuming the debate on India, said that after Lord Olivier's statement, the speaker's apprehensions that he had leanings towards the policy of abdication were, at any rate, materially allayed. If Lord Olivier yielded to the claims for Provincial autonomy, twelve months would not have passed before an outcry equally loud, persistent, and unconvincing, would be made for Imperial autonomy. It would be impossible to contemplate measures which carried those concessions with them. He congratulated the Government on their decision not to participate in a Round Table Conference. Such Conference would drive the remaining Moderates to range themselves beside the Extremists and weaken the power of the Executive. The time had not come to throw over the Constitution. The result of the adoption of certain amendments being canvassed here and in India would certain-

ly be to scrap the Constitution. They must adhere to a policy of gradually fitting India for Self-Government, or drop the whole idea and hand over the Government to men who had no programme at all.

EARL BALFOUR thought that the impression had gradually grown up in some quarters that we were acting simply as a drag upon the natural movement towards representative institutions in India which, but for this, would run a safe, happy and useful course, and those in India hampering our policy were only hastening the glorious time when free institutions, modelled on the Dominions, would prevail in India. He was convinced that this impression was one of the most profound illusions. These modern statesmen of India had taken up our catch-words and professed admiration for our institutions, but without apparently realising the spirit by which alone such institutions could be properly worked. He said that he was not pessimistic with regard to the ultimate result, but it would be perfect folly to suppose that the result could immediately be attained. Every thing going on in India now had increased his sense of depression regarding the political elements there. They showed infinite ingenuity in Parliamentary manœuvre and admirable qualities of speech, but that was not the main thing required. Their ingenuity, so far as he could see, was wholly destructive. There never was a country where the difficulties of constitutional Government were naturally greater than in India. Indian agitators would be committing a great crime against their fellow countrymen if they set themselves to the work of merely shattering what they found, without giving the least suggestion of what should take its place. Proceeding, Earl Balfour said that if we left India to itself, it was absolutely as certain as anything could be that she would relapse into absolute Government. The destruction of British Rule meant the assertion of all that was least good in the natural growth of Indian society. He could see no alternative to the Act of 1919. The idea that by a stroke of pen freedom could be brought to the three hundred millions for whom we were responsible, was one of the most fantastic dreams that had ever occurred to the wildest political speculator. The task was one of supreme difficulty, but we could not shirk it. The burden is there, and must be borne. It would require the utmost resolution, courage, and patriotism if we were to carry it on successfully.

The debate then ended with the rising of the House.

The Salt Tax Debacle

The telegraphic summary of the speech of Lord Olivier which was communicated to India by Reuter on the 26th Feb. alarmed Anglo-India and the Govt. specially on the reference made to the iniquitous salt tax. An agitation was set on foot to explain away what Lord Olivier had said on this point. Leading newspapers in London continued for days to express surprise that wrong interpretations should have been put upon Lord Olivier's reference about the Salt Tax. The *Morning Post*, commenting on the subject, drew attention to the fact that its Delhi correspondent, in common with other Indian correspondents of London newspapers, had pointed to the hostile reception accorded in India to the passages of Lord Olivier's recent speech in the House of Lords in which he referred to the Salt Tax. The paper proceeds : "It is evident that a garbled version of this part of the speech

must have been cabled to India ; for, none of the statements made by Lord Olivier with regard to the Salt Tax and officially reported could well be described as dangerous nonsense, nor did he give it as his opinion that the Indian Salt Tax was a peculiarly iniquitous and horrible form of taxation. It appears from the official report that Lord Olivier referred to the certification of the Salt-Tax as a matter which had been mentioned to him repeatedly as contributing to the present atmosphere of mistrust and prejudice. He pointed out that the action of the Government of India, in certifying the Salt Tax, was financially necessary, and he made no unfavorable criticism whatever upon that course, nor upon the reasonableness of the Salt Tax as a form of taxation. The unfortunate part of the matter was, Lord Olivier said, that there was double prejudice involved in the matter. He then a made a jocular reference to the once orthodox doctrine with regard to Gabelle and the origin of the French Revolution, and supposed that most of us have it ingrained in our bones to regard the Salt Tax as a peculiarly iniquitous and horrible form of taxation. After this, he explained how what he had described as a prejudice arose, and why it was so general in India as to produce strong popular feeling quite independently of whether the tax was really onerous or not. It is easy to see how, in a shortened version, the words quoted above could be made to bear an entirely different meaning from that intended, and we therefore hasten to point out that Indian papers, and in consequence, Indian correspondents of English papers, have been entirely misled."

Pressure was put upon the new Labour Secretary for India to correct his strong indictment of the Government of India on the Salt-Tax, and on March 5th, Lord Olivier in a press interview was prevailed upon to express great surprise at the interpretation placed in India on that part of his recent speech. In the speech he pointed out that the Government of India's action in certifying the Salt Tax was financially necessary. He made no unfavourable criticism whatsoever upon the Govt. of India's action, nor on the reasonableness of the Salt Tax as a form of taxation. All that he contended was that such a course of action as the Government of India felt to be necessary inevitably encountered prejudice. Lord Olivier himself was not prejudiced against the Salt Tax, provided it was not onerous. The question of whether it was onerous was for the judgment of the Government of India, and in the present issue, the sole question was whether reduction of provincial contributions was worth maintaining on a slightly higher rate of the Salt Tax than there need be without such reduction.

As the *Daily Telegraph* observed : "Lord Olivier expressed himself as greatly surprised at the interpretation which had been placed in India upon that part of his speech in which he referred to the Salt Tax. He had merely set out to enumerate certain factors, which, in his opinion, had contributed to the increased distrust in the genuineness of intentions of the Reforms. Lord Olivier went on to refer to the certification of the Salt Tax, which had been mentioned to him as causing mistrust and prejudice. He pointed out in his speech that the Government of India's action, in certifying the Salt Tax, was financially necessary, and he made no unfavorable criticism whatsoever upon the Government of India's action, nor upon the reasonableness of the Salt Tax as a form of taxation. All that he was at pains to argue was that such a course of action as the Government of India felt to be necessary inevitably encountered what he

described as a double prejudice, that prejudice arising quite independently of whether the tax was really appreciably onerous or not. Lord Olivier himself has no prejudice at all against the Salt Tax as a form of taxation, provided, of course, that it is actually not onerous. Whether, in the case of India, the tax is onerous or not, the question is for the judgment of the Government of India, and in the present issue, Lord Olivier argues that the sole question to be decided is whether the reduction in Provincial Contributions is or is not worth maintaining on a slightly higher rate of the Salt Tax than there need be without such reduction. On that question Lord Olivier shares the view of the Government of India that the proposal which they have made is worth while. It is in fact a matter for the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly to decide between them."

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS – INTERPELLATIONS

The question was again raised in the House of Commons on March 10th by Sir Charles Yate, the die-hard anti-Indian Tory, who asked what communications had passed between the Government of India and Lord Olivier with reference to the allusion to the Salt Tax in the latter's speech. Prof. Richards Under-Secretary for India, replying on behalf of the India Office declined, to depart from the long established practice under which communications to and from the Government of India were treated as confidential.

On March 17th Sir Henry Craik asked whether Prof. Richards proposed any evidence indicating that serious hardships had been caused by the operation of the Indian Salt Tax, or that it had led to an agitation on the part of any large section of the population.

Prof. Richards replied that he supposed all taxation involved some degree of hardship, but Sir H. Craik knew that in the case of the Indian Salt Tax, it was difficult to distinguish between economic and political considerations.

Sir H. Craik repeated the question for a definite reply.

Mr. Lansbury pointed out that the Legislative Assembly had rejected this tax. A Conservative Member declared that the agitation was only among politicians.

Mr. Lansbury : No.

The Speaker intervened at this stage saying that the matter could not be debated at question time.

On the Round Table Conference

On March 3rd, in the House of Commons, replying to Sir Frederick Hall, the Representative of the India Office said that the Secretary of State had not yet received any recommendations from the Government of India in favor of taking action on Pandit Matilal Nehru's motion (for a Round Table Conference) adopted by the Legislative Assembly.

On March 10th, in the House of Commons, replying to Mr. Lansbury with regard to a Round Table Conference on a further instalment of Self-Government for India, Prof. Richards said that the attitude of the Government of India had already been indicated by the speeches of Sir M. Hailey. The Government of India were initiating an enquiry on the lines indicated in those speeches. The Government were conti-

ming to seek other avenues whereby the present situation might be eased. As regards the extension of the franchise, it was not understood that this was advocated by any of the speakers who had urged the grant of increased powers in the Indian Legislature, and in view of the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee of 1919, Lord Olivier was not prepared to take any immediate steps in that direction.

Mr. Wardlaw Milne said that Prof. Richards' remark about seeking other avenues was very indefinite and asked what he meant.

Sir Henry Craik asked: "Do the Government intend to adhere to the provisions of the Act of 1919 for deferring the revision of the Constitution for a decade?

Prof. Richards replied: "That is exactly the position".

The last portion of the answer given by Prof. Richards has been later explained as misleading owing to Prof. Richards not hearing the question clearly.

To clear the point Sir Henry Craik asked again a question on March 24th, with regard to the Government's adherence to the provision of the Government of India Act of 1919, postponing for a decade any alteration of the constitution thereby established.

Prof. Richards, replying, reiterated that the Government adhered to the provisions of the Act, but he was doubtful whether the provisions would sustain the interpretation which Sir H. Craik seemed to place on them.

Sir H. Craik recalled that the Joint Committee, upon whose report the House of Commons had accepted the Act of 1910, had expressed the opinion that the Statutory Committee should not be appointed until the expiration of a decade, and meanwhile, no substantial change in the Constitution should be made.

Prof. Richards replied that the Parliament could not bind its successors. If any fundamental change was made, it would be made by Parliaments.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked if Prof. Richards meant that the Government were considering the alteration of what the last Parliament had done.

Prof. Richards' reply was inaudible but appeared to indicate dissent.

REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Again, on April 8th, replying to Sir Henry Craik, Prof Richards said that in accordance with the procedure in the past, which was accepted by the Govt., no modification affecting the Constitution of the Govt. of India established under the Act of 1919, would be proposed by any Government without due notice being given in the House of Commons.

Mr. Hope Simpson pointed out that during the discussion on the Government of India Act in Committee, Mr. Montagu said that this Section would not tie the hands of Parliament in any way, and a Commission might be issued at any time.

Sir Henry Craik suggested that there was nothing that would tie the hands of Parliament, but only that Parliament would be informed before action was taken.

Prof. Richards indicated assent.

House of Commons--Other Interpellations

BAN ON MR. HORNIMAN

On March 3rd, replying to Commander Kenworthy, Prof. Richards said that the Governments of India and Bombay, considering Mr. Horniman's history whilst in India, and his published writings since his deportation, had repeatedly decided against allowing his return. The Government of India had only a few days ago resisted a motion in the Assembly permitting his return, and it would be difficult for Lord Olivier to insist, in the present position of Indian affairs, that the Government of India should withdraw their objection.

Commander Kenworthy asked if it was considered right that a man should be deprived of his livelihood without the chance of any sort of public enquiry.

A Conservative member asked if it was to be understood that Lord Olivier considered that the order should be rescinded. The Minister did not reply.

CROWN COLONIES COMMITTEE.

Replying to Mr. Wardlaw Milne, Prof. Richards expected very shortly to announce the names of the members of the Crown Colonies Committee referred to in the Viceroy's speech of January 31. The meeting to be held in London, he hoped, would begin at the end of March. Subsequently the following names were announced for the Committee: H. H. The Aga Khan, Sir Benjamin Robertson, Mr. Hope Simpson, M. P., Mr. T. Rangachariar, and Mr. K. C. Roy. This question was again raised on the 17th when Prof. Richards replying to Major Ormsby-Gore said that this Committee was to meet in London in the middle of April. The terms of reference would be to make representations to Mr. Thomas on all questions of Indians domiciled in Kenya, arising from the discussion embodied in the White Paper, and certain pending questions with regard to Indians in Fiji. Mr. Hope Simpson would be the Chairman.

Major Ormsby-Gore asked how the terms of reference had been narrowed down to Kenya and Fiji, when the whole object of the Committee was to examine how Indians were treated throughout the Colonies.

Mr. Berkley asked if the Committee would consider the resumption of Indian immigration to the Colonies for purposes of labor. The Minister did not reply.

PAY OF INDIAN POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Replying to Col. Howard Bury, Prof. Richards said that the matter of equal pay of the Indian Political Department officials for equal service, whether taken from the Indian Army or the Civil Service, was now being considered in India. He understood that the Royal Commission on Superior Civil Services in India proposed to include it in the scope of its enquiry. Lord Olivier was communicating with the Government of India on the subject.

REGULATION III OF 1818.

On March 10th a warm interlude followed the question by Mr. Faker requesting the Government to see that the recommendations of the

Sapru Repressive Laws Committee were carried out regarding the limitation of the Bengal Regulation 3 of 1818 to the original purposes, and not put into operation against British subjects, except on inflammable frontiers. Prof. Richards replied pointing out that the Committee's recommendations were qualified by the recognition of grave emergencies which might arise, necessitating a "weapon" of this nature. He declared that the recrudescence of political murder plots in Bengal had necessitated the recent use of the regulation and the Secretary of State was not disposed to press the Government of India, in the existing conditions, to take up immediately the question of alternative legislation. After a number of supplementary questions had been put, Mr. Lansbury announced his intention to raise the matter on an adjournment at the first opportunity.

THE JAITO AFFAIR.

Several questions urged steps to prevent the repetition of the Jaito Jatha troubles. Mr. Lansbury requested the Secretary of State to ask the Viceroy to hold a full inquiry into the whole proceedings of the last Jatha.

Prof. Richards declared that he had no doubt that the Government of India would take the necessary steps to ascertain full facts. Therefore it was unnecessary to adopt Mr. Lansbury's suggestion.

ADJOURNMENT ON JAITO.

On March 11th, on adjournment, Mr. George Lansbury drew attention to the Jaito disturbances, the Bombay strike and the Government's refusal to hold a Round Table Conference. He said that it was an extraordinary thing if the police were hemmed in at Jaito by tremendous crowds that not a single policeman or soldier had been injured. He quoted a message from the Secretary of the Indian Trade Unionist Conference and the member of the Assembly declaring that Lord Olivier had been given false information, and that no fire-arms had been captured.

Prof. Richards, replying, said that the Government had full sympathy with the ultimate idea placed before the House by successive Governments of the past 50 years, that eventually Britain should give the great Dominion of India full and complete Self-Government. With regard to the Bombay strike, he quoted the leader of the strike, Mr. Joseph Baptista, who, in one thing, was like John the Baptist, namely, in that he was crying in the wilderness, as the men had struck against his advice. Prof. Richards communicated the latest information from India on the subject, and as regards Jaito, he eulogised the Sikhs for their fine services to the Empire. It was exceedingly difficult for the Government of India to try to keep peace between two wrangling religious bodies.

He referred to the passage of the Shrines Act of 1922, which had not been put into operation. The sitting of the House, at this point, automatically closed.

JOINT INDIAN COMMITTEE.

The same day the House of Lords adopted without discussion a motion expressing the desirability of appointing a Standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs of both the Houses to examine and report on any Bill or matter referred to them specially by either House, and consider, with

a view to reporting, if necessary, on any matter relating to Indian affairs brought to the notice of the Committee by the Secretary of State for India. Lord Olivier, in moving the resolution, said that the Committee would consider any matter referred to them by the Government or the House, particularly any question of the moment. He was not aware that there was any such question that they desired to submit immediately, but if what was foreshadowed in the Indian Legislative Assembly should mature, namely, that the Government of India should consider the possible extension of, or amendment to, the Rules under the Government of India Act, that was the kind of subject they should desire to refer to the Joint Committee.

BOMBAY MILL STRIKE.

On March 17th in reply to Mr. Lansbury with regard to the Bombay Cotton Mill strike, Prof. Richards said that he had no official information with regard to the number of operatives who had left Bombay, and none with regard to any deaths due to starvation. He had telegraphed to the Government of India for further information with regard to the cause of the dispute. He was also enquiring with regard to the measures taken to relieve the distress caused by the strike.

RESTORATION OF GRANTS.

The same day, replying to Col. Howard Bury on the sanction of grants, Prof. Richards said that he was afraid he could not attempt to anticipate any which might have to be taken when all the demands for grants had been dealt with in the Assembly, and Col. Howard Bury would doubtless recognise that the natural place for the announcement of the decision would be the Assembly itself.

Mr. Wardlaw Milne: May we take it that this Government will strongly support the Viceroy in any measure he may take?

The Minister did not reply.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON INDIA.

The House of Commons unanimously agreed to a resolution moved by Mr. Griffiths on the same lines as the resolution passed by the House of Lords on 11th March regarding the appointment of a Joint Committee on Indian Affairs. Subsequently the names of H. of Commons members on the Joint Committee were given out: Messrs Clarke, Meyler, Wardlaw Milne, Ramsay Muir, Scurr, Hope Simpson, Snell, Wallhead, Winterton (Earl) and Sir Charles Yate. And the Lords: De'La Warr, Russell, Middleton, Harris, Lamington, Montagu, MacDonnell, Pentland, Hardinge, Clwyd, and Meston.

BENGAL REJECTION OF GRANTS.

On March 31st, in the House of Commons, Col. Howard Bury drew attention to the Bengal Council's rejection of the vote for Ministers' salaries, and suggested that these services should be restored to the Reserved side so as to enable the Governor to restore the grant.

Prof. Richards replied that he thought that Col. Howard Bury would agree on reflection that the solution he suggested was not feasible under the Constitution. He understood that, if necessary, the Governor would administer the Transferred Subjects, and be responsible for them.

THE CONDITION OF

The Indians Overseas.

The following pages deal with the threatening position of Indians in South Africa and East Africa, and incidentally with the British Guiana Deputation that came to India in January last. This year the main trouble of Indians in Africa have been the Class Areas Bill of the Union Govt. of South Africa and the Immigration Bill of the Kenya Govt. Regarding these matters no better exponent of the Indian case has ever stood out boldly, alike in Govt. conclaves as in the public platform, than the Rt. Hon. Srinivas Sastry. His famous Bangalore speech of December 23rd which sounded the clarion call of an all-India agitation has been given in the I. A. R. 1923 *Supp.* page. 226 Since then Mr. Sastri has vehemently espoused the Indian case in season and out, alike in the Council of State and in public meetings, and has hit out straight. In presenting the Indian case we can do no better than reproduce a speech of his delivered at a meeting of the Criterion club, Delhi, on Feb. 24th, 1924 immediately after the National Conference. In the course of his speech Mr. Sastri referred to Genl. Smuts and said:—

GENL. SMUTS

The great man who rules over the destinies of South Africa, General Smuts, lent the weight of his authority to the agitation of the White community in Kenya. He backed them to the utmost of his power and I heard at the India Office that he sent many a long cablegram to the British Cabinet advising them, threatening them, and generally warning them that the British Cabinet were not dealing with Kenya only, but with the whole of Africa, meaning the whole of white Africa; and in the course of the discussions it became evident the question would be: will the Indian case prevail or the African case prevail? They presented to the British Cabinet this alternative "If you are going to redress the so-called grievances of the Indian community, you would be driving us out of the Empire. The Indians tell you for their part that if you were going to decide the issues in our favour, India would have to go out."

The British Cabinet was obliged in some way to settle the question as though it were a case between Africa and India. One time the propaganda of the whites reached such proportions that it looked likely that it would be a case not only of Africa versus India, but of the whole of the Dominions and Crown Colonies versus India. Luckily, the Dominions were too sensible and too aware of the magnitude of the difficulties of the Empire that they refused to throw in their lot with Africa.

You may ask, said Mr. Sastri: 'Why is Africa pitted against India in this matter'? Now it is alleged it is not only a question of economical interests, but it is a question of two cultures and two civilisations struggling to occupy the same ground. That is how they put it: as though India were behind this movement and were struggling to obtain a large and secure foothold on the continent of Africa. In South Africa there is a very peculiar constitution which I think the English people did not fully understand when they annexed South Africa. The ideal which the South Africans have is injurious and diametrically opposed to the ideals of the British Empire. British Empire ideals are well known. Those are justice all round, equity all round and brotherhood between all peoples composing the commonwealth. In South Africa the fundamental law includes the declaration: 'There shall be no equality between white and coloured persons in church or state.' For long decades the South African white, who is the Boer predominantly, has had to struggle with the blacks of Africa, and therefore has from his very upbringing the notion that the black man is unequal to the white, that he is born only to serve the white, and that if he will not serve the white he should be compelled to do so or killed off. When therefore the British Empire annexed South Africa with this ideal which runs clean against their own cherished ideal, British

statesmen undertook a serious responsibility and they must have vowed to themselves that, if they found it necessary to annex South Africa with this degrading doctrine, running counter even to Christianity, they at least were under a moral obligation to see that this degrading ideal never travelled beyond South Africa, that it was confined to this primitive population of Boers.

But what happened in the case of Kenya? White people from South Africa went there, carried their doctrine and reversed the current which Kenya affairs had run for a long time; for an Indian aspect had been given to the progress of affairs in Kenya, which now the Boer was determined to check with a view, first of all, to restricting the immigration of the Indians and afterwards, in course of time, as his power grew, finally to close the doors of East Africa to Indians altogether.

Now, lest you should think that I am overstating the case, I have brought you a memorandum which General Smuts presented to the Imperial Conference. He presented their case and his principal desire was to get repealed that resolution of 1921 of the Imperial Conference which recommended that Indians everywhere in the Empire should be granted equal rights of citizenship with any other class of His Majesty's subjects. General Smuts was so impressed with the Indian case, with the difficulties which the Empire was experiencing in holding together, that he actually said: 'Although it is not possible for me to join, my sympathy is with Mr. Sastri; let this resolution go; I do not mind; provided it does not bind me.'

Gen. Smuts comes forward in 1923 and tells the Conference: 'It was a mistake of yours to have passed that resolution; you ought now to repeal it'; and he puts it on the express ground that equality is an idea foreign to the Empire. Whoever thought of equality between people and people in the Empire? He says so openly; and it is worth while for me to read that to you. Says the Memo:—

'There is no equal British citizenship in the Empire, and it is quite wrong (this is the point) for a British subject to claim equality of rights in any part of the Empire to which he has migrated or where he happens to be living. There is no indignity at all or affront in the denial of such equality. Once this is clearly recognised the stigma above referred to falls away.'

There is no equality—so we will treat Indians as our inferiors, but there is no stigma in it and Indians have no right to feel it at all. That is the kind of argument that Gen. Smuts addressed to the Conference. But he went further. He attacked Mr. Sastri. This is what he said:—

'Mr. Sastri by his mission and his speeches has undoubtedly made matters worse; he has for instance never failed whenever an opportunity presented itself to attack the Indian policy of South Africa and thereby has greatly exasperated public opinion in that dominion, already very sensitive on this issue. In other dominions he has made people alive to the issue—indeed he has largely created it. The claim he has everywhere vigorously pressed for equal franchise and rights for Indians over the whole Empire has not only gone further than the local claims of the Indians themselves—but has tended to raise opposition in quarters where it did not exist before. It is because I foresaw this development that I did not invite Mr. Sastri to include South Africa in his tours.'

This, Mr. Sastri humorously said, was a testimony of his successful work in his last overseas tour. He then continued:—

The other day in the Council of State we passed a reciprocity measure, which Dr. Gour had persuaded the Assembly to pass last session. It was feared by some of our timid friends in the house that if we enacted a reciprocity measure, if we returned blow for blow to the whites in the dominions, they would be greatly incensed and they would do much more harm and we should be seriously injuring our position. I told them: 'I have known Gen. Ian Smuts; Gen. Smuts is certainly not a timid or a vacillating exponent of white opinion. I have met him before and he has told me personally that if you used our reciprocity power he would never take it ill at all: in fact he expressed surprise that we had not done it already in 1921.' Here is what he says:—'India should be free to deal with nationals of the dominions on a basis of reciprocal treatment and neither on her part nor on the part of the dominions concerned should there be any resentment or ill-feeling in the matter.'

Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to tell you one thing: that we were not the first people to throw a stone at our neighbours in the Empire. We had never done it before: we had suffered; we had been humiliated; we had been deeply pained; but we never hit back, hoping by our patience, by our resignation, by our

Christian virtue of submission, to convince the white tyrant that he was continually mis-behaving against the law of God and man. It did not pay us. At last we have taken one puny step of what is called euphemistically reciprocity. I had to explain one thing to my colleagues the other day, the difference between reciprocity and retaliation. It is a curious Empire, it is a curious political organisation, this British Commonwealth. Curiously are we, heterogeneous people, mixed up together in this wonderful unit, that instead of exchanging amenities and expressions of goodwill and preferential duties and so forth, we should be engaged in the task of exchanging blows and taunts of retaliation instead of returning and reciprocating kindness. We did not make this Empire. Those that made it and those that kept it in such a condition ought to be ashamed of it. We need not hang down our heads; we are trying everything, let me tell you, to keep this Empire together; it is the European, the white man in the Dominions and in places like South Africa and East Africa, who will not tolerate another people in his household, except they be serfs and slaves and helots—it is he that is the danger to the Empire. He is the wrecker; we, if anything, are preservers of the Empire.

THIS EMPIRE—A BOER EMPIRE

Now they say, after returning from the Kenya mission, I am a changed man. If there is any Indian who can go through the experiences through which I went in connection with this Kenya mission, if there is any Indian who could have seen the things that I saw, who could have heard the sentiments which I was compelled to hear, who could have experienced the utter lack of responsibility that it was my misfortune to encounter in London during a few weeks of bitter sorrow and suffering, if there is any such Indian, I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, most of us should disown him. I have changed. Any Indian would have changed. General Smuts in another part of his speech blamed me for using a harsh expression and stigmatising this Empire as a Boer Empire. It strikes me as extraordinary that General Smuts should be ashamed of it. He should be rather proud of it. If I said that he was able to spread his doctrines and impose his ideals on the whole of the Commonwealth, why does he not take it as a compliment? Evidently, he felt that he was in an uncomfortable position, because I was drawing prominent attention to the fact that the Kenya decision was calculated and intended to please the Boer. He took that very ill, and he blamed me for it. But so long, Ladies and Gentlemen, as there is a colour bar, so long as there is a first class citizenship and a second class citizenship created in response to the demand of either the Boer or the Britisher who is not ashamed to follow the Boer, I am fully justified in using the expression which I did and discarding the expression, the British Commonwealth

There are many people who think that I was quite wrong in stating that the Kenya decision was based on a certain amount of fear of the whites in Kenya who threatened to rebel. Now that is quite true. It could be proved at any time. In fact the white Kenyan was rather proud of it. He came and said: 'We are going to fight the British Empire.' Well, they talked about it all over the place, the newspapers were full of articles on that subject, and even a magazine like the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, was quite willing to admit an article in which it was openly stated that the white men in Kenya had arranged everything for a rebellion. Well, I am not going to detain you by trying to prove these facts. But there is a point in it. There are a number of innocent people here, Englishmen, Englishwomen, Britishers of all shades, who tell me, 'What? Do you want us seriously to believe that the British Cabinet was afraid of a few thousand whites in Kenya and therefore gave an unjust decision? Oh no, it is impossible. We who put down the Germans at a tremendous cost, do you mean we are going to be afraid of the white Kenyans?' But what is the logical inference of such a claim? If you say and if people believe that the British Cabinet did not give this unjust decision out of fear of a very tiresome rebellion, what, then, led them to give us this palpably unrighteous decision, which disgraces the Empire and which blackens the name of the British nation? Why did they give this decision, then, if not out of fear? Are these innocent people prepared to say that the British Cabinet was inherently vicious, loved injustice more than justice, did not care for the long course of pledges and promises to people and brushed aside wantonly their own ideals which they had held out to other people? Oh, I prefer the other alternative, because I know it is in accordance with the facts of British history, especially of recent British history. Let us believe it, and I would ask you to believe it; if you are lovers of the British name, as I am in spite of my great resentment and vexation, if you are lovers of

the British name, never come and tell me that they were not afraid, but loved injustice for its own sake. Lord Olivier, who criticised the Kenya decision the other day, showed a much firmer grasp of the reality. Lord Peel, when I was there, specially told me: 'Now, Mr. Sastri, do please moderate your language; do not let your mastery of English lead you to a fall; do not generalise. Especially, do not mention the words 'equal citizenship,' 'equality' and things like that. They won't go down. English people don't love these abstract expressions. Now I owe to Lord Peel many kindnesses. I received much assistance from him. But he took too much on himself to advise me that way, and I never forgot that the British people are lovers of justice and equality all over the world. In his lordship's speech at the Imperial Conference I find however the word 'equality' appearing more than three times. Between the time, therefore, that I left London and the time that this Conference met, a great change had come over Lord Peel.

Just as when in the bitter years before 1911, longer than I care to recollect, Mr. Gandhi and his brave South Africans undertook a campaign, in the face of terrible odds, of passive resistance, just as when our Bengali countrymen, sore at the partition, declared a boycott of British goods finding that everything else failed, just as on those two occasions we, Moderates and Extremists, title hunters and revolutionaries, all of us joined together and said: 'We will stand by these countrymen of ours. It is true they have taken a strong step, but what could the poor men do?' So have we now to stand by our Kenya brethren in their sore hour of trial. After trying every attempt at pacification, the Congress there has declared non-payment of the poll-tax which they consider unjust and inequitable. What are we going to do? Are we going to say to Kenya Indians: 'We cannot support you in this extreme measure'? I hope we shall rise, even as we rose on the two memorable occasions I have named, I hope we shall rise to the full height of our nationhood and support our Kenya Indians in their hour of bitter, alas, it may be today, losing struggle. Lord Hardinge once said to the British Empire: "What could the poor Indians do in South Africa. They are perfectly justified in inaugurating passive resistance. May we expect Lord Reading or the Hon. Sir Narasimha Sarma to declare some day before the session closes: "What could the Kenya Indians do; we are behind them in their refusal to pay the poll tax?" And now, you may say that some of us in arguing this question are going a little beyond the proper limits when we say 'Oh! if we were a Dominion, if only we were a Dominion!" and then our critics, not altogether white critics, I mean some Indians too, they say; "You must be utterly foolish to talk like that. How could it benefit you, if you were a Dominion, in the struggle against a white people? Even if you were completely independent like China and Japan, you could do nothing." I do not say we could despatch our army; I do not say we could fight these people on their own ground; but I do say this, that our case would be advocated on the highest ground; that the Government of India would not be afraid to stand out and say, we are altogether and completely for the Indian case. What do you find on the other side? The Government of Kenya is entirely at the disposal of the whites of Kenya. The whites of Kenya rule the province. The Government of India here put their finger on their lips and say, "Don't say that, lest you displease the other side." And is it likely that we shall go to the wall or that we shall come triumphant out of the struggle in which the people on the one side have a Government which is constantly afraid of the other side, or a Government which completely identifies itself with its own people and comes forward and puts the case of whites against the black, Africa versus India? Will Government say in its turn "India not Africa"? I ask you, if we have no such Government, don't we stand certainly to lose in this struggle? That is the difficulty. If we had a Dominion Government, the Viceroy would speak as we wish him to speak to the outer world. Instead, the Viceroy speaks to us as he is bidden to speak by Lord Peel with the British Cabinet behind him. Well, that is why we ask for Dominion status. We find that, pitted as we are against a people who have a Government solidly behind them, proud to stand up for their subjects and not afraid of the British Cabinet, we have a Government that go a certain distance—I am not denying it—but then are prevented by the constitution, by the fact that they are agents of the Secretary of State and of the British Cabinet, from going as far as they should. That is the chief difficulty.

I have mentioned only one general consideration. Shall I mention to you two points in respect of which our not being a Dominion is a severe handicap in this

struggle? Do not misunderstand me. I am not quarrelling with individuals, but I am bound to draw your attention to this, unpleasing as it may seem, oh, mightily distasteful as it would be to the British Government here. We are going to send a delegation to fight our case with the Colonial Office. Mind you, you must dismiss all prepossessions from your mind, and tell me whether you would allow that delegation to be headed by an Englishman, by a white man? He may be the noblest, the most philanthropic, the most pious Christian, he may completely identify himself with our case. But do you expect him to forget that there are certain things that he cannot say and what we should say? For example, when driven to the wall, we should say to the British Cabinet and to the Colonial Office. 'How dare you expect after this decision that we should remain in the Empire? Do you expect such a good man,—even as Lord Willingdon—to say that for you! There is almost nothing, I know, that Lord Willingdon would not do to uplift and to raise India's name. If you do not expect him to say that, it is hard to find any Englishman for that position. I go so far as to say that it is an Indian case, that the bitterest feelings are entertained by the Indian people. It is they, then, that should present this case before our adversaries. Why have we not got men here who can do that? Have we not got men whose loyalty, whose empire patriotism are unquestioned? It is a very difficult office for an Englishman. It is an office which we should naturally and properly and rightfully hold. Assume now we are a Dominion for one minute, assume that everybody in the Assembly and in the Council of State was in a position to exercise power—the usual legislative power over the Cabinet—would they dare go and ask an Englishman, merely because he had administered a province, to head such a delegation?

The Kenya Native Interest.

There is another question. You all know that the British Cabinet has decided that Kenya should be administered for the benefit of the African native and not for the benefit of either the white man or the Indian. As you know, we accepted that decision with enthusiasm. We said that is the right and the only proper view to take of the case. Only we begged the British Cabinet to see actually carried out any policy and any measure which would protect the African native. But they have now ruled that our immigration should be controlled. We will pass by the plausible fallacy, the misleading sophism that they employ in describing it. They do not say that the Indians should not come; all that they say is that people who follow this profession and that profession and the other profession (only Indians follow these professions) should not come or that they would be prevented from coming in. So, while on paper it does not look like racial discrimination, it is intended to be and it is going to operate as a racial discrimination.

Now, let us assume that in the interests of the African native it was necessary to control immigration. I will convince any impartial man that far greater danger to the African native comes from the British immigrant than from the Indian immigrant. The unhappy Indian immigrant is weak; they will not protect him; he is only an economic competitor. The African native himself could crowd him out or he may be told to clear out, unless he means to make trouble and shed blood and do a hundred other things which I will not mention. But you read history. You have read about the way in which the white man, when he comes to live amongst black populations, among uncivilised peoples, uses his power, his superior civilisation, his superior command of fighting materials, his superior command of the destructive weapons of human warfare. Lynching is not an Indian word, is it? Well, flogging comes easily to white man. Why, the other day, some Kenya Whites, it seems, was shocked at the idea of anybody preventing him from flogging the African native. "What is the African native for and what am I here for? That is the way he thinks. I ask you in all honesty, from whom does the African native stand to lose more? From the Indian who is only a competitor at the most, who may be told to go any moment, or from the white man who goes and stays and tyrannises and exploits and steals land and limbs and liberties and refuses to yield them up? Is he an easy man to deal with? Let India answer. Only the other day we made a national demand for our liberties, and what answer did we get? When the Englishman is enthroned in power, when he commands the purse, when he controls the political liberties of another people, when he is established in economic ascendancy over another people, he does not let go easily. When he does wrong, none of his compatriots will say so, while he is alive. Sometime after, perhaps, a historian professing to ransack old libraries

and the India Office records might say "Oh, he might have done better", but as a rule the white man, especially in power over coloured populations is hard to displace. If the British Cabinet desired to become trustees of the African native and therefore wanted people of certain kinds not to come into his country, if there were a bonafide disposition to find the people really harmful, really dangerous to the Colony and keep them out, I should say every time : keep out the white man.

Now there is only one more word which I shall say before I conclude. In following controversies of this nature you would be sometimes impressed by the fact that there are a great number of Anglo-Indian newspapers here who have the fairness to allow that the Indian case is good and sound and who sometimes go further and blame the white people of Kenya for their un-Imperial narrow outlook; and perhaps you will think that it is a very satisfactory state of things. I dare say we must be thankful for small mercies in this world : it is a very good thing and I am willing to acknowledge assistance and sympathy from whatever quarter it comes. But allow me to say that I have noticed another thing also and we must put the two things together. I went through the dominions and as I described the transitional stage in which our Government stands, how there are still large departments of administration to accrue to our people, how we are still suffering from bad law, from ill-understood conditions, they said : "How tiresome of these English folks ! They have long held India, they always say they are there only for the good of the Indian people ; why don't they give you self-government and quietly go back" ? Now, the white people abroad are quite willing to give you sympathy when you fight the British people here, and this British people here are quite willing to give you their sympathy when you fight their white kinsmen abroad.

The white man teaches us how to defend our liberties and our rights. The moment he is offended, he does not pause to consider, "What will this man say and what will my government say" ? He hits you straight in the eye, straight ; that is what he did when he had a quarrel with poor President Kruger ; he did not wait to convince the world. Those that have power are not restrained in their use of it, while that have not the power, try to deceive ourselves that this world is governed entirely by reason and by justice. There is a certain scope for argument, for adjustment.

But there are stern limits to the operation of these enlightening influences. Beyond that limit our operations have to change and assume a new phase. Now, ladies and gentlemen, Let me not allow you to misunderstand me. I will declare exactly what I mean. The time for argument, for cool presentation of a case is there. But there is also a time when you are expected in this world to use such power, as you have, lest it should displease the powers that be, who write themselves down in history as people that do not deserve any power. That is my reading of the situation. I wish this were a different world. I wish the war had really taught us the reasons that we thought we had all learnt. I wish the British Empire really stood for those principles of justice and fair play and human brotherhood of which we dreamt a little while ago. Those principles and ideals are still there, and perhaps the next generation of Indians will live in a time when it is sufficient to show that our cause is just for it to prevail. I am painfully driven to the conclusion that that time is still to come. In the meantime we cannot afford to lose the battle in Kenya or anywhere in the Empire. But if occasionally you hear from me advocacy of some measure that may seem to be of a combative character, be sure it is not actual fighting, for we have not the fighting strength. We are essentially non-violent. But such as we have, such means as we have of ensuring our self-respect, it is not only weakness, but it is treason to our people, it is betrayal of our children not to exercise with due restraint, with due submission to the Almighty who knows how to judge the right from the wrong and can pull down the mighty from their seats, with due submission to Him, but with a clear consciousness that in the prosecution of our own right, the exercise of lawful means, peaceful pressure, and constitutional power is not only rightful but doubtful. In that consciousness we have to fight our battles.

KENYA SITUATION.

With regard to the Kenya situation we would re-affirm, on behalf of our Association, that the pronouncement of the White Paper with regard to the Franchise and the Highlands are altogether unacceptable to us. We would ask you to make clear to the present Labour Government in England the settled conviction of all parties in India in this matter, so that there may be no uncertainty left. We believe that you would be fully justified in reporting that there will be no possibility of a settled place for India within the British Empire until the Kenya decisions on these two issues are altered. On the other hand, as an Association we are thankful that the Kenya White Paper decisively rejects racial segregation at the very time that the South African Union Parliament is seeking to impose it by a "Class Areas Bill."

We would suggest that the time has come for the Government of India to press for the complete fulfilment in East Africa of all that is involved in this rejection of racial segregation. We note with great satisfaction that the segregation proposals with regard to Kampala have now been countermanded. But we have not yet heard whether the old racial segregation customs in Kampala itself, which had most seriously congested the resident Indian population, are still being enforced. These old bad customs prevent Indians—even those living in accordance with all modern sanitary requirements—from residing on the more healthy upper hill-side, although the ground there is so unoccupied that a golf-course for Europeans has been laid out upon it. The whole Indian community is crowded into a small unhealthy area at the bottom of the hill on the edge of a malarial swamp.

We would ask that Indians may be allowed to purchase sites for houses on any part of the Kampala hill-side so long as they comply with all municipal regulations. We would claim this both for health and sanitary reasons, affecting the European residents themselves, as well as other races. For nothing can be more unhealthy and insanitary for the whole township area than the present condition.

We have taken Kampala as an example of what is needed to carry out fully the principle of the rejection of racial segregation. All that has been said about it would apply also to other township areas both in Uganda and Kenya.

Under the same general principle, we would urge that steps should now be taken after due notice has been given to prevent in future racial discrimination against Indians on the State Railway and Steamer services of Kenya and Uganda. Things had become so bad in this respect that at one time the whole of the first-class lavatory accommodation on board the S. S. Clement Hill was reserved exclusively for Europeans; and Indians who had paid their full first-class steamer fare were informed by notice that they must use the second-class. It was also reported to us that Indian cotton merchants were not allowed to use the upper class steamer accommodation of Lake Niega. If they travelled by water they were obliged to remain in the open flats which were towed by the steamers. One cotton merchant who was obliged in the course of business to visit his different depots on the lake informed us that he was obliged to make the journey by motor with endless difficulty and expense, while any European could travel

Appeal to the Viceroy.

The following letter was addressed to the Viceroy by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, dated Bombay, the 29th February 1924.

Your Excellency,

The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association has refrained from addressing you hitherto during the critical months which we have recently been passing through with regard to Indians in East and South Africa, because, we did not wish to make any request or statement that might be either premature or embarrassing. But the extreme gravity of the situation which has now arisen compels us at last to approach you. For, as you are aware, the Indian residents, both in East and South Africa, inspite of their weakness, have been obliged to contemplate passive resistance against the accumulated wrongs which have been heaped upon them. Our heart goes out to them in their anxiety and suffering, for we know well from what wrongs they have suffered.

SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP.

We are aware that South Africa is a Self-Governing Dominion, but we would urge that the constitutional position put forward with regard to Citizenship, in answer to General Smuts at the Imperial Conference, should be fully and carefully examined. It appears to us, as an Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, essential to find out what constitutes that citizenship, and whether the South African Union Parliament has absolute, or only relative rights, of excluding from citizenship domiciled Indians or Africans who are equally subjects of His Majesty King George V along with the British and the Dutch. You yourself and your predecessors, as Viceroys, have publicly declared that Indians must hold a status under the Crown in no way inferior to that of any other of His Majesty's subjects within the Empire. We would submit that the time has now come to test that declaration which you have publicly made, by an appeal to His Majesty's Court of Justice so that we may know exactly where we stand.

At the same time, the clearest possible warning should be given to the South African Union Parliament, that if satisfaction cannot be obtained through the processes of law for the clear wrong done to domiciled Indians, then as a last resort the implication of the Reciprocity Agreement of 1917 (which has been accepted by General Smuts) will be thoroughly examined and explored. It should be definitely stated, that every action which may be constitutionally taken under that binding Agreement will be put into force from the Indian side unless the South African Union Parliament is prepared to recede from its present intolerable position.

We would point out to Your Excellency that General Smuts' blank refusal to accept either a conference or a diplomatic visit from India has been premeditated, deliberate and final. This refusal has now been endorsed by General Hertzog and Colonel Crosswell who represent the only two parties in the South African Parliament in opposition to General Smuts. The refusal of General Smuts has therefore become a material South African White decision. Seeing that all parties in India are agreed on this issue we ask Your Excellency on behalf of the united people of India to voice a national Indian decision in return.

inexpensively and in comfort on the State steamer. Thus the Indian trader was penalised commercially on account of his race. Yet the same Indian community pays taxes and customs duties which go towards the upkeep of these State steamers.

Furthermore, we understand that at certain important Railway stations bungalows and waiting rooms have been reserved for European passengers and that Indians who have paid the same fare as the Europeans have been put to very great inconvenience. Yet the Railway is kept up by taxes and customs duties which are paid for by Indians as well as by Europeans.

We would urge at the same time that representation should be made on behalf of the African passengers who suffer the same inconveniences as the Indian passengers while paying heavy taxes. The present disgraceful state of the third-class carriages which are used by Indians and Africans alike should not be allowed to continue.

In Nairobi, where the rickshaws are a common mode of conveyance, an invidious racial distinction has been made. They are divided, under the Municipal Regulations, not into first and second class, but into European and Asiatic divisions. On the Railways also, the second class compartments are labelled 'Asiatic' and 'European.' All such racial segregation should now be clearly abandoned. It needs no fresh legislation but simply instruction from the Colonial Office in accordance with the principle laid down in the White Paper.

The Immigration Bill.

With reference to the new Draft Immigration Bill for Kenya, it is our deliberate opinion that such a Bill is not required in the interest of the African natives, and also that it would be racially against the Indians when put into daily practice. We would point out that the Immigration Officers are certain to be Europeans, and that the Advisory Board of Three will have a majority of two Europeans against one Indian. In the present state of extreme racial tension in Kenya it would be obviously impossible for the people of India to have any confidence in such officials and in such a Board. We believe also that the 'paramount interests of the natives' can be observed without recourse to such a measure of restricted Indian immigration as the present draft Bill inevitably involves.

With regard to Uganda the Government's Own Economic Report of 1920 gives an unmistakable verdict in favour of Indian immigration. If it be argued, on the other hand, that the Economic Commission for what is now called Kenya gave a hostile verdict against Indian immigration in 1919, it must be remembered that the Colonial Office publicly in the House of Commons dissociated itself from the finding of that Commission on the Indian question. No Indian served on that Commission and no Indian was called to give evidence.

Mr. Andrews' Report.

The evidence on this question has been very carefully collected and published in a Report made to this Association by Mr. C. F. Andrews who went out as our representative and spent most of his time in the study of the economic aspects of the subject. He came to the conclusion that the whole problem found a natural and automatic solution owing to the fact that no Indian artisan is able to live and

support a family in East Africa on a scale of wages which is less than three times that which an African artisan requires. For this reason alone wherever an African artisan is available he is certain for economic reasons to be employed.

We would point out further, that since the publication of the White Paper, the odds against the Indian—where he might be likely to compete with the African—have been much more heavily weighted by the rise and progress of the 'European and African Trades' Organisation' which, under European management and supported by European funds and European public opinion, avowedly and openly attempts to turn out of employment every Indian whom it can reach and to substitute an African or a European. Things have gone so far that in the absence of a sufficient number of skilled African artisans the Association has sent over and imported them from the Seychelles in order to oust the Indian. The figures shown reveal the fact that in a period of four months about 600 Indians were turned out of employment. In addition to this there has been a very serious boycott of Indian stores, which must in the end injure materially other Indians in Kenya as well. The immigration figures already show a decline in the Indian population compared with earlier years. While the European population in Kenya is increasing at a very rapid rate, the Indian population during the last six years has either remained stationary or else actually declined. In these circumstances an Immigration Restriction Bill, which can only seriously affect the Indians, bear an obviously racial character. Therefore, at such a time of hostile White aggression against Indians in Kenya, any further attempt on the part of the Kenya Government (which is dominated by European interests) to restrict Indians still further appears to us to be not in accord with the principles of the Kenya White Paper which upholds impartial treatment between the races. Our contention is that the African native interests are already sufficiently safeguarded and that the progress of the African native would be seriously imperilled if the number of Indians in East Africa were still further diminished. We would point out to the undoubted fact that the great cotton belt in North Uganda and the Soudan province is being opened up with such success chiefly owing to the intrepid advance of Indian traders into malarial districts where no European could penetrate. The Indian is still doing pioneer work in establishing among African natives, who are emerging from savagery, the conditions of trade and barter.

We are thankful to note that the Government of India are satisfied that they have received from the Colonial Office a definite promise that the Draft Bill will be held up until the Committee sent from India has time to discuss it with the Colonial Office itself. We trust that there will be no mistake or misunderstanding on this point.

British Guiana Deputation

With regard to the British Guiana Deputation we are strongly opposed to any scheme of recruiting Indian labour for the Colonies, so long as the conditions which made the Kenya wrong possible continue to exist. We would, in conclusion, refer to the scandal of the Fiji Poll-tax, which has been adversely commented on by many leading Europeans including the Rev. R. Piper of Lautoka. We would urge its immediate cancelling on the ground that it is an altogether iniquitous tax.

Indians in East Africa

Early History

The way in which insults and humiliations have come more and more to be showered on the heads of the Indian Settlers in Kenya in recent years will be found chronicled in previous issues of the *Indian Annual Register*. On the question of the Highlands and Segregation, the climax was reached in July last when the Imperial Government was compelled to yield to the threat of an armed rebellion by the Kenya Whites and issued the infamous White Paper. And at the last Imperial Conference, when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru proposed a Committee of Enquiry to go into the question of equality of status in the Colonies, the Duke of Devonshire, the then Colonial Secretary, made it clear that the Kenya Indian question was finally settled in that White Paper and could not be re-opened. At the time that the White Paper was issued there was persistent talk of tightening up the Immigration law, for the White Settlers knew that unless they forced through the Immigration restrictions before the Sapru Committee sat and while their rebellious threat continued to take effect, they could not achieve their aim. The White Paper itself gave the cue to the Governor of Kenya, and he was asked to take into his views, while framing the bill, not only conditions of Kenya but also those of the neighbouring territories of Uganda and Tanganayika. In April last when the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri was heading the Kenya Indian Delegation to England, he said at an informal conference with the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association that however much they might compromise in other matters, they could not yield at all on the question of immigration. The right of unrestricted immigration from India to Kenya was vital not only to the Indian settlers who have made the Colony their home, but also to India in asserting her right to equal status in all parts of the Empire. Even the Government of India professed at the time when the White Paper was issued that at least the immigration question was not lost, and that before that question was raised the Govt. would take proper precautions beforehand. But all to no avail.

In the month of October last the Kenya Government passed the Customs Tariff Act whereby the Indian trade was hard hit. The duties on rations and unbleached piece-goods which used to go from India and formed the main business of the Indians were phenomenally increased while duties on articles of luxury were reduced. Even the commodities of daily use by the Natives and Indians were greatly taxed.

On November 23rd, 1923 the Kenya Official Gazette published the Bill to consolidate and regulate immigration and employment in the Colony. At the top of the Bill a note was appended stating that the bill was published subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but it was long known that formal consent of the Colonial office had already been secured. The Uganda Government followed in the trail and published the Identity Card Bill with almost the same object, namely, to isolate the Indian settlers first, and then conveniently to reduce them to helotry. It was also understood that the Uganda and Tanganayika Governments were going to pass similar measure as soon as the Kenya Immigration bill became law. The full text of the Bill is given below.

The Kenya Immigration Bill

The following is the full text of the Bill entitled 'An Ordinance to Consolidate and Regulate Immigration and Employment in the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya' published in the Kenya Gazette on Nov. 23rd. 1923.

WHEREAS it is desirable to provide for the peace, good order and development of the Colony and for the purposes of reducing and preventing unemployment,

And whereas it is the duty of the Government to safeguard the interests of the African natives of the Colony and to assure their progress and the continued improvement of their material welfare,

And whereas it is desired fully to implement the policy declared in the memorandum presented by His Majesty's Government to Parliament relating to Indians in Kenya and dated the 23rd day of July in the year of our Lord 1923,

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor of the Colony of Kenya with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof :—

1. This Ordinance may be cited as 'The Immigrants Regulation and Employment Ordinance, 1923.'

2. In this Ordinance the following terms shall have the respective meanings hereby assigned to them, unless the context otherwise requires :—'Colony' shall mean the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya. 'Immigration and Employment Officer' shall mean a Principal or an Assistant Immigration and Employment Officer appointed for the purposes of this Ordinance ;

'Principal Immigration and Employment Officer' shall mean the Officer appointed for the administration and execution of this Ordinance.

3. This Ordinance shall not apply to :

(a) The officers and crews of His Majesty's Navy or of the fleet of any friendly power, (b) Any member of His Majesty's Military forces.

(c) Any person duly accredited to the Colony by or under the authority of the Imperial or any other Government.

(d) Any person, the subject of a Foreign Power having treaty rights within the Dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, who is not a prohibited immigrant under section 5 of this Ordinance and who is possessed of a guarantee in the form set out in schedule A of this Ordinance signed by the Local Consular representative of such power.

(e) The wife and any child appearing to an Immigration and Employment Officer to be under the age of sixteen, of a person not being a prohibited immigrant, provided they are not themselves prohibited immigrants under sub-clauses (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), or (g) of sub-section (1) of section 5 of this Ordinance, and provided further that any idiot or insane person or any person who is otherwise physically afflicted may, in case he or a person accompanying him or some other person give security to the satisfaction of the Immigration and Employment Officer for his permanent support in the Colony or for his removal therefrom whenever required by the Governor-in-Council, be permitted to enter the Colony. (f) Any person who shall satisfy an Immigration and Employment Officer that he has been formerly domiciled in the Colony or has been resident therein for a total period of not less than five years and that he does not come within the meaning of sub-clauses (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), or (g) of sub-section (1) of section 5 of this Ordinance.

4. Any person desiring to enter the Colony shall, before being allowed to do so, appear before an Immigration and Employment Officer who shall after such examination as he may consider necessary, inform such person and the master of the vessel, if any, which has conveyed him to the Colony whether he is a prohibited immigrant or not. Provided that if such person withholds or conceals from such officer any fact or information which would bring such person within any of the classes of the prohibited immigrants defined in section 5 of this Ordinance, he shall be deemed to have contravened this Ordinance. Provided further that when a person enters the Colony from adjoining territory or from Arabia, the Resident or District Commissioner or the Officer discharging the duties of a Resident or District Commissioner at the place of entry, shall have all the powers vested in an Immigration and Employment Officer under this Ordinance.

When an immigrant is permitted to enter the Colony he shall be given a certificate by the Immigration and Employment Officer.

5. (1) The immigration into the Colony by land or sea is prohibited of any person, hereinafter called a "prohibited immigrant", being or appearing to be of any of the classes defined in any of the following cases :—

(a) Any person without visible means of support or any person who is likely to become a pauper or a public charge. (b) Any idiot or insane person.

(c) Any person suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease or from trachoma.

(d) Any person who, not having a free pardon, has been convicted in any country other than the Colony of murder or any offence for which a sentence of imprisonment has been passed for any term, and who by reason of the circumstances connected therewith is deemed to be an undesirable immigrant, but this provision shall not apply to offences of a political character not involving moral turpitude.

(e) Any prostitute, and any person living or receiving or who may have lived on or received any part of the proceeds of the prostitution of others.

(f) Any person deemed by an Immigration and Employment Officer to be an undesirable immigrant in consequence of the information or advice received from any Secretary of State or Colonial Minister, or through official or diplomatic channels or any Minister of a Foreign Country, or from any other trusted source.

(g) Any person who has been ordered to leave the Colony.

(2) Any person aggrieved at the decision of an Immigration and Employment Officer to classify him as a prohibited immigrant under sub-section (1) of this section may appeal from such decision to the Governor-in-council provided that the determination of such appeal shall in no way limit or restrict the powers conferred by sections 7, 18 and 19 of this Ordinance.

6. There shall be established a Department of the Government to be known as "The Immigration and Employment Department."

7. Any person convicted by any court, within a period of five years from the date of entering the Colony, of murder or an offence involving moral turpitude for which the court has power to impose imprisonment shall be liable to be dealt with as a prohibited immigrant, and the Governor may, if he thinks fit, make an order requiring such person to leave the Colony within a time fixed by the order, and thereafter to remain out of the Colony.

8. Any intending immigrant who has not been granted permission to enter the Colony may be detained in such place and under such terms and conditions as the Governor-in-Council may by rule prescribe.

9. (1) There shall be established in Nairobi an Immigration and Employment Board which shall instruct the Immigration and Employment Officer with regard to economic requirements of the Colony.

(2) Such Immigration and Employment Board shall be constituted of such persons as the Governor may appoint and shall include:—

(a) The Chief Native Commissioner or other officer of the Native Affairs Department representing the interests of the African natives of the Colony. (b) A European who shall be a member of the Executive Council or of the Legislative Council. (c) A representative of the Indian community.

10. The Immigration and Employment Department shall collect and record all information and reports as to labour requirements of the Colony.

11. Any person in the Colony desiring to bring into the Colony a person to work as clerk, salesman, artizan or other employee from outside the Colony shall first satisfy the Immigration and Employment Officer that he cannot obtain in the Colony an employee suitable for the work and the Immigration and Employment Officer is so satisfied that the requirements as laid down by the Board will be met shall issue a certificate and on the production of such certificate shall exempt the immigrant named therein from the operations of clause (a) of section 5 (1) of this Ordinance.

12. (1) An Immigrant who arrives in the Colony without a certificate as provided for in the last preceeding section and who is unable to satisfy the Immigration and Employment Officer that he is entitled to enter the Colony under section 3 or that he is not a prohibited immigrant under section 5 of this Ordinance shall not be allowed to enter the Colony unless he can satisfy the Immigration and Employment Officer that he is a desirable immigrant or unless he can prove to the satisfaction of the Immigration and Employment Officer that he is assured of employment or that his services are necessary for the economic requirements of the Colony.

(2) If the immigrant alleges that he is assured of employment the allegation must be corroborated by the prospective employer, who, if he has not already obtained a certificate prescribed by Section 11 must satisfy the Immigration and Employment Officer of the matters prescribed by that Section and take out a certificate as required by Section 11 and the immigrant shall not be allowed to enter the Colony in the absence of such corroboration and certificate.

13. (1) When an intending immigrant not otherwise entitled to enter the Colony informs the I. & E. Officer that it is his intention to carry on any trade, business or occupation (other than the practice of a learned profession in which he is properly qualified) he shall give such information to the officer as he may require and the officer shall satisfy himself that the requirements laid down by the Board will be met and that there is an opening for such trade, business or occupation, and that it is in the interest of the African natives of the Colony that such trade, business or occupation should be undertaken by the intending immigrant and only on the officer being so satisfied shall such immigrant be allowed to enter the Colony. (2) If the officer is satisfied that there is no such opening or that the exercise of such trade business or occupation would be injurious to the interests of the natives of the Colony, such intending immigrant shall be regarded as a prohibited immigrant. *Provided* that if the intending immigrant under this Section proves to the satisfaction of the officer by the production of the partnership deed or agreement that he is a partner in any existing trade, business or occupation and if the officer is satisfied that the particular partnership, trade, business or occupation is of good repute and if the intending immigrant is not otherwise a prohibited immigrant, such immigrant may be allowed to enter the Colony.

14. If any person who had entered the Colony to serve under a contract providing that the servant shall leave the Colony at its conclusion, fails to leave the Colony after quitting the said service, he may be treated as if he were a prohibited immigrant.

15. (1) Any employer who has engaged servants under such a contract as is mentioned in the preceding Section and who shall refuse or neglect to carry out the provisions of such contract in regard to the passage of such servants shall be deemed to have committed an offence and shall be punishable on conviction with a fine not exceeding £500 or imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding twelve months or to both such fine and imprisonment. (2) Any person inducing another to enter the Colony under a contract of employment shall be liable to all the expense of deportation of the employee should he be or become a prohibited immigrant, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the contract between the parties to the said contract. (3) Any person inducing another to enter the Colony under a contract of employment, shall, before the arrival of the employee, furnish a true copy of the contract or of the correspondence forming the contract to the Principal Immigration and Employment Officer.

16. Any person applying for admission into the Colony may at the discretion of the I. & E. Officer be required to comply with the following provisions :—

(a) He shall before entering the Colony give security sufficient to indemnify the Government against the expenses likely to be incurred in sending him and his family back to the port from which he sailed and against the expenses likely to be incurred in detaining him or his family (if any) pending the determination of whether or not he may enter the Colony. Such security shall at the option of the intending immigrant be :— (i) A cash deposit of a sum representing such expenses as aforesaid as may be determined by the I. & E. Officer, or, (ii) A bond which need not be under seal with such sureties as shall satisfy the I. & E. Officer in such sum as may have been determined as aforesaid.

(b) He shall thereupon be permitted to enter the Colony, and shall, if required by the I. & E. Officer within one week thereafter, satisfy such officer, by such proof as such officer may consider necessary in the circumstances of each particular case, that he is not a prohibited immigrant. (c) If he shall not satisfy such officer as aforesaid he shall be deported as soon as possible thereafter and returned to his port of embarkation. The cost of such deportation shall be defrayed out of the amount deposited by him or secured by bond as aforesaid. If a bond has been given the amount of the bond shall be forfeited to the Government and may be recovered by suit in the Court of a Magistrate of the First Class. Any balance of money remaining over after such costs of repatriation and detention have been defrayed, shall be paid to the person who made the cash deposit, or in the case of such costs being paid out of the proceeds of a forfeited bond the balance shall be paid into the court in which the bond was forfeited and the court shall distribute the said balance among the persons from whom the amount of the bond was recovered in proportion to the amount recovered from each of such persons. (d) If he shall so satisfy such officer as aforesaid he shall be permitted to remain in the Colony. (e) If he shall be so permitted to remain in the Colony as aforesaid such officer shall retain the amount deposited by him as aforesaid for a period not exceeding one year from the date of such deposit. (f) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (d) hereof, he may be deported in the manner prescribed in sub-section (c) hereof, if within a period of three years from the date of his entering the Colony he shall be shown to be a prohibited immigrant as aforesaid. Such deportation shall be ordered by a Magistrate empowered to hold a subordinate Court of the First Class. In case of any person entering the Colony under this Section no liability shall attach to the owners of the vessel in which he may have arrived at any port of the Colony.

17. Any Police officer or I. & E officer (or, if the immigrant attempts to enter the Colony from any adjoining territory or from Arabia, the District or Resident Commissioner within whose jurisdiction the place of entry is) shall subject to the provisions hereinafter contained prevent any prohibited immigrant from entering the Colony by land or sea.

18. Any prohibited immigrant making his way into or being found within the Colony shall be deemed to have contravened this Ordinance. Any person convicted under this Section may be deported and shall in addition be liable to suffer imprisonment of either description for a period not exceeding six months. Provided that such imprisonment shall cease if and when arrangements are made for the deportation of the offender from the Colony. Provided further that if such immigrant does not prove to the satisfaction of the Magistrate that he entered the Colony with the permisson of an Officer he shall be deported.

19. (1) No person who comes within the definition of a prohibited immigrant shall be released from the operation of this Ordiance or allowed to be or remain in the Colony merely because he has not been notified not to land or because he may have been allowed to land through oversight or through want of knowledge that he was a prohibited immigrant. (2) Proof adduced within three years to the satisfaction of the Governor-in-Council after any person has entered the Colony that he is one of any of the Classes whose entry is prohibited shall be sufficient evidence that such person was a prohibited immigrant and such person shall be liable then to be dealt with as a prohibited immigrant.

20. If there shall be reasonable cause to suspect that any person has contravened this Ordinance, and if in order to prevent justice from being defeated it is necessary to arrest such person immediately, it shall be lawful for any Immigration and Employment Officer or Police Officer to arrest such person forthwith without having a warrant for that purpose, and he shall be required to bring such person before a Magistrate as soon as may be, or should the vessel from which such person has landed be on the point of departure, then, unless such person shall demand to be taken before a Magistrate, he may be handed over to the custody of the master of the vessel who shall be obliged to receive and keep him on board.

21. The Governor may authorise the Principal I. & E. Officer to make a contract with the master, owners, or agent of any vessel for the conveyance of any prohibited immigrant found in the Colony to a port in or near to such immigrant's country of birth and any such immigrant with his personal effects may be placed by police officer on board such vessel.

22. Any Immigration and Employment Officer shall for the purpose of this Ordinance be empowered to board as often as may be necessary all vessels entering inward at any port of the Colony in the performance of his duties under this Ordinance.

23. (1) The Master of a vessel arriving in any port of the Colony shall upon being thereto requested by an I. & E. Officer at such port furnish to him a list in duplicate signed by himself of all passengers and other persons on board such vessel at the time of his arrival in the Colony not forming a portion of the regular crew of such vessel. (2) The owner or agent of a vessel leaving any port in the Colony shall upon being thereto requested by Officer at such port furnish to him a list in duplicate signed by himself of all passengers and other persons so leaving in and not forming a portion of the regular crew of such vessel.

24. The Master of a vessel shall if required thereto prior to his departure from port, produce his articles and muster his crew and if it be found that any person named in the article who in the opinion of an I. & E. Officer would be a prohibited immigrant is not then present, such person shall be deemed to have entered the Colony contrary to this Ordinance but the master and agents of such vessel, provided they have made proper provision to prevent desertion, shall not be responsible for any contravention of the provisions of this section.

25. Should the master of a vessel charge any member of his crew or stow-away or extra-hand before a court with a crime or offence committed at some time prior to the arrival of or during the stay of such vessel in port, the Magistrate may at the request of an Immigration and Employment Officer and on representation by such officer that the accused is a prohibited immigrant, in awarding punishment, order that, on expiry of the sentence or on the sooner readiness of such vessel to proceed to sea the prisoner be taken from jail and conducted in custody abroad such vessel for conveyance away from the Colony. Any person contemplated by this section brought before a Magistrate and discharged shall by order of the Magistrate have to be immediately conveyed back to such vessel. An order shall not be made under this section in any case in which the Magistrate deems the crime of offence proper for trial in His Majesty's Supreme Court of Kenya.

26. Whenever it shall be deemed necessary for the effective carrying out of his Ordinance to regulate intercourse from the shore with any vessel in a port having on board any prohibited immigrant, the principal Immigration and Employment officer may take such steps with the approval of the Governor as may appear proper on that behalf.

27. The Master and owner of any vetsel from which a prohibited immigrant

may be landed or may land shall be liable jointly and severally to a penalty not exceeding £150 and not less than £50 in respect of each such prohibited immigrant landed or who may land and such vessel may be refused a clearance outwards until any penalty incurred has been paid and until provision has been made by the master to the satisfaction of the Principal Immigration and Employment Officer for the conveyance out of the Colony of each prohibited immigrant who may have been so landed, and such vessel may be made attachable by a decree of His Majesty's Supreme Court of Kenya in satisfaction of penalty imposed under this Section.

The word "Clearance" as used in the Ordinance includes all the documents ordinarily issued by the Commissioner of Customs to a vessel about to leave the port, including the document known as the Bill of Health.

28. Any person being a prohibited immigrant within the meaning of this Ordinance may apply to an Immigration and Employment Officer for a pass to enter the Colony for a temporary visit or for the purpose of embarking at a port in the Colony for some other country. Such passes shall be known as "Visiting" and "Embarkation passes," respectively, and shall be in the form prescribed by the rules made under the Ordinance.

29. The applicant shall attend before an Immigration and Employment Officer and shall answer all such questions as such officer may put for the purpose of deciding whether a pass ought to be granted and shall deposit with such officer :—

(a) For a visiting pass the sum of £15 with an additional sum of £15 where the pass includes the wife and children of the applicant.

(b) For an embarkation pass the sum of £15 for each adult and £10 for each child.

The word "child" as used in this and the succeeding sections, means a person appearing to such Office to be under the age of sixteen years.

30. Except in the case of a person accompanied by his wife and children a separate pass shall be required for each person seeking to enter the Colony for the purpose of a visit or for embarking.

31. No person shall be entitled as of right to obtain a visiting pass or an embarkation pass, and an Immigration and Employment Officer appointed to issue passes shall have the discretion to grant or refuse any such pass, subject, however, to any direction which may be given him by the Principal Immigration and Employment Officer or by the Governor.

32. A visiting pass shall be sufficient authority for the person or persons named therein to enter the Colony and to remain there during the period stated in such pass. Such period ordinarily shall not exceed twenty-one days ; but any immigration and Employment Officer appointed under the Ordinance may for sufficient reason appearing, extend the period from time to time by an endorsement on such pass. No extension shall be made for more than fourteen days at a time, and no such pass shall be extended beyond six weeks from the date thereof except with the consent of the Governor.

33. The money deposited for a visiting pass shall be returned to the depositor upon the pass-holder quiting the Colony within the time named in such pass or any extension thereof.

34. An embarkation pass shall be sufficient authority for the person or persons named therein to enter the Colony and to proceed with all reasonable speed to the port specified therein for the purpose of embarking by the first available opportunity for the destination stated in such pass.

35. An embarkation pass shall not be extended save by the Principal Immigration and Employment Officer for sufficient cause to him appearing.

36. The money deposited for an embarkation pass shall be at once applied on the application of the person to whom it was granted and so far as the sum shall suffice for the purpose of obtaining a passage for the person or persons named in such pass to the specified place of destination. Any balance of the money deposited shall be returned to the depositor upon his embarkation or may in the discretion of the Immigration and Employment Officer be extended in any other necessary or proper manner as desired by the depositor.

37. Any person being a prohibited immigrant within the meaning of the Ordinance who shall enter the Colony in pursuance of a visiting pass or an embarkation pass, who shall remain at the Colony beyond the time allowed by such pass, or allow any fraudulent use to be made of it, shall be deemed to have contravened this Ordinance and shall upon conviction suffer forfeiture of the amount deposited by him and may

be sentenced to suffer imprisonment of either description for a period not exceeding six months. Provided that such imprisonment shall cease and when the arrangements are made for the deportation of such person from the Colony.

38. The person appearing to an Immigration and Employment Officer under this Ordinance to be over the age of sixteen years shall be regarded as an adult for the purpose of this Ordinance.

39. Any person who shall by false declaration obtain either for himself or for another person, either or both of whom, being not entitled thereto, any certificate or document intended to secure the entry into the Colony of any person in breach of the Provisions of this Ordinance and any person who may fraudulently use any such certificate or other document shall be guilty of a contravention of this Ordinance.

40. The following shall be contraventions of this Ordinance:—

(a) Assisting any prohibited immigrant to enter the Colony, or knowingly being a party to the introduction of any person of the class (c) of Section 5 hereof. (b) Aiding or abetting a prohibited immigrant or any other person in any contravention of this Ordinance or of any Rules for the time being published hereunder. (c) Resisting or obstructing directly or indirectly any Immigration and Employment Officer in the execution of his duty. (d) Wilfully disobeying or disregarding any obligation imposed by or any lawful order made under this Ordinance or the Rules for the time being published hereunder.

41. Every person guilty of a contravention of this Ordinance or of any Rule for the time being published hereunder shall, where no penalty is expressly imposed, be liable to a fine not exceeding £75 or to imprisonment of other description for a period not exceeding six months or he may be sentenced to both such fine and imprisonment. He may be further required to pay all costs of maintenance and charges for repatriation incurred by the Government on account of himself or of any person unlawfully brought into the Colony by him.

42. Any penalty incurred by the master of a vessel shall be paid before such vessel's clearance is granted. Notice in writing by the Immigration and Employment Officer to the Commissioner of Customs of any claim against the master, owners or agents of such vessel for a penalty shall be a sufficient authority to him to refuse such vessel's clearance until such order is withdrawn or set aside by the order of a Court. Such a notice to the Port Captain or Port Officer shall be authority to him to refuse to take such vessel or allow it to go outside the port to any outer anchorage. When such notice is given such Immigration and Employment Officer shall with all speed inform the principal Immigration and Employment officer and take all such steps as may be necessary in order that proceedings in respect of the contravention may be constituted without loss of time.

43. The enforcement of any money penalty may be either by criminal prosecution or by civil action at the instance of an Immigration and Employment Officer. All contraventions of this Ordinance or of the Rules for the time being published hereunder for which no special punishment is awarded or for which no greater punishment than a penalty of £150 or imprisonment of either description is imposed, shall be cognisable in any subordinate Court of the first class which may in respect of any such contravention impose a penalty or punishment up to the limits. Such imprisonment may in any criminal prosecution be awarded either absolutely or in default of the payment or a penalty. Notwithstanding the foregoing provision any subordinate Court of the first class having jurisdiction at any port where a vessel is detained under authority of his Ordinance shall have jurisdiction of any civil suit wherein a penalty not exceeding £750 is claimed from the master or owners or agents of such vessel.

44. An appeal shall lie to the Governor-in-Council from any decision of the Immigration and Employment Officer, or person authorised to act as such.

45. Contravention of Sections 16, 17, 19, 23, 24 and 42 shall be offences cognisable to the police.

46. The Ordinance mentioned in schedule B of this Ordinance are herewith repealed.

47. The Governor may from time to time with the sanction of the Secretary of State make Rules for the better carrying out of the provisions of this Ordinance, and for fixing fees to be paid for any services rendered in respect of the provisions of this Ordinance.

48. Until other provisions is made in that behalf all Rules made under the Immigration Restriction Ordinance, 1906, or any amendments thereof shall be deemed to be and shall have the defect of Regulations made under this Ordinance.

The Indian Agitation

With the publication of the Bill protests began to pour in from every corner of the country. The Indians protested violently, as the bill was clearly directed against them, while many White settlers protested against the restrictions imposed upon employers to engage clerks etc. One White Settlers' paper even went so far as to ask the authorities to close the door of the Colony to Indians outright. The Mombasa Indian Merchants' Chamber sent a strong representation to the Government protesting against the attempt made to restrict and ultimately prohibit the entry of Indian trading interests. The Mombasa Indians at a mass meeting held on December 5th last declared that the safeguarding of the African Natives' interest was only a guise to stamp out the Indian settlers and cabled to the Govt. of India to approach the Colonial Office to stop the introduction of the measure. The Indian papers of Kenya, the "Daily Advertiser" and the "Democrat", wrote strong articles against the bill and exposed the hollowness of the pretensions of the Whites to safeguard Native interests. The general feeling of the Indians ran very high. The Executive Committee of the local Indian Congress asked the Indian members of the Kenya Executive Council and the Legislature to resign forthwith and cabled to India for help. It asked the National Congress, to send over some leaders in India to preside over and hold the East Africa Indian Congress at Mombasa and direct the form of effective protest that should be made under the circumstances.

The East Africa Indian Congress

Accordingly Mrs. Naidu and Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi from the National Congress and Mr. S. G. Vaze of the Servants of India went over to Mombasa in January last. The East African Congress was held under the presidency of Mrs. Naidu (the proceedings are given in detail in the following pages), and unbounded enthusiasm prevailed.

After the Presidential Address members of the Subjects Committee were elected. On the 20th Jan. the Congress commenced its sittings at 8-30 a. m. when the non-controversial resolutions were passed and the sittings adjourned till 2-30 p. m. when the most important resolutions were taken up. The first was about the rejection of the policy of the Imperial Cabinet as embodied in the White Paper of the 25th July 1923 giving an inferior status to Indians. This resolution was ably moved by Mr. A. J. Dewji and was seconded by Mr. B. N. Anantani and was passed unanimously; soon afterwards the Immigration Resolution was moved and seconded and unanimously passed wherein profound indignation was expressed against the proposed Bill and determination to resist the said measure to the utmost. The most important resolution which was moved by Mr. B. S. Varma, ex-Member of the Kenya Executive and Legislative Council, and seconded by Mr. Shams-ud-Deen, ex-member of the Kenya Legislative Council, and supported by Mr. D. B Desai, Kenya's delegate to India, demanded immediate recall of the Governor. Next came the resolution which created the greatest sensation. The resolution was as regards the non-payment of the Non-Native Poll Tax. It was proposed by Mr. A. J. Dewji, seconded by Mr Y. A. K. Jeevanjee and passed with an overwhelming majority. On the last day of the Congress a ladies' meeting was convened and the Sarojini Congress Fund was started for the purpose of propaganda.

FIFTH SESSION OF THE

The East Africa Indian Congress

MOMBASA—JANUARY 19TH, 1924.

The East African Indian Congress opened at 2 o'clock on Saturday the 19th instant, at Mombasa. Mrs. Naidu arrived at about 2-30 p. m. and took her seat on a raised platform along with the members of the Committee.

Mr. AHMED JAMAL, Chairman of the Reception Committee, opened the Congress by welcoming Mrs. Naidu on behalf of the Committee and the Indian citizens of Mombasa.

An address of welcome was presented to Mrs. Naidu by the Secretary of the E. A. Indian Association on behalf of the Indians resident there, in the course of which it said :—

"The Kenya Indian question is exercising the mind of every thinking man and it is a matter of satisfaction to us that all the political parties in India are unanimous in condemning in the most positive and emphatic manner the Cabinet decision, which is in direct contravention of all pledges held out. That India is one on this point is demonstrated by your presence in our midst, and which is indicative of the feeling of the stubborn resolution of India to vindicate the honour of her sons. Your presence, dear Madam, will act as a fillip to our disheartened minds.

"We evince towards you, dear Madam, as a patriot, our deep gratitude in coming out to us, as the President-elect, tender our dutiful respects, and, as a sister, our cordial regards ; and we look to you to pilot us through the maze of doubts and difficulties that confront us which your sage advice and ripe experience places you in a position to give and direct."

The Chairman's Address

Mr. JAMAL then addressed the Congress as follows : —

Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen :—

On behalf of the Reception Committee and the Indian citizens of Mombasa, I have great pleasure in welcoming you at this, the fifth Session of the East Africa Indian National Congress. Since the Congress last met many things have happened, which have greatly disturbed the minds of our countrymen, both here as well as in India.

Acting upon the advice of the Government of India, the Congress decided to send four Indian members on the Kenya Legislative Council and one on the Executive Council pending the final decision of the Kenya Indian question. Experience has proved the futility of such small representation in face of a heavy European majority. When Sir Robert Coryndon assumed charge of the administration of this Colony it was expected that wise counsel will prevail but the final decision of the British Cabinet, the influence of the Kenya White Settlers and the Kenya Government as evidenced by their recent pronouncement through His Excellency the Governor of Kenya in that notorious White Paper has shattered all hopes of an equitable treatment.

These White Settlers seem to lead the Government by the nose. Lord Delamere and Major Grogan and others have been at great pains to belittle Indian pioneering and Indian enterprise in this country but happily history supports our claim to equal, if not to superior, treatment: but, gentlemen, we are only asking for equal and not preferential treatment. Perhaps some of you have read Major F. B. Pearce's book "Zanzibar, the Island Metropolis of Eastern Africa". Major Pearce was British Resident at Zanzibar until recently and his book is an authority on Zanzibar and the East Coast of Africa.

In Chapter 17, says Major Pearce: —

"Hindustan has had a very lengthy association with the east coast of Africa. We know that as early as the first century of the Christian era, Indian ships brought merchandise from the ports of Gujarat to the trade emporia on the shores of the Gulf of Arabia. The cargoes of these ships savoured of Indian wheat, rice, ghee, cocoanut oil, cotton goods and sugar; in fact the same commodities which every British Indian steamer sailing from Bombay carries to Zanzibar and East Africa ports at the present time: and it is hard to believe that in the ancient trading stations on the Azanian Coast, and in the island of Menouthias the middleman was not the Indian merchant who is such a familiar figure in modern Zanzibar.

"Fourteen hundreds years later, we find Vasco de Gama and his Chroniclers making frequent allusions to the Hindu traders they found established at every port along the East Coast of Africa. Curiously enough the Portuguese mistook them for Christians, and they were confirmed in this belief by the attitude of certain Banyas who visited de Gama's flagship, and who, according to the Portuguese, made reference to the statue of the Madonna and the Infant Jesus on the poop. It will be remembered that it was a native of Gujarat named Cana who piloted Vasco de Gama from Malindi across the Indian Ocean to Calicut.

"Writing in 1512 Barbosa tells us that the Moors of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mafia used to purchase silks and cottons from the merchants of Cambay, resident in Mombasa, and in 1591 Captain Lancaster noticed during his stay in Zanzibar that vessels arrived from Indian ports. Many of these Indians are wealthy and practically the whole of the local trade is in their hands. Nearly all come from Cutch and Cambay and few speak and understand Hindustani.

"The Community with the largest number of members is the Ismailia Khojas whose spiritual leader is that well-known personage the Aga Khan, or, to give him his real style and address, His Highness Sir Sultan Mahomed Sha Aga Khan, G.C.S.I."

This is the latest compilation, as far as we know, written by any European on East Coast of Africa. With all respects to Major Pearce the majority of the European writers of the present day have a particular prejudice in all that relates or pertains to Asia in general and to India in particular. Major Pearce's book was published in September 1919. Sir Henry Stanley, the great African traveller and explorer, writing in the later half of the eighteenth century in his book "Through the Dark Continent" writes, "Zanzibar possesses its millionaires also, and one of the richest merchants in the town is Tarya Topan, a self-made man of Hindustan, singularly honest and just, a devout Moslem yet liberal in his

ideas, a sharp business-man yet charitable. I made Tarya's acquaintance in 1871 and the righteous manner in which he then dealt with me cause me now to proceed to him again for the same purpose as formerly, viz. to sell my cloth, cottons and Kanikis at reasonable prices and accept my bill on Mr. Joseph M. Levy of the Daily Telegraph."

The Indian Community has suffered a serious and irreparable loss by the death of Seth Abdul Rasool Allidina Visram M.B.E. on the 16th day of September 1923. The welfare of his countrymen absorbed much of his energy and wealth, his charities in round figures come to the colossal amount of seventy lakhs of rupees. At all times approachable, a friendly welcome and a kind smile greeted all who sought him. His personal services and purse were ever ready to ameliorate suffering and promote the good of mankind. May God give rest and peace unto his soul.

Notwithstanding our indisputable rights as citizens of the mighty British Empire, we are under every disadvantage regardless of our culture, our wealth, and our intellectual advancement.

I should now proceed to enumerate some of the principal disabilities we are under:

Trials by jury:—This right although recognised by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the local government has yet taken no steps to give effect thereto.

Highlands:—The closing of the Highlands to Indians on the thin ground of "administrative convenience" or "suitable for Europeans" on account of climate is indefensible, and constitutes a serious check to the improvement of the colony. It is a curious anomaly that while an Indian shall not own land in the Highlands because of "administrative convenience" nothing may prevent a European from acquiring land in the coastal area. Many European plantations exist in the coastal areas and I have not heard that Europeans suffer on account of the climate nor by the proximity to or contact with Eastern people. One is at a loss then to understand how this "Dog in the Manger" policy can be defended. In the White Paper a niggardly grant of a barren arid waste is offered "by way of experiment" for Indian development. Probably not a single application has ever been made by any European and it is unlikely that any Indian would be stupid enough to spend his energy and capital thereon.

Hospitals:—Government hospitals exist for Europeans and hospitals exist for Natives but no facilities have been provided for the Indians, although Indians contribute in taxes colossal sums annually. The Indian Asssociation in reply to a letter on the subject was informed by the Colonial Secretary very naively that Indians must make their own arrangement to provide hospitals for themselves, as funds did not permit the Government undertaking to furnish a hospital for Indians.

Fire-arms:—It is a very curious apathy that the Government should deny the Indians possessing fire-arms; even a revolver for his self-protection is denied him, although his environments may require the possession of fire-arms to be absolutely necessary. Europeans may own a magazine-full.

Education:—The Government spends something like £24 for a European child and only £1 for an Indian child. There are boarding schools at convenient centres for European children organised and equipped as any first rate school in England, while Indian schools—and these are at Mombasa and Nairobi only—are greatly neglected.

Segregation :—The White Paper ostensibly does away with segregation in town-ship areas only, but as a matter of fact for all intents and purposes it is in full force and effect, for instance, in the Highlands ; reservation exclusively for White settlers and insertion of covenants in the various leases all over the country expressly exclude Indians.

Railway Disabilities :—The Railway administration also in practice observes the principles of segregation by labelling the compartments "for Europeans only", "for non-Europeans only" and, "for Asiatics only." In case of a rush when space is taxed to its last capacity an Indian has the option of either to break his journey or to proceed in an uncomfortable crowded carriage, whereas a single European might occupy a whole carriage and no notice is taken of it even. Neither in refreshment rooms nor in the waiting rooms are Indians allowed.

Immigration Bill :—I regret to state that the Kenya Government has thought fit to legislate against Immigration by introducing a new Bill under the pretence of protecting the natives of this country. You have doubtless heard, read and talked about the provisions of the said curious piece of legislation—the Immigration Bill—the crudest perhaps that was ever destined to be placed in the Statute Books of the British Empire. The terms of the Bill leave no doubt that the total elimination of Indians from the Colony is the ultimate goal. The present immigration laws are quite sufficient for the objects for which they are enacted.

White settlers have nowhere been able to prove that an undesirable class of Indians has found a refuge in this Colony. Indeed, it is a positive fact that many European undesirables have been repatriated at Government's expense and I make bold to say that not a single Indian has ever been repatriated. The proposed Immigration Bill would seem to be a forerunner of the final extinction or a death-knell of Indian enterprise, and is sure to operate adversely upon this country. East Africa—from the coast to the lake—on the testimony of high medical authority is unfit for European colonisation.

Similar legislation is, I understand, shortly to be enacted in the Uganda Protectorate and possibly in the Tanganayika Territory. There are several ordinances such as the Game Ordinance, the Ostrich Ordinance and the Mining Ordinance and the Crown Lands Ordinance which do not give Indians a chance to take a share in the development of the country, however keen and anxious they may be to do so.

Legislative and Executive Councils :—Although the population of Indians in Kenya is approximately three times more than that of Europeans in general and the Britishers in particular, and although the Indian community is paying much more to the government in taxation than the European British subjects, the local government acting as the cats-paw in the hands of the conservative White Settlers, passed the Legislative Council Ordinance of 1919 giving adult suffrage to all European British subjects—a handful in comparison to the Kenya populace—and deprived the Indians of their just rights. Last year the Secretary of State for the Colonies in his despatch gave us a ray of hope that the Indians would be given franchise on a Common Roll, but when European White Settlers threatened violence and armed rebellion if the country was not preserved White, and if Common Roll was given to Indians, the pledges did not materialize. Indians were

humiliated and their faith in the British sense of justice shattered to pieces when they heard of the unjust and contemptible Kenya Indian Decision.

To add insult to humiliation and divide our own camp, the Government passed and published very recently the rules of the Legislative Council Ordinance wherein, to deluge and misguide the Indian community, adult suffrage has been given but I must boldly say to those concerned that the Government has been misdirected and the Indian Community of Kenya is determined not to bear the insult offered to them in that notorious White Paper, and I am right in saying that until such time as the said policy is revised in justification of Indian claims, the Indian community will not take any part in the Legislatures of this country. Indians in this country do not want crumbs of bread but they want their just rights. It is not a question of favour or generosity that the Indians are offered that imaginary adult suffrage, but the Government is playing a game in which I am sure they will never succeed. With regard to the Executive Council, the Indian community had accepted one seat thereon on the understanding that proper justice will be done and no differential treatment will be shown to the Communities residing in this country under the Common Flag of His Majesty the King, but as usual the Indians were treated by the bureaucratic Government of Kenya even worse than step-children because blood is always thicker than water.

Trade Licenses :—I must not forget the Mercantile Community of Kenya as well. They have played a no small part in the development and advancement of this country. They have even elevated the Natives of this country and taught them the principles and advantages of trade and further it is this class only which plays an intermediary part in this country. The Government, with a view to harrass and ruin the Indian Mercantile Community, passed in the year 1919 the Trading Licensing Ordinance wherein a heavy trading licensing fee was fixed and several clauses detrimental to the Indian trade were inserted therein.

I must draw your attention to the fact that in the Nairobi Municipality Indians have been refused adequate representation although they pay in taxes more than any other community. Roads and sanitary arrangements in their locality are neglected and no regard is given to their other necessities.

Native Interests:—Nothing can be more arrogant or untrue than that White Settlers should arbitrarily arrogate to themselves the title of Trustees and Protectors of Natives. So far as we all know everything is done for the White Settlers' own benefit by exploiting the unsophisticated and *ignorant* natives in whose mind the fear of the White man has been instilled by the lash or lethal weapons. One has only to open the Kenya Law Books to find ample testimony to bear out this view.

Ladies and gentlemen, I shall only exercise your patience for a very short time. First of all I must thank you for hearing me so attentively and patiently. The points I have touched here will be probably explained to you more ably by our illustrious President-elect than I could ever hope and dream to do. Let us, brethren and sisters, get to work in right

earnest and not content ourselves with speech-making or materially worded resolutions carried unanimously by a majority. The fact that our President-elect is a lady should be an inspiration to you as to what determination and self-sacrifice can do. Ladies and gentlemen, there is nothing on the face of this earth that is impossible of achievement if undertaken with a spirit of determination and unity.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are Indians. Diversity of religions should not imperil your duty towards our country; put aside all differences and prejudices and work with a will.

One word before I conclude:—India has started the boycott movement of British Empire Goods in right earnest after the humilating Kenya Indian Decision and I think it is the duty of the Kenya Indians to join hands with them and get the Kenya Indian Decision reversed at the earliest possible opportunity and that we should make up our minds not to rest until the Kenya Indian Decision is all right.

I again welcome you all to Mombasa and request you to forgive our shortcomings in arrangements and accommodation and concentrate your energies on one point, viz., to devise means of attaining the equality of status and preserve our self-respect and honour of our dear Mother. Before I sit down I shall conclude by reciting the following quotation from Shakespeare:—

I do love,
My country's good with a respect more tender,
More holy and profound than mine own life.

Mr. TAIB ALI then proposed Mrs. Naidu for the Presidentship of the Congress and in doing so said:—

The name of Mrs. Naidu has been proposed for the presidentship of what promises to be the most momentous session of the East Africa Indian National Congress. Ladies and Gentlemen, the distinguished lady whose name I am proposing for the presidentship is too well-known for me to mention her. Without exaggeration, if I were to describe, even briefly, the great services which she has rendered to the Indian Nation it would take volumes. Ladies and Gentlemen, the very fact that Mrs. Naidu has travelled from India all the way to this country to preside over the deliberations of this assembly, and also the fact that she has left her dear daughter, I am sorry to say, in a very dangerous condition, should convince you that she has closely at heart the cares and destinies of her fellow-countrymen residing abroad. Gentlemen, her presence here with us should also prove to us that our fellow-countrymen in India are following with the closest attention all the political doings which are going on in this country. Gentlemen, I take it as a proof of their sincere desire to help us that they have sent to us Mrs. Naidu, who is one of the most distinguished political workers. Gentlemen, I have no doubt that she will acquire during her short visit to this country very valuable and precise information of what we are suffering from and she will place that information before our fellow-countrymen in India—they have already started the campaign there to assist us: at least I believe they are doing their best to obtain information as to our grievances. There is no doubt that Mrs. Naidu will acquaint all the leaders in India of the terrible plight in which we are being

placed in this country. Gentlemen, the service which I believe she is about to render to us will be small to that which she has rendered to our Motherland. I will, therefore, not waste your time any further, so I have the greatest pleasure in proposing her name and I feel sure that you will adopt that name as President unanimously.

Mr. Hussain Suleman Virjee then addressed the meeting in Gujarati.

Mr. Suleman Virjee then congratulated Mrs. S. Naidu on behalf of the Indian community and presented her with a Gold Medal.

The following telegrams were then read out.—

From the Rt. Hon. Mr. S. Sastri:—

"Wish success Congress, take united bold unyielding stand but no provocative measures or language, Mahatma progress quite satisfactory."

"Don't send your representatives to the Municipal and Legislative Councils of Kenya."

From A. M. Jiwanjee, London:—

"Congratulations to members on opening Congress. Trust complete success. Unity only can bring about success."

From Hussein Alidina Visram, Khandalla:—"Wish you all success."

The Presidential Address.

Mrs. Naidu then entered the pulpit and delivered an extempore address as follows:—

Friends,—Being a very unconventional speaker, you will observe that contrary to all the accepted rules of Congress and Conferences I hold no printed paper in my hands—not even a single note to guide my mind or my intelligence to deal adequately and effectively with those grievances and problems that are peculiar to the East African Indian Colony. I do not know whether I should apologize for not following the conventional procedure of having the printed page, so that you may rustle page after page to the convenience of the reporters who, alas, in every country, in England and all over India have a grievance against me, because they say I speak too fast, and my words are not words of journalism.

I have to thank you with all the strength and fervour of my heart for the honour you have done me in inviting me to preside over this most critical and epoch-making session of the East African Indian National Congress. I am aware that there are many distinguished compatriots of mine who could have done you greater service and who have a vaster experience of political life and with riper wisdom who could have directed your welfare and aspiration to a successful issue.

I am aware that there are many very irresponsible men in your country who regard a mere woman from India as an irresponsible firebrand. To each his own interpretation of what is his responsibility and what is a stake. A stake in the country is not to be measured by a foot-rule, is not to be measured with staves, it is not the possession of wide acres, it is not the mastership of great trade concerns. The real stake in this country is the honour and self-respect of the Indian nation, which is challenged to-day. There is not in the length and breadth of the inhabited globe a single Indian of whom it can be said he has no stake in that country. Every man, rich or

poor, illiterate or otherwise, goes out to that country as an Ambassador and a custodian of his country's interests.

I am standing to-day for the first time in my life on the soil of Africa, but none the less I dare any man of any nation to challenge my statement that I stand on the traditional Colony of the Indian people. What makes tradition, what makes policy, what gives rights? What brings duty, what imposes responsibility? It is the historic connection of race with another, of one country with another, and the longer the connection the deeper the interest, the more the responsibility and the more indisputable the claim. It does not take a very learned student to realize that naturally and inevitably East Africa is one of the earliest legitimate colonial territories of the Indian Nation, going so far back, as I learn from the Chairman's speech, to the first century of the Christian Era, going back so far as even hundreds of years before that. East Africa is, therefore, the legitimate Colony of the surplus of the great Indian nation: whether they went forth to colonize these unknown lands from an economical point of view or to satisfy their desires for venture, to give vent to the great energy which lies dormant to-day in the Indian nation, but which is now rising up in a living stream to surge forward and flood the World. I stand, therefore, to-day before you as an Indian speaker on Indian soil,—soil that your forefathers have dug,—cities that your forefathers have built in a land which your ancestors gave to the citizens of the country—citizens by the right of heredity, citizens by the right of tradition, citizens by the right of the patriotic love which has been nurtured, fostered, and developed by the sweat of the brow and the blood of the heart, of the pioneers exiled from India, so that Indian interests may grow greater. You are the descendants of those pioneers, you are the children of those great exiles, you are the custodians of the great tradition left by those adventurers who have made in the past the histories of the World.

Do you realize that not only are you the Ambassadors of India across the seas, but you are the rightful inheritors of this great legacy your forefathers left, and yet in the land built by your blood, where the graves of your forefathers lie, where men and women of every caste, Parsees and Christians, have raised their temples and mosques, and with one voice, though different in religion, are willing to worship the same God, here comes a later generation of settlers and for whose convenience and welfare your fathers have worked and they dare to challenge your right to possess the soil of this land, the soil over which the ashes and bones of your fathers are strewn. We must know the interpretation of that most omnipotent, that most iniquitous challenge to your civilization known as the Immigration Bill, whose clauses are not merely an insult to India but are a betrayal of English idea of justice, of the English who claim to be the inheritors of justice and freedom.

It is not for me, coming across the seas so many thousands of miles, so far away from the actual spot of your grievances, to lay down a hard and fast programme. To come to those suffering the grievances which are so old and yet so vital, suffering in every fibre and burning with the insults and with indignation, and not knowing the difficulties and disadvantages of the situation, it would, as I say, be presumption on my part to lay down for your guidance any programme without knowing first hand the local conditions, the meagreness of your conditions, your strength, your capacity, your preparedness for certain courses of action. Those details those programmes, those particular

policies that must be embodied in your actions are for you to consider, and if, with my wide experience of Indian doings, my wide experience of Imperial doings and my knowledge of the Englishmen who are betraying England, and my knowledge of the Indian who is true to India, I can help you to arrive at some decision, you will, with one united service and ever unyielding, throw back challenge after challenge, insult after insult, and ultimately by your moral courage receive your just demands. I shall be rewarded for the little sacrifice I have made by leaving my little child who is dying, because the needs of the children of our Nation are greater than the needs of one child.

In the Chairman's speech to-day we have in bold, plain, biting language the severest indictment of the administration of the Colony, which no rhetoric, no oratory, no epithets and adjectives could have better and more boldly denunciated against the Government of the White nation in its attitude towards those who are older children of the soil. It has been a most heart-breaking chapter in that volume of iniquity by England which prides itself on its Imperial Administration. Point after point is quoted—Law Courts, Hospitals, Licenses, Educational facilities, and Segregation—the separation of the White man, the Brown man who had the complexion of their Christ, whom they crucified, and lastly the Immigration Ordinance. When I read this I asked myself: when those 24 Barons at the time of King John made him sign the Magna Charta—that great charter of liberty of the English Nation—did they dream of the days to come when the descendants of those Englishmen would go abroad and stamp on every right of liberty that King John had to pass at the incidence of his Barons. When I think of the great poets, politicians and philosophers of England, when I think of the sacrifices of the youth of England in France and Flanders, and when I think of the blood of man which has been shed for the causes of liberty and justice, I ask myself: does death alone give equality between races: is there no justice, no equality, in life? As to Indians, you are outcasts, you carry the brand of interiority on your brows; you are the unclean political outcasts of the Empire. Friends, in India, where as you know for the last few years there have been internal dissensions merely on details of political policy, this question of Kenya, this insult to Kenya, this challenge to India, this betrayal of the inviolable right of man, white, brown or black, has brought political forces on to one common platform throughout the length and breadth of India—rich man, poor man, Hindu and Mussalman, Christian and Parsee, etc., have all come together on one common platform to denounce the cowardly statesmen of England. I know the tactics of Whitehall. I have a very wide personal acquaintance not only with Whitehall, but with the men and Ministers of Whitehall. I have friends among them, I have enemies among them. I have dined with them and denounced them on platforms. They have denounced me. Their rule of India is complete. When I hear of that wonderful camouflage document known as "The White Paper" I think: what an irony of language that so black a document should be called a "White Paper"? Whilst it seeks to consider, without any apparent injustice to Indians, its guardianship as beneficiaries of the natives of Africa, it strikes the death-blow not to India, for it will not die, but to the Empire, that is built on iniquity. Believe me, I have read that White Paper very carefully; but find that in every clause it seeks to whittle away the rights of Indians. But for every inch of the Indians' rights that is betrayed, a whole acre of Imperial policy is betrayed. Do not be afraid of that White Paper. Do not be afraid of the rhetoric of the White people in their House of Commons, neither when they speak of the inequality of Indians, nor when they

speak of the old civilization of India. They want us to strangle the new ideals of India. I do not believe their promises. Men and women of Kenya, how are you going to solve your own problem? You are the pioneers, you are the ambassadors, you are the soldiers of the new ideals. How are you, with your new vision, your new outlook on life, your new experience, your new existence in a century that you have helped to develop, how are you going to defend your rights? Do not say to me "We look to India to help us." India cannot help you, India must help herself first. She has herself been broken up for centuries by her own internal differences. She is weak. She has to consolidate her own affairs with her numerous castes and races and fight the enemy within her own gates. She can send you a living message, but ambassadors, soldiers, exiles and pioneers, you must work out your own destiny by dint of your own wisdom, the force of your own determination and unity of the Indian races which will make the Indian Nation indomitable. That is your own affair.

Take the White Paper, your communal franchise—do you want this? No. In this Colony you are not Hindus and Mussalmans wanting the protection of minorities. Our interests are different. You are an Indian Nation—an indivisible unit—you cannot be separated into water-tight compartments. You must all be on terms of equality and that is the only course that a self-respecting nation can follow in one country. You do not want preferential treatment; you do not want protection, you do not care if in a common electoral role you do not get a single representative, but you do not want to be shut out from that test of equality; you do not want to shirk the battle for equal terms. Better not have a representative at all: better stand out; but do not accept a thing that will brand you once and for ever as inferiors of a race with whom you must live on terms of equality. Segregation? There is no power in this land that can dare to offer us this insult of segregation, if you one and all say, we will not have segregation. Reservation of the Highlands? I have never heard of anything more inept in statesmanship than this arrogant, cowardly and selfish attitude of the White man, who will not fight on equal terms with Indians and Africans against the elements. He cannot stand the climate at the lower altitudes. Look at those glad and bright-eyed children of ours here, they can stand the climate, why should not the European, who is so glib at asserting his morale, his officialdom, his intellect over us—why is he not able to stand with you, dying generation after generation with malaria and disease in your own country; why can he not battle the climate with you? Why should he have preference? He has come, he says, to be the trustee of the Black races —to be their custodians. We have heard of that trusteeship, we have heard about those custodians and their guardianship which they tell you about in this dark African Continent. We are here for the trusteeship of India—India with its civilization, its tradition, with its millions and millions of men and women, who have given their martyrs to the cause of modern civilization. They speak of the African native as if he were not even a human being, and they speak of the inferiority of the Indian for whom they must hold the guardianship, so profitable and lucrative, the land which they take away from India an exile and outcast. But I say, let India fight her own battle. You, in this new country, fight your own battles and win. The most pressing of your grievances, the most outrageous of your grievances are the twin questions of the reservation of the Highlands and the abominable and iniquitous Immigration Bill. The reservation of the Highlands in reality, in actual daily life, does not materially affect the Indian, who does not care perhaps to

live in the colder climate to which he is not accustomed : but it makes no difference. It is the principle of equality for which you are fighting. It may be that you do not wish to possess one little plot of land in the Highlands, but not one needle's point shall be denied to you because of racial discrimination and prejudice. You must buy land in the Highlands, and if you have not the money you must borrow it from your countrymen but, at all cost, buy land and live side by side with the White settlers. That is the only effective means. I believe in resolute determination that finds in immediate action succour that is tangible and indisputable ; but I do want a tangible and visible import of your united determination that the principles of discrimination and racial prejudice shall not apply to the children of the soil.

Now in regard to the Immigration Ordinance, I do not know in what fashion, in what actual detail you will choose to combat this immigration question ; but believe me, if you must shed the last drop of your blood in the vindication of your rights to free citizenship and to free ingress into this country, you must be prepared to shed that last drop of blood. I do not believe in physical force—many of you may not agree with me—but I do not believe in that invincible quality of moral courage and determination and the sacrifice of patience. I hate this so called patience of the Indian. You will be startled, but I repeat it, that dreadful, resigned, fatalistic patience that acquiesces in every wrong, is the ruin of the Asiatic races. You must be proud : you must have that pride that will not brook even one sentence or expression of the shadow of an insult to your manhood and your race. You must not brook for one single instant the ghost of a suggestion of inferiority, coming no matter from what source, whether it be in your trade, in any rank or profession of life. Friends, stand up like men , do not bend your heads but look with pride and defy the scowl that meets you wherever you go. I was heart-broken on the ship on which I travelled, in my comfortable quarters on the upper deck where I sat with English men and women so civil, so polite to me, because they dare not be otherwise to people like me But when I went into the bowels of the ship, when I went into those subterranean dungeons—the revelation come upon me: that desperate patience of the Asiatic that makes him an exile. Do you think that any single White man—no matter how poor—would have consented to travel in those dungeons, under the feet of the 1st and 2nd class passengers and those White women delicately born, but too poor to pay the big money required for their passages ? There were men and women with little children, Goanese, Chinese, Indians herded like rats in the bowels of that ship—men and women who are pioneers of a new country, whose blood and sweat makes it possible for the White settlers to live in comfort in his land.

I have not come to you to-day with any cut-and-dried policy but it might be that before the end of the Congress I and the local leaders will be able to collaborate in the production of a definite scheme.

The Indians of Africa were the true guardians of African interests and the future of the world lay with Africa. The Indians with one united voice must give answer to the Government. They must say that, although in natural history rivers do not flow backwards, they would make the river of the Government decision flow backwards. (Cheers.) The world to-day was looking for a new doctrine but, as always, it would be India who would send a new light into the universe. Let my hearers kill for ever the hatred that is being bred between man and man in this beautiful country by a magnanimous pardon of those who, instead of being their brothers, would make slaves of them. (Loud & prolonged applause.)

Resolutions.

The following are among the important resolutions passed by the Congress.—

Kenya Indian Policy.

This Congress records its emphatic protest against and deep indignation at the Cabinet decision embodied in the White Paper of the 25th July, 1923, because it definitely assigns an inferior status to Indians in Kenya, and aims at White domination and perpetual subjugation of Indians. This Congress is fully convinced that the threats of rebellion and direct action held out by the local White settlers and indirectly encouraged by the local Government has principally influenced this decision. This Congress believes that the claim of trusteeship of Native interests is a mere pretence to deceive the world and the real object of the authors is the furtherance of the interests of the European settlers to the exclusion of those of the Indians, and therefore unhesitatingly rejects the above policy.

Immigration Bill.

This Congress records its profound indignation at the proposed Immigration Bill which under the thin disguise of protection of the interests of African natives really aims at the exclusion of the Indian immigrants from this Colony and expresses its determination to resist this iniquitous measure to the utmost.

Recall of Governor.

This Congress is convinced that the attitude adopted by H. E. Sir Robert Coryndon, Governor of Kenya, during the course of negotiations and controversies leading to the Cabinet decision of 25th July 1923, was not only unfair and partial, but was deliberately calculated to promote and further the interests of the European settlers to the detriment of the Indian community of this Colony as he was conniving at and indirectly encouraging the threats of violence and open rebellion by the White settlers. For these reasons, this Congress considers that Sir Robert Coryndon is not a fit and proper person to hold the responsible office of a Governor and therefore demands his immediate call.

The Poll-tax.

In view of the unjust and iniquitous Kenya Indian decision of the 25th July 1923, this Congress resolves that as a protest against the main decision, payment of poll-tax by Indians in Kenya excepting Government servants should be suspended as a first step until the modification of the said decision.

Fire-arms.

This Congress re-affirms the resolution passed by it at its fourth sessions protesting against the attitude of the Government in refusing licenses to Indians to possess suitable fire-arms and places on record the fact that the local Government had deliberately disregarded this legitimate demand of the Indian community.

Prison Diet for Indian Prisoners.

The Congress resolves that the Government be again requested to make substantial improvement in the diet, clothing and housing accommodation of Indian prisoners in His Majesty's prisons in the East African Territory, the present treatment as regards food and clothing etc. meted out to Indians being inferior to that extended to natives of South Africa.

Degrees of Indian Universities.

This Congress is strongly of opinion that the Government of Eastern Africa should recognise holders of Degrees from Indian Universities in respect of the Legal, Medical, Engineering, and other professions and that the holders of the degrees be permitted to practise in the East African territories.

Trial by Jury.

This Congress expresses dissatisfaction at the attitude of the Government of Eastern Africa in regard to the question of trial by Jury of Indians and urges the Government to at once extend that right to Indians.

Education.

This Congress most indignantly protests against the discriminating and niggardly policy of the local Government of Kenya towards the important question of Education of Indian children in the past, and respectfully requests the Government to

increase the Indian vote with a view to establishing schools in all important Indian centres and providing facilities for hostel accommodation therein. In view of the fact that no provision whatever exists for the education of Indian children in Uganda and Tanganyika, this Congress recommends to the respective Governments to take immediate steps to remedy this deplorable state of affairs.

TRADE LICENSES.

This Congress urges on the Government of Kenya the immediate repeal of the Trading Licensing Ordinance 1919, the abolition of which has been recommended by the Bowring Committee.

ADMINISTRATIVE ABUSES.

This Congress is informed reliably that the various Administrative officers influenced by anti-Indian proposals abuse their office and influence to stifle Indian trade in outlying districts of Eastern African Territories by giving preferential treatment to Europeans especially in the Colony of Kenya and more particularly in Nyanza Province and Vai district and requests the immediate appointment of a commission composed of Europeans and Indians representing the interests of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar to enquire into those grievances.

SWADESHI.

This Congress appreciates the great importance of improving the relation between Indians and Africans and promoting and fostering trade and commerce between Africa and India and it therefore authorises the Executive Committee to take necessary steps at an early date to carry out these purposes.

UGANDA.

This Congress urges the Government of the Uganda Protectorate to grant the Indian community representation on the Legislative Councils and other public bodies of the Protectorate proportionate to their numerical strength and vested interests.

The Congress in the interests of the development of the Uganda Protectorate and the welfare of the indigenous populations strongly urges the Government to introduce and establish the Policy of Free Trade.

ZANZIBAR.

This Congress strongly protests against the idea of the contemplated East African Federation, in as much as the Zanzibar Protectorate is an almost autonomous Arab Sultanate, Tanganyika, a Mandated Territory, and Uganda, a Protectorate and more especially when the populations of these territories are opposed to such federation.

This Congress supports the opinion of H. M's British Indian subjects in the Zanzibar Protectorate, that the post of the High Commissioner for that Protectorate not having justified itself during the past so many years should be abolished and that the British Resident be made directly responsible to H. M's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

This Congress urges H. M's Government to introduce liberal institutions in the Government of Zanzibar such as the expansion of the present Protectorate Council to a Legislative Council on elective principles and establish a Municipality with adequate Indian representation.

TANGANYIKA.

This Congress is of the opinion that the action of the Tanganyika Government in passing the Ordinances known as the Profits Tax, Trade Licensing, and Pedlar's Licensing Ordinances in face of the unanimous opposition of all the communities of Tanganyika Territory, expressed through the most determined 'Hartal' lasting, nearly for two months, is, to say, the least impolitic and unwise and requests the said Government to immediately repeal the said Ordinances as they work great hardship and oppression on the people.

This Congress having reasons to believe that the economic and political interest of Tanganyika are being subordinated to those of Kenya, resolves that the status of the Tanganyika Territory as a whole under the mandate shall be kept unimpaired, and at the same time strongly opposes the suggestion made in certain quarters to the effect that Moshi and Arusha districts be handed over for administration to the Government of Kenya.

In view of the unduly long delay in payment of the pre-war and interim German currency notes held by the Tanganyika Indians and also of the claims

against the ex-enemy German Government and German subjects arising out of war conditions, this Congress most urgently requests the Tanganyika Government to take early steps for expediting their payment.

Congress Funds

In view of the extreme seriousness of the present political position of the Indians in East Africa and great urgency of funds to carry on the necessary political struggle, this Congress resolves that a fund should be started at once. The Fund so raised shall be called "The Sarojini Congress Fund" and treated as a permanent Fund. Its investment, management, and disbursements shall be entrusted to a committee composed of:—

1. Mr. Huseinbhai Suleman Virjee and Mr. Nauhariaram for Nairobi.
2. Abdulla Jaffer Dewji and Hashan Jamal for Mombasa.
3. Mahomed Kasam for Kisumu.
4. Mr. Nanji Kalidas Mehta and C. P. Dalal for Uganda.
5. Mr. Yusufali Ismalji Jivanjee and Trikamdas Premji for Zanzibar.
6. Mr. Yusufali A. Karimji Jivanji and Mr. Suleman Dahya for Tanganyika.

Messrs. Yusufali A. Karimjee and Trikamdas Premji shall be the Secretaries and Treasurers of the said fund, and an account be opened at a recognised bank where the uninvested portion of the fund shall be kept. The corpus of the said fund shall not be used except in cases of extreme emergency to be determined by a majority of the Committee.

Shrimati Sarojini Naidu to be requested to kindly assist in the raising and collecting of this fund during her tour in East Africa and India.

Mahatma Gandhi.

This Congress has learnt with great relief and thankfulness that Mahatma Gandhi is making satisfactory progress after his recent serious illness and fervently prays for his complete recovery and his speedy restoration to liberty to guide the nation's struggle for freedom and self-realisation.

Thanks to Mr. Shastri.

This Congress places on record its sense of gratitude and appreciation for the services rendered to the cause of Indians in Kenya by the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Shastri and his delegation and empowers the General Secretary to acknowledge on its behalf its appreciation of the services rendered by other friends in India and England.

The Kenya Delegation.

This Congress places on record its deep sense of appreciation and gratitude to the members of the Kenya and Tanganayika delegations to England and India for their efforts in the Indian cause.

Mrs. Naidu's Concluding Speech

In concluding the session, Mrs. Naidu addressed the Congress in Hindi and said :—

You must not let that Immigration Bill be passed for a single moment. It is a measure introduced purely for the benefit of the White settlers and its motive is to oust the Indians. If the Cabinet consents to the Immigration Bill being passed, it will be the duty of the Indian leaders to charter ship upon ship and send immigrants week after week to flood the country, no matter at what cost; but on sea and on land we shall defy that Immigration Bill.

We must not permit the freedom of the present generation to be sold to the White man's interests. When I came into Mombasa Bay my thoughts went back to our mother-country from whence boat after boat of brave adventurous merchants came to your shores bringing precious gifts—gifts that bear the hall-mark of civilization,—bringing with them wheat and rice and those things that feed the body. They brought—those brave Hindoo Merchants—in their cargoes the gifts of civilization to this Continent, called the dark Continent; but in His wisdom the splendour of your future lies secure. Who brought civilization to Africa? It was your forefathers, your Gujrati-speaking people, from the shores of the Bombay Presidency, from Goa, and all the little ports along the coast, came your fathers, not as immigrants to fill up forms, to be questioned and insulted, to be refused admission, but to be welcomed as benefactors and messengers of the people from whom they came. You are the people who have started the history and have made it possible for us to come here to-day.

As I have told you, I have not come here to place before you, at least to-day, any programme for you to follow, but I beg you in the name of the dual inheritance that is yours, from the old country and this new country, to be true to your trust. You are the true guardians of the Africans' interests. You are those who have helped, solaced and succoured the black man who to-morrow will be the citizen of the world. The future lies with Africans, but your part is not to betray them by betraying your rights. If your rights are betrayed to-day, what guarantee is there, in spite of all the pledges of Parliament, that the native's interests is secure from exploitation at their hands.

You must with one united voice give an answer to the Government and say that though in natural history rivers do not flow backwards, we shall make the rivers of your decision flow backwards. Though we are weak and poor, though you seek to put upon us a brand of inferiority and deprive us of those rights and privileges, those responsibilities and duties, our heritage of unalienable right, do not believe for a single moment that whilst a single Indian is alive in India you will go unpunished and unchecked. Whatever programme you decide to follow, that programme must be carefully considered in all its details during the next two days, and at the end of the Session, with your assistance, it might be possible for me to guide you in forming some policy, not of my own, but merely as a voice of your determination, it might be possible for me to guide you in forming some policy, not of my own, but merely as a voice of your determination, it might be possible for me to be a messenger of your hearts. I come to-day from India. I come to hear the new problems that are biting into your hearts and making your blood run with fever at the injustice of the White man. I can only say : fight the good fight with that spiritual assistance that Mahatma has given us, not with the weapons of the old civilization, those things have been scrapped with Western

civilization and on the battlefields that are the graves of the soldiers in Europe. The world has been waiting for a new messenger, but in the hour of darkness it has been an Indian that has sent that message of light to the world. It was that little man, so fragile that you could crush him almost between the palm of your hand, but so great, so invincible, so enframed with a divinity that makes a God of man—"Mahatma"—he brought to India the message of civilization through self-sacrifice, but understand SELF-sacrifice—not the sacrifice of National self-respect.

Kill injustice by your indomitable truth, and kill for ever the hatred that is being bred between man and man in this beautiful country, by your magnanimous pardon of those, who, instead of being your brothers, would make slaves of you.

The Parting Message.

Prior to her leaving the shores of East Africa, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu issued the following message to Indians in East Africa under her own signature as President of the East African Indian National Congress, dated February 13th, 1924.

"My farewell advice to the people of Kenya is to abide loyally and fearlessly by the decision of the Congress and fulfil scrupulously both the letter and the spirit of the resolution in which the Indian community of East Africa expressed its indignation at, and the entire rejection of, the Government's policy.

'The Kenya White Paper seeks to impose in an unjust and arbitrary fashion an inferior political status on the Indian community of South Africa.

"While earnestly striving to rectify these faults, we should try to ameliorate those evils in our social condition, which seem to give room for our opponents to mock at our claims and deny us equal franchise, equal status, and equal privileges in the civic life of East Africa.

"It is our duty to carry on with unfaltering vigour and determination the political struggle we have embarked on. We must continue it, whatsoever be the cost to our persons or property, until the Kenya White Paper is destroyed once for all, and Indians in Kenya have, by their own united effort and sacrifice, vindicated their right to share equally in the duties and responsibilities of free citizens, and build up a tradition of progress, brotherhood and service, in Africa, the land of their adoption.

"The first step in our struggle is the suspension of the payment of the poll-tax on Natives as a symbol of resentment against the policy adopted by the Government under pressure from, and in the interests of, the White settlers of Kenya.

"It is only a small initial sacrifice that is at present demanded. Both rich and poor should make it their duty to show a united front and to carry out with united strength the mandate of the Congress.

"No poll tax is to be paid until the White Paper policy is reversed and Indians come into their political rights again. We should cheerfully endure every loss and penalty that might be imposed by the Government in the spirit of truth, quiet dignity and courage in accordance with the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi."

[The above message was sent to the "Mombassa Times", an English Paper, which refused publication of it, after consultation with the Government, on the ground that it was a direct incitement to sedition. The same paper, however, published a distorted version of Mrs. Naidu's speech on social condition giving facts to which she did not refer at all.]

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION.

The trend of Public Affairs in India during April to June has been towards a steady consolidation of the Nationalist position on one side, and a slow weakening of the high-flown bureaucratic pretensions of the Government on the other. The outstanding features in Indian polity of this period are.—

1. The Reforms Enquiry Committee which the Govt. of India had to institute much against its will. At first an attempt was made to shelve it by mere inaction, and great secrecy was maintained as to what was being done in this direction so that Government might escape the exposure that a public enquiry would entail as to the way in which they have worked the Reforms. Lately, however, thanks to the efforts of the Moderate deputation in England, and the Premier's York speech (see pp. 697 & 705), the Government of India had to yield to pressure from above and enlarged the scope of the enquiry which was announced to be held in public in August.

2. The Lee Report which came out in May last. No other report of so great importance has ever been brought out with such great expedition. The object of the authorities, to secure further emoluments and advantages for the Imperial Services at the expense of India while the Peel-Winterton Tory party was still in power in the United Kingdom, has providentially been foiled, for the Labour party quite suddenly came into power, and what is worse, they seem as yet to be sympathetic to Indian public opinion over which the Services have always ridden rough-shod.

3. The Steel Protection Bill, following the Report of the Tariff Board and passed by the Assembly, has secured to India the principles of Protection to her nascent industries, much to the chagrin of the foreign merchants.

4. The reorganisation of the Indian National Congress now taken in hand by M. Gandhi. The great Swarajist wave of the first three months of the year received a set back by the Gandhi move in June last, and it seems as though it would soon be swallowed up in a great national movement under M. Gandhi. The cry of "Khadi for India and India for Khadi" is soon to be raised, and the ground is now being prepared by various Congress movements, such as Satyagraha and Khadi-work and Council breaking.

5. The deputation to the Secretary of State in England led by the Indian Moderate Party, including Mrs. Besant, Mr. Sastri and other signatories of the National Convention. Some of the first rank Indian politicians were about this time in England, such as Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Ranyachari, Sir Sankaran Nair, and others. They delivered many speeches in England, specially addressing Labour groups and Members of Parliament, and presented the case for India.

Such has been the main drift of affairs during the second quarter of the current year. Some of the other minor affairs are summarised below, while the Chronicle that follows on p. xix summarises the chief events in somewhat greater detail.

The All-India Khadi Board.

The All-India Khadi Board, a short account of which was given in our last issue on p. 9, issued a small but very interesting report of its tour in Andhra Desa, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, C. P. Maharashtra and Khandesh in the first months of this year. The report contains much valuable information regarding Khadi work in these Provinces and should prove to be of immense practical value to workers. It gives a clear idea of the scope for Khadi production in the numerous centres which the Board visited, the nature of the obstacles to be overcome in particular parts and the manner and direction in which the several centres may co-operate with profit to promote production and sale. It is no doubt true that in many of the places that the Board visited they were greeted only by the tragic picture of a recently dead or dying industry, throttled out of existence by the clever and cunning hand of the alien exploiter and industrialist. But the Board have discovered that life is not entirely extinct in many parts, that the villagers, both men and women, have not forgotten their art or lost their skill at the wheel and the loom. In the early days of the non-co-operation movement the message of Mahatma Gandhi acted like a wonderful tonic in many parts and actually brought back to life many a spinning wheel confined to the attics as an old out-worn thing. There are whole villages still sticking to their wheels and looms for making an honest and decent living or supplementing their income as of old. Centres like Guruvareddipalayam in Andhra, Tiruppur villages in Tamil Nadu, and Pachapur in Karnatak are all living monuments of the ancient glory and success of the Charka. In Singchalli, one of the group of villages which supply yarn to Pachapur, we learn that "the status of the women in the village had gone up by a bound since Mahatmaji's movement" which had made them recommence spinning which they had given up 20 years ago. So also in Guravareddipalayam, we are told, the Khadi movement had not only brought employment to the untouchables who run about 40 looms in the locality, but had also gone a long way to emancipate them from social exclusion. "The stigma of untouchability in the village," says the report, "was seen disappearing. The untouchable weavers looked happy and contented and they expressed great satisfaction at the treatment they were now receiving from the main body of villagers." The report says :—

"The figures collected in the village show some very interesting results. Every woman turning the wheel 8 hours a day could make 3 padugus of yarn, one padugu being warp and weft for 9 yards with 14 punjams for warp and 14 for weft. For every Punjam there are 120 threads and so the woman was turning out 120 into 28 into 9 into 3 which equals to 90,720 yards length of yarn every month. Her daily out-turn would then be 378 yards of yarn, a fact which was corroborated by the speed of 5 to 7 yards per minute which was demonstrated to the deputation. Nearly 3 1/2 hanks or 3/4 of a lb. of 12 count yarn was being produced by a woman who gave 8 hours to spinning every day. But even taking it that she spun only 4 to 6 hours a day her average income would be 0-1-0 per day or something between Rs. 20 and Rs. 22 a year. Twenty rupees would be the supplementary income to the family if only one of the women worked at the charka for 4 to 6 hours every day, no small addition to the poor and slender means of every village home."

There are many other numerous obstacles in the way incidental to the villager's lack of patriotic understanding of his and the nation's problems. The spread of the new light of nationalism alone can remove this ignorance and enthuse him with the spirit of social and national service to safeguard the country's interests in working for his own individual or family maintenance. For this, as well as to conduct the industry on organised lines, we want trained workers in any number to go and settle down among the villagers, spreading the gospel of Mahatmaji and demonstrating the efficacy of the charka. The report gives many inspiring examples of persons who have sacrificed their all for the sake of Khadi and done yeoman's service to the cause. One name stands out most prominently out of all, that of Sjt. Pujari of Bijapur, a Government servant who resigned his post to give his entire time to Khadi work. His story is at once inspiring and fruitful of lessons to the average worker.

The Provincial Khadi Boards, especially of the provinces of Northern India, do not seem to have done much work worth recording. The All-India Khadi Board confined their operations within the Southern districts. After the A.I.C.C. resolutions of June 28th Mahatma Gandhi took up Khadi work more seriously. The record of this work will be given in the next issue of the QUARTERLY.

Of other Congress activities of this period may be mentioned the Satyagraha movement at Vaikom and Tarakeswar, the former of which specially has attained an All-India significance because of the great "untouchability" question that it involves. As Swami Shraddhananda says, the work of All-India removal of untouchability is divided thus: The Punjab is managed under Lala Lajpat Rai with Rs. 5,000 per month, Rs. 7,000 cash, and property worth Rs. 25,000. The United Provinces is placed by Pandit Malaviya under Babu Purshotam Das Tandon with Rs. 5,000 monthly allowance, and a promise of further help. Delhi, Gujerat, Kathiawar, Central Provinces, Maharashtra and the whole of Madras is allotted to Swami Shraddhananda who was being helped for current expenses at Delhi and other provinces with Rs. 25,000 from a philanthropist.

Untouchability

Untouchability is the great curse of Hindu Malabar, in fact of the whole of Southern India, though in Malabar it is still as strong as centuries back. In British Malabar no public ban of roads, tanks, etc., is permitted. But in Travancore some roads leading to or in the neighbourhood of Hindu Temples cannot be used by low caste Hindus, though Mahomedan or Christian converts can use them freely! According to the judicial pronouncement of the Travancore High Court, there are two kinds of public roads in Travancore, *viz* (1) King's Highway or *Rajapatha* and (2) common highway or village thoroughfare, *grama veethi*. The former are thrown open to all classes of His Highness's subjects and for all purposes not forbidden by law. The latter are open in some instances only to a limited class of the public, namely the orthodox Hindus. These roads are different from the pathways which lie outside the enclosure stone wall of the Vaikom temple, but form part and parcel of a plot of 11 and odd acres entered in the revenue account as for temple compound. Over these latter pathways no right of passage could be claimed as of right except by those who are entitled to worship in the temple. The approach roads previously mentioned lead only to the temple compound and to no other place. The local public offices, Hospital, English High School, Police Station, etc., are all located outside the prohibited area, and are accessible from other roads.

Vaikom Satyagraha

The Kerala Congress Committee resolved to break the bond of untouchability as regards the use of these roads. Accordingly it started *Satyagraha* from April 1st. The Satyagrahis intended to establish the right of all subjects of His Highness the Maharaja, including the submerged classes, to pass along public roads and pathways, of which the road outside the Vaikom temple is one. It was not the intention of the Committee or of the Congress to secure the admission of those classes into the temple either at Vaikom or elsewhere. Neither the Vaikom temple nor the roads in question now belong to any private individual or Trustees. The temple is in the possession of the Government, and its affairs are administered by Government servants. The roads leading to the temple are maintained by the Government out of public funds and are freely used not only by Brahmans and other caste Hindus but also by Muhammadans, Christians and other non-Hindus. Only the "unapproachables", such as the Thiyyas and Pulayas, are not allowed to go along these roads. The method adopted by the Satyagrahis was to cross the roads along with some untouchables after giving notice of their intention to the District authorities. They conducted their campaign in a perfectly non-violent manner, and always made it a point to inform the authorities beforehand of their plan. The Satyagrahis put themselves under M. Gandhi's direction.

On April 3rd Mr. K. P. Kesava Menon, Secretary, Kerala Provincial Congress committee and leader of the "Satyagraha" movement, and Mr. T. K. Madhaban, Editor, *Desbhumi*, and member of the untouchability Committee, formed the day's batch. They were at once arrested and were put up for trial for having instigated non-caste Hindus to proceed along prohibited roads surrounding the temple, and that there was serious risk of a breach of peace by enraged caste Hindus. The accused admitted having tried to secure such passage, and asserted that they had done so deliberately as the Government had failed to allow the submerged classes human rights, in spite of repeated prayers for many years, and there was no alternative left to non-caste Hindus and their champions but to resort to the method of "Satyagraha." Mr. Madhavan stated that he did not intend to go along the prohibited road owing to its proximity to the temple, but because he wanted to establish the right of his people to walk along all public roads, and that it was a mere accident that the issue was joined in respect of the road near the temple. Both explained that they had no ill-feeling in carrying on the struggle and that they would cheerfully go to gaol rather than sur-

render the lawful claim they had undertaken to maintain. The Magistrate convicted and sentenced them to undergo six month's simple imprisonment. After that daily volunteers in relays of 2 or 3 marched across the prohibited roads, were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. The Police barricaded the roads and formed a solid line of human wall in front preventing the Satyagrahis to pass through.

From April 10th the situation took a new turn. The police stopped arresting the volunteers but started arresting the leaders. On the 11th Mr. George Joseph, Mr. K. G. Nair and Mr. Sebastian who were leading the movement were arrested. Mr. Joseph at once sent a wire to M. Gandhi to send Devadas Gandhi or Mahadeo Desai. Hundreds of volunteers were ready to offer Satyagraha but there was none left to direct the movement From this day onwards the volunteers seated themselves on the ground before the police line blocking the street and remained so without food or drink, day and night fully exposed to the hot April sun of South India. Some of them fainted away, and were carried to the hospital. From the 12th April the police guard was doubled. On receipt of the news of fasting M. Gandhi at once sent a message: "Omit fasting, but stand and squat with quiet submission till arrested."

Fasting was accordingly stopped from the 14th April but daily batches of volunteers went on. By the end of April the situation grew graver as the police and some caste Hindu rowdies began to beat and harass the non-resisting volunteers and it seemed as if a riot was brewing. A compromise was sought to be patched up and for this purpose Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar visited the Maharaja and the Dewan of Travancore The latter came over to Vaikom on the 22nd April to make enquiries, saw the local leaders and volunteers and enquired of their grievances and went round the four prohibited roads. Nothing however came out of this.

In May the Satyagraha movement was further strengthened by a batch of Akalis who went all the way from the Punjab and opened a free Akali kitchen for the untouchables, by the holding of the session of the Kerala Nair Samajam and the S. N. D. P. Yogam, both representing non-caste Hindus, which passed strong resolutions against untouchability and asserted their right of using all public roads etc, and by the Arya Samaj making converts of the low castes into Arya Samajists. A great campaign was started by the middle of the month to send itinerant lecturers speaking from public platforms against untouchability, but they were prevented by official orders from addressing public meetings. Messrs. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, Chakravarti Iyengar, Dr. M. E. Naidu, and other leaders were thus served with notice. They, however, disobeyed the order and suffered arrest and imprisonment.

In June the movement became more extensive. On the 4th public meetings were held against the Government order simultaneously all over Travancore sympathising with Satyagrahis. From June 9th lady volunteers came into the field, and Mrs. Naicker, Mrs. G. Muthuswamy, Miss. Channer and three others offered Satyagraha. From this month volunteers began to carry a *charka* with them and sat down in front of the barricade with the *charka* before them

The attitude of the Government towards the Vaikom question came out in the Travancore Legislative Council that met on the 12th June. The interpellations showed that the entire responsibility rested with the Durbar. Several questions were put in the Council asking for a statement of policy of the Government in this matter. The answers were either evasive or not forthcoming at all. A resolution had been tabled and it had found a place on the agenda. But the Dewan-President could not give facilities for its discussion. The whole of the allotted time was taken up by official business and when a request was made to extend the meeting it was refused.

The behaviour of the Travancore police was on the whole praiseworthy until at the last meeting of the Legislative Council the Durbar made plain beyond doubt its lack of sympathy with the claim for civic justice of the depressed classes. But since then they became utterly demoralised and helped orthodox goondas and hooligans to commit all sorts of atrocities on the pacific Satyagrahist. In one case a Brahmin volunteer's sacred thread was snapped, his garment torn, shirt set fire to, all under the very eyes of the police. In another case a rowdy rubbed quicklime into the eyes of a volunteer! Many cases were reported of brutal assaults with fists, sticks and even dangerous weapons. From the end of June orthodox hooliganism was let loose. The history of this subsequent struggle will be recorded in our next issue.

Tarakeswar Satyagraha

The Tarakeswar Satyagraha was started by the middle of May last to remedy the malpractices of the Mohunt of Tarakeswar Temple in Bengal. As the struggle is still proceeding a complete account will be given in our next issue.

Reports of Committees.

In the earlier part of the year, besides the Lee Commission and the Tariff Board, the reports of which are summarised in this volume, several other less important Committees were moving about the country collecting evidence. The Tariff Board is now engaged in considering what protection can be given to Indian Cement, Ink, and other smaller industries. The North-West Frontier Committee, which was appointed on the motion of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer in the Legislative Assembly in 1921 to inquire into the expediency of reamalgamating that Province with the Punjab, issued its report at the end of March. The majority report opposed re-amalgamation and suggested the grant of reforms, such as the creation of a Legislative Council etc. The Indian members, Messrs. T. Rangachariar and N. M. Samarth, dissented from the majority view on political, constitutional, and financial grounds and favoured re-amalgamation with the Punjab. The Govt. of India have not yet passed orders on the report. Another Committee which has issued its report is the Indian Bar Committee. It recommended the abolition of the distinctions between the legal practitioners and institution in all High Courts of a single grade of practitioners to be called "advocates". It urged removal of distinctions regarding all legal appointments. There will be no All-India Bar Council but Provincial Councils are to be instituted at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Allahabad, Patna and Rangoon. The Council would consist of 15 members of whom eleven shall be elected by advocates and four nominated by the High Court.

The Bombay Excise Committee

Another important report issued during the period is that of the Bombay Excise Committee. This Committee was appointed by the Bombay Govt. on the recommendation of the local Legislature. The Committee have expressly pronounced the policy underlying their recommendations to be total prohibition and suggested radical measures to be taken for combating the curse, particularly among the industrial population. They have decided upon local option to be the first step in the struggle and recommend legislation to enforce the same. Their recommendations regarding the system of rationing, auctioning liquor, control in mill areas, Excise Advisory Committees, special licenses and foreign liquors are all designed to carry out this policy. To make up for the loss of revenue from this source, which has been advanced as the most powerful argument against the policy of prohibition in this country, the Committee suggest the levy of some extra taxes which they say will bring in sums larger than the deficit caused by carrying out their suggestions for restricting the drink traffic. The following are extracts from the report :—

'In the first place we are of opinion that in the interests of the community as a whole as well as in those of Government the present policy of Government, with regard to the manufacture and sale of country and foreign liquor, toddy and shindi, and drugs should be altered as quickly as possible. The strong demand which exists throughout the country for further restriction, and in due course of the total extinction of the alcohol and drug traffic, must be recognised and Government should declare that the total extinction of this traffic is the goal of its Excise policy.

'The first step which we propose for the adoption of the policy suggested by us is local option. Government should pass legislation to grant option to the people of a definite area to declare their intention to stop the liquor and toddy traffic in that area, and such legislation should provide for a reasonable time for Government to take action to carry out the intention so declared. It should be laid down in the local option law that such delay was due solely to financial and no other considerations. Our object is to make local option educative and popular. We are not in favour of making the locality directly responsible for the loss which will result in revenue from the exercise of local veto. All adult men and women of the area which is exercising the right of veto should have an equal right to vote. The law should only authorise a no-shop veto. Once the locality has gone dry, either by its own vote or by the adoption of the other measures proposed by us, no further option should be exercised by the people.

'We recommend the definite adoption with certain limitations of the present system of rationing the quantity of liquor supplied to shops, with a gradual reduction in the quantity issued to each. Equal treatment should be given to foreign as well as country liquor in issuing the quantity to shops. We do not recommend any further extension of the system of rationing liquor-shops to rural areas where the consumption is small and chances of illicit distillation and smuggling are many.

Government will ultimately have to adopt the necessary means to reduce the illicit use of liquors in rural areas also, in order to extinguish the liquor traffic in the whole Presidency.

'No new license should be henceforth issued by Government in any locality for the sale of country or foreign liquor or toddy and shindi, except where it is proposed to substitute a toddy shop for a liquor shop as a temporary measure.

'We approve the present policy of reducing the number of shops, whether for the sale of country or foreign liquor or toddy, but we recommend that it should be more consistently and vigorously adopted. In closing down country liquors hops, care should, however, be taken that the use of this liquor is not replaced by that of foreign liquor. The automatic reduction by any fixed percentage for all areas, or the regulation of the number on a population basis, is not desirable. The reduction should be made by Government, after consulting the excise authorities and advisory committees, according to the needs of the locality and the circumstances of the case.'

A similar Excise Committee has been accepted by the B. and O. Govt. but its report is not yet out.

Stores Purchase Rules.

The secret manner in which the India Office used to buy crores of rupees worth of stores for India through a selected body of English Manufacturers was for ever a cry in the wilderness of the Indian people. This system is now being gradually done away with, with of course the proverbial tardiness of the Government wherever Indian interests clash with those of the British people. On May 6th the Govt. of India issued the new rules for the Purchase of Stores in India. A communique of that date states :—

"In their resolution dated the 15th November 1919 the Government of India announced their intention to constitute a committee to deal with the proposal made by the Indian Industrial Commission for the creation of an Indian Stores Department. The terms of reference and personnel of this committee were announced on 5th December 1919. The Committee were directed to enquire and report on the measures required to enable Government Departments to obtain their requirements as far as possible in India, what central and local agencies should be constituted for the purchase and inspection of such requirements and what modifications of the Stores Purchase Rules would be required to give effect to their recommendations. This Committee submitted its report to the Government of India on the 19th July 1920. The Committee were unable to agree in regard to the modifications which should be made in the Stores Purchase Rules and certain alternative recommendations were offered. The Government of India arrived at certain provisional conclusions which, together with the revised draft of the Stores Purchase Rules, were sent to the provincial Governments for their consideration and advice. In the meantime the purchase of stores by Governors of provinces had ceased under the reformed constitutions to be a general subject. It was accordingly made clear that the revised rules under consideration were intended for application only to the Government of India and to provinces other than Governor's provinces. On receipt of the replies from the local Governments the revision of the rules was further considered by a committee of the Legislature (the Railway Industries Committee) which had been appointed in pursuance of a resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly on March 1922. The rules approved by this committee were submitted to the Secretary of State for his approval. The Secretary of State in Council has now approved the rules which will henceforth regulate the purchase of stores by all departments and officers of the Central Government and of the Local Governments and administrations other than those of the Governor's provinces."

The main features of the new rules consist in assertion of a more definite preference for stores produced and manufactured wholly or partly in India, and important extension of the power to purchase imported stores and the introduction of a central purchasing agency in India, namely the Indian Stores Department. This Department, as announced on the 10th December 1921, was created on a temporary basis with effect from the 1st January 1922 on which date the Chief Controller of Stores assumed charge of his duties and proceeded to formulate a detailed scheme of organisation. This scheme after consideration by the Government of India was submitted to the Secretary of State who has now sanctioned the constitution of the Indian Stores Department on a permanent basis.

Labour conditions.

The position of Labour in India while Labour is in power in England is still a century behind the times. Two awful trgedies during the first six months of the year stand out as a crying shame that call for speedy removal. The first was the Bombay Mill strike from January to March noticed in our last issue (p. 9). The second was the Cawnpore Mill strike on April 4. In both cases bullets were showered in answer to the call of hunger. These poor workers who come to the Mills for work are the most destitute people on earth. They live on their daily wages, and when driven to despair and treated atrociously, they strike work. And then the Government comes to the aid of the capitalists, and the police is too ready to open fire quickly to produce perhaps a '*moral effect.*' An account of the Cawnpore firing is given below.

Cawnpore Mill Strike

On April 4th there was a dispute over bonus and reduction in wages between the cotton mill workers and mill-owners. The workers struck work and gathered round the manager's office demanding bonus or else payment of their full wages. The European manager at once apprehended danger and, as it could be had for his mere asking, called in police aid. Some 20 'Sowars' and 50 policemen at once came up and laid a cordon round the millhands. Dr. Morarilal, Mr. Mannilal Avasthi, and Mr. Umashankar Dixit, three leading Labour leaders, came to the spot promptly and conducted an enquiry. They tried to ascertain the grievances of the strikers, and on their representation the management eventually promised to pay off the last month's wages on the 15th, but nothing for the days of the current month or bonus. They tried to arrive at a compromise on the basis that the workers continue up to the 15th when they were to be paid in full. The management wanted three days time for reckoning. But later when the strikers were being informed of the compromise, the manager who had been talking on the phone came down and said that the compromise was unacceptable. Doctor Morarilal then tried to persuade the workers to leave and to elect 20 representatives who could help in the negotiations for a settlement. The strikers agreed, and Mr. Mannilal Avasthi was inducing the laborers to walk out of the mill premises. More than three-fourths of the strikers left. About 300 were then inside the compound, and remained sitting peacefully or loitering about. The management seemed to resent the intervention of outsiders. Besides a few spectators there were the Superintendent of Police, the Kotwal City Magistrate, some Sub-Inspectors of Police and 40 constables, and all the Anglo-Indian employees of the mill. At this stage, about 40 mounted armed Policemen were brought in from behind. The Superintendent of Police now hurriedly told the strikers that Sowars had come, and if they did not leave, they would be forcibly ejected. One by one the strikers were slowly leaving. Of those remaining, some appeared agitated. The mounted Police cleared the ground by means of sticks about a yard or less in length. Suddenly, the mounted Police charged the crowd. Dr. Morarilal with raised hands asked the Police to stop, and assured them that the remaining strikers would soon disperse. The Doctor's words went unheeded, and he was knocked down by a horse. Volunteers picked the Doctor up and placed him on the verandah. Many others were also knocked down. When the mounted Police reached Mr. Umashanker, he told them to stop and added that they could beat if they liked, but he was persuading the strikers to leave. In reply, he was heavily belabored by the mounted Police as well as by the constables on foot and was turned out with the rest. Charging all round, the Police ejected all the strikers out of the compound within 3 or 4 minutes. Those left behind were beaten and kicked by the police and the Anglo-Indian employees of the mill. The Sowars were now at the gate and the strikers now outside became excited and were seen running in search of stones or bricks. When the shower of stones increased in intensity, the sowers withdrew and the crowd at the gate swelled. The mounted Police, after withdrawing, fired for the first time from a distance of 30 yards, and a portion of the crowd began to disperse. Some labourers who were at the gate shouted *Chubrao Nahin, Chuchi Fire Hai, Kya Goli Thora Chalaenge* (don't be confused, it is blank fire, they won't really fire.) At this stage the Superintendent telephoned to some one. Near the verandah of the office were 10 to 15 armed policemen, and from that spot one or two more volleys were fired at the gate. The people were hurt, and began to run crying and shouting *Gholle Chala Fahen Hai Chhara Laga* (they are firing, I am hurt). Two more volleys were fired, one from the interior of the compound and the other from the gate at intervals of two or three minutes. Yelling and shrieking the crowd then began to disperse in different directions and the road in the neighbourhood of the gate was soon

deserted. After this two or three more volleys were fired from outside the gate in various directions. Firing then stopped and dead silence prevailed all round. The Sowars galloped their horses and charged the men in hiding mercilessly. The whole scene was one of desolation. Altogether some 8 died at the spot and quite a large number were wounded.

The Anglo-Indian newspapers raised the cry of 'rebellion,' and tried to show that the mill-hands had turned bolshevist. On May 14th a motion was brought in the House of Commons by Mr. Grundy (see p. 753) with a view to ameliorate the condition of Indian Labourers. At once a hue and cry was raised in India by the mill and mine interests controlled by British capitalists, and the European Association of Bengal started a campaign both in India and England so that Indian Labour may be left where they are to the tender mercies of their exploiters.

European Association & Indian Labour

At a packed meeting of the Manbhum Branch of the European Association on Saturday, May 17th, the Branch passed a resolution that as representatives of British management and British Labour in the coal fields, they deplored the ignorance of responsible members of the House of Commons and strongly resented the imputations therein made. The European Association categorically denied the charges made by Mr. Grundy and issued their denial as follows.—

"Mining conditions in the coal fields as compared with England are exceptionally good. The thickness of seams varies from 8' to 40' and workers can work upright. In India immemorial custom makes the family the labour unit. Enquiries further show that the labourer would sooner leave the coal fields than be deprived of the assistance of his women folk. To secure a happy family life is the reason for restricting women labour in mines in England, whereas similar legislation in India is more likely to have the opposite effect!

To the charge of Mr. Grundy that the standard of living of the miners in India has been beaten down, the Association replied:

"Far from the standard of living having been beaten down, managements are endeavouring to raise the standard as the industrial world in India is suffering from scale of wages too high in ratio to the existing standard of living (!) with the result that labour works "slow", the workers only doing a sufficient number of hours' work a week to provide him with what he considers the necessities of life.

"Mr. Grundy's solution is to give the Indian miner a vote. Mr. Grundy does not apparently know that the Indian labourer is largely an agriculturist, and only works in the mines when he had nothing to do in his fields, and as such many of them have votes in rural constituents. Apart from that the Indian mining population is a floating one and it would be impossible to devise a scheme of franchise for him since the essential basis for the exercise of a vote is a residential qualification.

"The general ignorance of conditions in India is so deplorable that those who have the interests of India at heart can only regret that her future lies in the hands of men who show little knowledge of the requirements and do even less to find out the truth about India. The India Office reply was weak in the extreme. They surely have the true facts or can obtain them if they want to"

The truth of the matter is that Labour in India is not yet vocal; it is still too weak to organise itself; and the interests that are ranged against it trying to keep it down under heels have been very strong. Even the Trade Union Congress, the fourth session of which was held at Calcutta on 30th March under very unhappy circumstances (see p. 694), is rent by internal dissensions.

A case of surpassing interest was decided in Cawnpore before the Sessions Judge on May 20th. This is known as the Bolshevik Conspiracy Trial in which some persons were convicted for conspiring "to wage war against the King" and to spread Bolshevism in India! The real point was however the last one, for no "engines of war" were put in evidence and no case was really made for a "war." The case aroused much interest not only here in India but also in Britain and abroad as it was the first overt act of the authorities to stop socialism altogether in India. The point was whether socialism, miscalled bolshevism, was a crime. Mr. Lansbury and some other Labour leaders in England tried to raise an agitation in England over this affair but to no effect. After a protracted trial judgment was delivered on May 20th as follows:—

Bolshevism in India

(1) Nalini Bhushan Dasgupta whose name is said to be Nalini Kumar Gupta, (2) Shaukat Usmani, (3) Muzaffar Ahmed, and (4) Shripat Amrit Dange were charged with conspiring to wage war against the King-Emperor in as much as they conspired to deprive the King-Emperor of his sovereignty of British India by means of violent revolution. It was alleged that there exists in Europe a revolutionary organisation known as the Communist International, that a section of it has for its object the formation of affiliated organisations in the East, that this section is determined to establish a branch in India under one calling himself Mahendra Nath Roy (his real name being Narendra Nath Bhattacharya), that M. N. Roy and the accused communicated with each other and entered into a conspiracy to establish a branch in India, that the party was guided, supported and financed by the Third Communist International through M. N. Roy, and that the illegal and the revolutionary activities were to be masked and forwarded by ostensibly legal associations.

All the accused denied the charge and professed that they do not hold the views attributed to them. Dange admitted that he corresponded but merely to get material for his studies and journalism. Other accused denied all knowledge of or responsibility for the correspondence. The accused did not examine any defence witness. The evidence for the prosecution consisted mainly of letters and papers intercepted by the C. I. D. The Judge considered it proved beyond doubt that there was a conspiracy and all the four accused were members of that conspiracy.

Most of the documents produced were not connected with the accused, but the judgment said that certain documents have by entirely convincing evidence been proved to have been found on Usmani's person when arrested. Roy's letter from Berlin beginning with "Dear Usmani" showed that Usmani was one of the five chief agents of Roy in India, that Usmani was being financed by Roy and was spreading revolutionary propaganda and carrying out his orders regarding the building of a national revolutionary organisation.

The Judge said that the exhibits proved the existence of a conspiracy and the part played by the accused Usmani. In addition to the direct evidence against Usmani the fact that he eluded the police raid, and had no legitimate means of livelihood, tell strongly against him. An exhibit proved that Usmani's Cawpore address was a lie. As regards Muzaffar Ahmad, the evidence of the Assistant Jailor of the Presidency Jail, Calcutta, proved that while interned in that jail, Muzaffar Ahmad wrote two letters. Evidence on this point was not shaken by cross-examination. Muzaffar Ahmad further did not deny having written those letters but took refuge under the plea that he did not remember whether these documents were written by him.

The important witness against Nalini Gupta was Kiran Behary Roy, a Bengali incorporated accountant drawing a salary of over Rs. 1,000 per month from the New Indian Assurance Company, Bombay. He was an old friend of the accused having lived together in Glasgow and Calcutta. Nalini went to him and said he was going to Madras. Nalini had come to India from Europe through Mesopotamia after about six weeks. K. B. Roy received letters from Nalini from some European country.

One Abani Mukherjee's letter was the important evidence against Nalini. Abani Mukherjee wanted to supplant M. N. Roy and complained to Comrade Zinowuf, Chairman, Executive Committee, Third International. Nalini like the other accused was not shown to have any definite means of subsistence apart from the money sent him by Roy. The Judge found that Nalini's guilt was clear.

Three points arose with reference to Dange's contention: (1) Did Roy and his fellow conspirators look upon Dange as one of themselves, for if they did not Dange's defence was established; (2) If answer to (1) is in the affirmative did Dange encourage them to believe that he was a member of the conspiracy, for if he did not, Dange's defence was again established; (3) If answer to (1) and (2) is in the affirmative, can it be held that although Dange pretended to be a member, he was not in fact one and only represented himself as one for the sake of personal advantage.

Roy throughout wrote to Dange as one of the inner circle of the conspiracy. Dange was invited to the proposed conference at Lucknow. Roy proposed Dange as a member of a small and presumably select commission to elaborate his programme. Dange was considered to hold in conspiracy an influential position. The Judge found all the points against Dange and said that these four circumstances, if they stood by themselves, would not necessarily justify finding of Dange's guilt but as evidences stood they put the finishing touch if that were needed. The remarks suggesting that

Dange was opposed to Roy were mere pretence and put in to throw dust in the eyes of the Government or the C. I. D. If Dange would not have been a faithful follower of Roy the latter would not have ventured to write to him in the style he did. The Judge therefore convicted Dange.

Agreeing with the assessors where they found the accused 'guilty' and disagreeing where they found the accused 'not guilty', the Judge sentenced all the four accused to four years' rigorous imprisonment.

Chronicle of Events—April—June 1924

27 Mar. '24 C. P. Ministers resigned & Governor took over charge of transferred Depts (p. 374)

CERTIFICATION OF FINANCE BILL: Statement published in a *Gazette of India Extraordinary* giving the Viceroy's reasons.

31 Mar. '24 Trade Union Congress, Fourth Session, held at Calcutta on previous day with Mr. C. R. Das in the Chair came to an end (see p. 694)

1 April '24 Indian Laborers in British Guiana shot down by Police for having gone on strike and alleged rioting.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Swarajists and Nationalists questioned the action of the Governor in holding conference with a certain section of the members of the Council to secure their support for the Budget, and in protest left the Chamber amidst boisterous scenes (see p. 426) The remaining demands were then passed *ad hoc*.

In the Assam Legislative Council a motion that Ministers should receive Rs. 1,500 per mensem was passed by a majority of one vote.

C. P. Govt. campaign started against Swarajists (p. 374).

2 April '24 Lala Harkishen Lal addressed the Indian Parliamentary Committee.

In Assam Council motion for abolition of Commissionerships carried.

Mr. Shaukat Ali issued reply to the Home Department on refusal of passports and controverted Sir Malcolm Hailey's speech in the Assembly.

3 April '24 Mr. V. J. Patel elected President of the Bombay Corporation.

Indian Colonies Committee sat for 2 hrs. at the India office to discuss their instructions.

4 April '24 Cawnpore Mill-hands struck work for not getting their due wages; subsequently they were fired upon and dispersed by the Police; some died and many wounded.

5 April '24 Satyagraha at Vaikom resumed. Mr. K. P. Kesava Menon and T. K. Madhavan were sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment.

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.—A string of questions on India were put and answered in the Commons (see p. 727).

Third Shahidi Jatha arrested at Jaito.

E. & O. Council cuts in the Budget restored by Governor by certification.

8 April '24 Lord Willingdon retired from the Governorship of Madras.

9 April '24 Replying to a question whether Messrs. Gandhi, Das, and Nehru had been invited to a London Conference by the Cabinet, the Premier denied the suggestion; Mr. Rangachari gave an address at the House of Commons to the Indian Committee.

Arrest of Leaders at Vaikom.

House of Lords passed the first reading of the Bill to enable the Viceroy, Commander-in-Chief, etc. to proceed to England on leave.

Mr. Shaukat Ali addressed second cable to Mustapha Kemal Pasha reiterating Indian views on the Khilafat question (see p. 641).

11 April '24 Punjab Govt. issued *communique* appointing the Birdwood Committee to settle Sikh Gurdwara questions by compromise.

14 April '24 Important questions on India asked in the Commons on the Jaito and Cawnpore firing, dismissal of 700 officials in Bengal etc (see p. 728).

Messrs. George Joseph, K. G. Nair and Sebastian arrested at Vaikom.

Lord Goschen took over charge as Governor of Madras.

15 April '24 Viscount Curzon's motion on India in the Commons (see p. 734)

16 April '24 Mr. C. R. Das elected Mayor of Calcutta by 59 votes to 13. He said that the policy of the new Corporation would not be obstruction.

Maharaja Burdwan resigned seat in Bengal Executive Council; Mr. B. N. Basu appointed in his place.

17 April '24 Alipore Conspiracy Case: all accused were released, and the Judge expressed strong disapproval of the police methods. Immediately after release the four accused were again arrested under Regulation III.

18 April '24 Fourth Shahidi Jatha arrived at Jaito and arrested.

U. P. Liberal Conference opened at Allahabad (see p. 673)

19 April '24 C. P. Non-Brahmin Conference opened at Morsi by Rao Bahadur Jadhav, Minister, Bombay.

Speaking at the Labour Conference at York the Premier made an important announcement on India (see p. 705).

21 April '24 The European Association, Calcutta, addressed letter to the Secretary of State regarding the present political situation in the country. (p. 690)

22 April '24 Before Mr. H. E. Holme, Sessions Judge of Cawnpore, commenced the famous Bolshevick conspiracy case. (p. xvii).

23 April '24 Dr. Annie Besant issued statement announcing that the National Convention was established at Allahabad on 22nd April, 1924.

25 April '24 All-India Swarajya Party.—With a view to formulate the future programme the Executive Committee of the party met in Conference in Bombay

26 April '24 The first report of the Indian Tariff Board published (see p. 517).

Madras Religious Endowments Bill: A lengthy cablegram, costing over Rs. 700 was sent by Mr. Horakoppa Krishna Rao, Secretary of the Hindu Conference Deputation, to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, for the reservation of the Bill for His Majesty's pleasure.

28 April '24 Maharashtra Provincial Conference met at Jalgaon Peth, Mr. Gangadhar Deshpande presiding strongly attacked Swarajists.

Bombay Corporation by 52 to 13 votes decided to present an address to M. Gandhi, Messrs P.C. Sethna and H. P. Mody supporting.

30 April '24 Sir M. O'Dwyer's libel action against Sir Sankaran Nair came up before Mr. Justice McCardie.

Bombay Excise Committee made drastic proposals aiming at ultimate total prohibition.

The National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party agreed to a resolution welcoming the Prime Minister's York statement that the Government was prepared to meet Indian representatives.

1 May '24 Fifth Shahidi Jatha left Amritsar for Jaito.

2 May '24 Party of 12 Akalis arrived at Vaikom to conduct Satyagraha and open a free kitchen for untouchables.

4 May '24 Amritsar Police arrested Kartar Singh, Head Granthi, Golden Temple.

5 May '24 Indian Questions in Parliament (see p. 751).

6 May '24 New Stores Purchase Rules issued by Govt. of India in a *Communique*.

7 May '24 Sir Edward Maclagan left Lahore on retirement.

Dispute between Swami Sachidanand and the Mahant of Tarakeswar began in the matter of the purity of temple affairs. Beginning of Tarakeswar trouble.

8 May '24 Lord Olivier received a deputation of prominent Indians in London on the question of Reforms.

10 May '24 Sixth Shahidi Jatha left Amritsar for Jaito.

Dr. Besant, Mr. Sastri, Sir B. C. Mitra, and Sir Edwin and Lady Emily Lutyens landed in London.

12 May '24 In the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case warrant for the arrest of Mahendranath Roy was issued.

13 May '24 Bengal Governor's *Communique* certifying the refused Budget heads issued.

13 May '24 The Steel Industry (Protection) Bill was published; the publication in the *Gazette of India* amounted to its formal introduction in the Assembly.

Report of the Tariff Board regarding import duty on Sulphur issued.

14 May '24 Gujerat Political Conference opened at Borsad (p. 678).

14 May '24 Debate in the House of Commons on Indian Labor conditions (p. 753).

15 May '28 Govt. of India *Communique* on Reforms Enquiry issued (p. 541).

16 May '24 Tarakeswar Trouble.—serious frictions between Mahabirdal volunteer under Swami Sachidanand and Sanatana Dharma Sabha volunteers under Swami Abhedanand occurred at Tarakeswar.

19 May '24 Universities Conference opened by His Excellency Lord Reading in the Legislative Assembly Chamber, Simla.

20 May '24 Cawnpore Bolshevick Case: Judgment delivered by the Sessions Judge of Cawnpore in the Bolshevik Conspiracy Case and the four accused sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment each.

20 May '24 Tarkeswar Trouble: Satyagraha was started.

In a letter to the Governor of Bombay Lord Olivier drew attention to the hardship the Bombay Mill operatives have to suffer by having to wait for payment of wages until the middle of the month.

20 May '24 Meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held at Lahore and about a hundred prominent Mussalmans attended.

21 May '24 Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference: Mr. B. S. Kamat presiding made a speech scathingly denouncing the Swaraj Party and their policy.

Fifth Shahidi Jatha entered the Nabha State boundary and was peacefully arrested and sent away by special train.

22 May '24 Gandhi Swarajist Conference: The long looked for statement by M. Gandhi and that by the Swarajist leaders on the question of entry into the Councils by the Congressmen issued to the public;

Universities Conference: On the motion of Dr. Gour, it was resolved that a Central University Bureau should be established.

Mr. Shaukat Ali, President of the Khilafat Committee, issued a very long statement concerning the reconstruction of Muslim Society (p. 653).

25 May '24 SIR ASHUTOSH MUKHERJEE DIED AT PATNA.

At the All-India Muslim League a lengthy resolution was moved by Mr. Sheik Abdul Qadir for the protection of minorities.

26 May '24 Lee Commission Report published.

Indian Taxation Committee appointed by a Govt. of India resolution.

Fifty non-official members of the Legislative Assembly held an informal discussion in Simla on the tabled amendments to the Tariff Bill.

Bengal Government issued a long Press communique on Tarkeswar in which it stated that the Government would observe the policy of non interference and preservation of 'law and order.'

House of Commons interpellations on India (p. 756).

27 May '24 The Assembly met at Simla. Home Member made a statement on the Lee Report (see p. 545.)

The special session of the Council of State commenced.

29 May '24 M. Gandhi's Manifesto on Congress Organisation issued (see p. 601a).

31 May '24 In the Legislative Assembly, the Lee Commisson's report was brought up again on a motion for adjournment.

Pandit Motilal declined offer of a seat on the Reforms Committee.

The Nationalist party of the Legislative Assembly held a meeting and decided not to make voting on the Tariff Bill a party question.

1 June '24 The Bengal Provincial Conference held in Serajgunge. (see p. 666)

2 June '24 Bengal Provincial Conference carried the resolution on Gopinath Saha.

House of Commons interpellations on India (p. 759).

3 June '24 In the House of Lords Lord Peel raised the question of Lord Olivier's letter to Mr. Satyamurti; in the Commons Prof. Richards said that the Reforms Enquiry Committee would not examine the imperfections of the 1919 Act.

Justice McCardie gave scandalous summing up of the O'Dwyer-Nair Case to the Jury (see p. 787).

5 June '24 Justice McCardie gave judgment in the O'Dwyer-Nair Case awarding Sir Michael damages £ 500 and costs of the suit about £ 20,000 against Sir Sankaran.

6 June '24 Debate in the Commons on Lord Winterton's motion on India (p. 776).

9 June '24 In the Assembly a motion for adjournment to consider the judgment in the O'Dwyer libel suit was ruled out of order. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar's resolution on the Lee report was substantially adopted.

Six lady volunteers, including Mrs. Naicker, Mrs. Gandhidas Muthuswami and Miss Channar offered Satyagraha at Vaikom.

10 June '24 Tarkeswar: Swami Sacchidanand and 111 Satyagrahists, including 35 women, arrested on a charge of trespassing into the Mahant's house.

11 June '24 Memorandum of the National Convention Deputation to England drawn up to be presented to the Sec. of State (p. 702).

13 June '24 The Swaraj Party of the Assembly framed revised rules governing the policy and programme of the Party at Simla.

Viceroy gave assent to the Steel Industry Protection Bill which came into operation from this day.

First Reform Committee met at Simla without notice to non-officials.

17 June '24 Sardar Mahindar Singh, M.L.C., sentenced to two & half years rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 1500 fine for entertaining a Shahidi Jatha.

18 June '24 Replying to questions arising from the O'Dwyer case in the Commons Mr. MacDonald said that the finding of the Jury did not contain any indication or suggestion that General Dyer was not fairly dealt with, and his Government agreed with the late Government in the judgment passed on his action.

20 June '24 *Gazette Extraordinary* published the Home Department resolution appointing the Reforms Enquiry Committee;

20 June '24 Tarkeswar Satyagraha: Total number of volunteers arrested up to date came up to 645, including 26 women.

22 June '24 Communal Fracas in Delhi: A fracas between some Arya Samajists Hindus and Muhammadans behind the Jumma Masjid in Delhi resulted in injuries to about 8 members.

23 June '24 In the Commons Professor Richards said that Lord Olivier had received statements of views from Indian deputations but was not prepared to publish them. Mr. Lansbury's motion on Justice McCardie shelved.

25 June '24 Indian Colonies Committee met in London.

Demonstration in the Queen's Hall, London, in favour of Home Rule for India (p. 704).

Central Khilafat Committee held at Delhi discussed and passed several important resolutions (p. 643)

Joint meeting of the Executives of the National Trade Unions and the National Labor Party of England led by Mr. Smillie, was determined to press for shortening the ten years' period of reforms in India.

27 June '24 Tariff Board commenced public enquiry on protection of Cement Industry.

The famous A.I.C.C. meeting opened at Ahmedabad with M. Mahomed Ali as President (see p. 607).

28 June '24 The first Utkal Provincial Conference was held in Cuttack with Sir P. C. Ray as President.

29 June '24 A. I. C. C. adopted the first resolution on spinning, but at Mr. Gandhi's suggestion the penal clause was removed; a compromise was arrived at on the second and third resolutions.

The C. P. Dead-lock & After

(Continued from Page 264)

After the wholesale rejection of the budget by the Swarajists in the C. P. Council a Govt. Resolution was published at the end of March in the CENTRAL PROVINCES GAZETTE explaining the action taken by the Governor. After narrating the circumstances and discussing possible courses of action, the Resolution says:—

This emergency has arisen from the refusal of the Legislative Council to vote any demands. The power conferred with reference to expenditure on transferred subjects is thus more restricted than that conferred in regard to reserved subjects. In the former case an emergency must have arisen rendering the authorisation of expenditure necessary for carrying on of a department, in the latter all expenditure may be restored which is essential for carrying on the ordinary administration. In authorising expenditure His Excellency has observed the following principles. In the reserved subjects the budget provision has for some years, owing to financial stringency, been curtailed to a minimum, and His Excellency has therefore certified the votable expenditure in these subjects with the exception of some items which can be postponed without serious detriment to the administration or loss to the provincial revenues.

In the transferred departments, on the other hand, His Excellency has been able only to authorise expenditure on the scale necessary for the carrying on of each department. Certain items which are classed as 'new expenditure' but which are really commitments of the Government in accordance with past practice, such, for instance, as grants to local bodies for general purposes, have been authorised, but other new expenditure proposed in the budget for schemes of development cannot be authorised, and these schemes must be postponed till funds are voted for them by the Council. Such projects include the construction of several new roads and bridges in Berar, new educational buildings, the improvement of water-supply including boring operations, the District Health Officers' scheme, the improvement of hospitals, the appointment of an Industrial Chemist, experiments for the improvement of sugarcane and so forth. The postponement of these schemes must inevitably have the regrettable effect of arresting the development of the province, and the action of the Legislative Council necessarily falls most heavily on the transferred subjects, where development is most required. Again, His Excellency the Governor is advised that he has no legal power to authorise the payment of reasonable salaries to Ministers. The result of the refusal to vote salaries for the Ministers is, therefore, that the office of Minister cannot be filled, and His Excellency has been obliged to take over temporarily the administration of the transferred subjects, the province being thus deprived of the most important advance towards self-government made by the Government of India Act.

Following these principles, His Excellency the Governor has exercised his statutory powers to authorise expenditure to the extent shown in the Appendix. The budget as introduced, excluding capital and debt heads, provided for an estimated revenue of Rs. 5,31,81,000 and an estimated expenditure of Rs. 5,29,36,000, thus giving a surplus of Rs. 2,45,000. Including the amounts now authorised, the provincial

a lecturing tour throughout East Africa during February last. Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi of the Ahmedabad Sabarmati Ashram, and Mr. S. G. Vaze of the Servant of India were also there. They turned the Indian agitation from a purely communal one to one of universal protest against White oppression, both upon the Indians and the African natives. The frigid isolation which the Indians had so long observed in their dealings with the African natives were henceforth to be broken. For the next 10 days Mrs. Naidu pushed on her campaign vigorously, not on the no-tax movement alone, but also in carrying and explaining the message of non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi, in eradicating social abuses amongst the Indian community, in organising the volunteer movement amongst the Aga Khani Khojas, and generally in stimulating the whole population of Indian settlers to more active national work. She succeeded also to bring round some of the good people of the Whites to recognise the justice of the Indian's grievances and to enlist their sympathy and co-operation. She left Mombasa on the 17th February last; and was followed a month later by Messrs. Chaturvedi and vaze.

The Attachments and Oppression.

Meanwhile persecutions went on. The chief centre of the trouble was Mombasa, the gate-way and the chief Port of Kenya. The Government was afraid that, if the non-payment movement started by the Indians were not checked, the administration would be absolutely difficult as the movement of the Indians was contagious and the natives might soon learn also to refrain from paying the taxes. Persons who joined the non-payment movement included capitalists, big merchants, shop-keepers and land-holders and when ordered by the Resident Commissioners, they willingly courted *jail*. In Kenya the old (1882) Code of Civil Procedure of India is applicable in all civil matters. According to sections 48 to 50 it is obligatory on the part of the plaintiff to file a plaint in court and if there is no such plaint filed, it is obligatory on the part of the Court to dismiss the case. According to section 9 of the Non-Native Poll-tax Ordinance 1912 it is stated that whoever makes a default in payment of the Non-native poll-tax, due and payable, the Magistrate or the District Commissioner under whose jurisdiction the man resides shall issue a summons calling the defaulter to attend before him to answer why he should not be ordered to pay the poll-tax.

The Mombasa District Commissioner's Court however adopted a queer procedure. Under the Poll-Tax Ordinance, Sec. 9, the Court threw off the sections of the Code of Civil Procedure as to plaint etc. The summons shows that the "Crown" is the plaintiff. It was really not conceivable by a common layman how the Crown came to know that the defendant was indebted to the plaintiff in the amount of the poll-tax as there was nothing on the record which could show that. Under sec. 2 of of the Petition of Rights Ordinance 1910 it was clearly stated that in an action by Crown there shall appear and act the Crown Advocate or some authorised person by law; but in these poll-tax cases no body appeared excepting a clerk of the District Commissioner who hold no power of attorney or a letter of authority. This clerk opened a book and said that from the book he did not find that the defendant had paid his poll-tax for 1924! There were about 400 cases filed in Mombasa alone, some 100 in Nairobi and a similar number in the neighbouring districts.

Mr. Desai's Case.

The most important case was that of Mr. D. B. Desai, the Hony. Secretary of the Mombasa Indian Association, and the leader of the movement. He was summoned as a defaulter to appear before the District Commissioner on the 22nd February. In the beginning he raised the legal and technical objections; firstly he raised the objection under section 50 of the C. P. C. Then he said that the District Commissioner had no power to try the case and therefore it should be transferred to another Court, as the District Commissioner himself was the Collector of the poll-tax and that there was a circular that where there are Resident Magistrates or Town Magistrates the cases of poll-tax should be tried there. Mr. Desai also raised an objection as to whether the poll-tax was legal or not. Thereupon the District Commissioner adjourned the case to the 28th on which day, over and above the aforesaid objections, which were not decided by the Court, Mr. Desai stated that there ought to have been the presence of the Crown Advocate, and as neither he was present nor the Plaintiff present, the case should be dismissed with costs under section 102 C. P. C. On being further asked Mr. Desai handed to the Court a memorandum where he had asked the Court to refer the case under section 25 of the Court's Ordinance 1907 to the Supreme Court to decide whether the poll-tax was legal. Mr. Desai after handing in the Memorandum stated that he reserved the right of filing his written statement. The case was then adjourned till the 4th March.

Judgment Goes Against Desai.

On that day the District Commissioner brought in a written judgment wherein he stated that there was another circular which overruled the point raised by the defendant whether the Court should try the case. With regard to section 102 and the petition of Rights Ordinance, he stated, that the procedure under the Non-Native Poll-tax Ordinance was quite different and that under the said Ordinance those points did not arise. With regard to the legality of the tax he stated that in 1914 there had been a case decided wherein it was held that the Crown had the right to levy such taxes. But the judgment of 1924 had not decided the points raised by Mr. Desai. Without deciding these points, which could be legally decided by the High Court alone, the District Commissioner overruled them. Further, without getting any proof as to the plaintiff's claim, the District Commissioner gave judgment for the plaintiff as the defendant refused to answer pertinent questions asked by the court! After judgment, even though the District Commissioner knew that the defaulter had property still, in order to harass them, issued warrants for their person according to section 337 of the Old Code of Civil Procedure of 1882. Under section 339 it is made clear that it shall be obligatory for the Court to receive the deposit from the plantiff for the subsistence allowance before issuing the warrants and in case warrants are issued without such deposits the warrants shall be illegal.

Notwithstanding this the Court issued the warrants without receiving any deposit, and sent warrants upon the jailors under section 339 in contravention to the contents of the said section with regard to the subsistence allowance. In the jail the Civil Prisoners of the Poll-tax eat their own food and nothing was given by the Government. On the 5th March two of the Indians who had been sent to Jail for

non-payment of the Poll-tax came out of the jail as their Poll-tax was paid by some unknown persons. A mass meeting was held at night on the 5th and the position was explained as regards these two persons. In the meeting it was resolved "that this mass meeting empowers the Managing Committee of the Indian Association, Mombasa, the Mombasa Committee of the Standing Committee of the Congress, and the Mombasa Poll-tax Committee to punish those persons who have paid the Poll-tax." It was agreed that those who paid the Poll-tax after the 20th January but up to the 5th March should be punished by a maximum fine of Sh. 500 or in default social (excepting on occasions of religious purposes, serious illness, and on death-bed) and commercial boycott for a period not exceeding one month, and those who paid after the 5th should be punished by boycott in the manner for a period not exceeding three months. In Nairobi and other up-country places matters were not dragged so hurriedly as in Mombasa.

The movement, however, flagged by the end of March last for want of workers, and also for want of that solid unity which has ever been the bane of the Indian.

The New Labour Policy

The change of Government in England led people to hope much from the Labour Party. On Jan. 29th, however, Mr. Thomas received the Empire Journalists at the Colonial Office and outlined at length the Government's Empire policy. He referred at the outset to the nonsense talked about Labour being anti-Empire.

Replying to a question by Sir Stanley Reed, he said that one of his first difficulties was Kenya to which he had given more consideration than to any other. He said emphatically that their first duty was to African Natives. Neither European nor Indian interests could divert them from their obligation to the natives. The policy enumerated in the White paper was the one most likely to be followed.

Mr. Polak on behalf of the Indian Overseas Association urged the Colonial and India Offices and the Prime Minister of the implications of the formula agreed to at the Imperial Conference and the definite pledge by Colonel Wedgwood in the Colonial Office vote debate on the 25th July last on behalf of the Labour Party to revise the White Paper decisions as between Indians and the White settlers when the party came into office.

In the House of Commons on February 26th, Mr. J. H. Thomas, replying regarding the Colonial Office supplementary estimate relating to Kenya and Uganda, declared that the Government's first obligation to Kenya and policy which they intended to pursue, was a trust to the natives. That carried with it something more than an obligation to talk about franchise or immigration questions, namely, assurance that the natives would be fairly treated, protected and especially educated.

Mr. Ormsby Gore welcomed Mr. Thomas' determination to pursue an African policy. He feared that Mr. Thomas would have a great deal of outside pressure and attempt to force an Indianising policy on him and he was glad that Mr. Thomas had nailed the colours to the mast. One thing that Kenya wanted was less talk and news about Indians,

more about cotton and maize grown by the African peasants, and development of East Africa on West African lines.

The Colonies' Committee.

In the Council of State at Delhi, on February 6th the Kenya question was raised in debate.

Sir B. N. Sarma, Member-in-charge of Emmigration said: "I wish to make an announcement regarding this resolution. The Government of India have strongly urged upon the Secretary of State for Colonies the desirability of not proceeding with the Kenya Immigration Bill until the Committee to be appointed made its report to us and the Colonial Office. The Secretary of State for India has now wired to forthwith appoint the Committee, in as much as the decision has been reached that the new drafts of the Bill would be prepared. I, therefore, take it that nothing would be done in the matter of the Immigration Ordinance by the Colonial Office until the Committee meets in London and discusses the question and negotiates with the Colonial Office.

Mr. Sethna: There is nothing new in the statement of the Hon. Sir B. N. Sarma, except the appointment to be made shortly of the Colonies' Committee, but my resolution deals not only with the Immigration Ordinance, but also in regard to the franchise.

Sir B. N. Sarma said that "the telegram received from the Secretary of State puts the matter a little further than what the Viceroy has stated. I understand that nothing would be done in the matter of the Ordinance until the Committee is in a position to negotiate with the Colonial Office."

Mr. Sethna: Sir, will the Committee deal with the question of franchise? Sir B. N. Sarma: It will.

Mr. Sethna: But in answer to a question put by Sir Stanley Reed to Mr. Thomas when a deputation of the Empire Journalists appeared before him, he stated that he looked upon the arrangement in regard to the franchise in Kenya as completely settled. The Viceroy's speech itself was certainly lukewarm on this question. Hence my fear.

Sir B. N. Sarma: The Franchise Bill has already been passed into law, and what modifications are possible is a question which would be taken up by the Committee separately. The Franchise question has not been raised in the resolution before us.

And on the 12th March the Government of India appointed the Colonies' Committee "to make representations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on all questions affecting Indians domiciled in Kenya arising out of the decisions embodied in the White Paper and on certain pending questions affecting Indians in Fiji. The members are:—

"Mr. J. Hope Simpson C.I.E., M.P., Chairman, H.H. Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan, Sir Benjamin Robertson C.I.E., Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar M.L.A., Mr. K. C. Roy, C.I.E., M.L.A.

"Mr. B. B. Ewbank, C.I.E., I.C.S., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, will Act as Secretary to the Committee. It will assemble in London as soon as possible. The members sailed from Bombay on the 15th March."

Regarding the so-called native trusteeship, Mr. S. G. Vaze of the *Servants of India* says:—

"Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary in the Labour Cabinet, speaks often enough about "native trusteeship," but to him evidently it is but an empty phrase. He has been plied in Parliament with questions regarding the Master and Servants Ordinance, the Registration of Natives Ordinance, etc., which spell for the East African wards of the Whites a form of semi-slavery, but Mr. Thomas apparently regards all such pleas on the score of humanitarianism as inspired by a mawkish sentimentality, to which only imbeciles would pay any heed. If on cardinal labour principles he is so utterly unsound, it is hardly a matter of surprise that, where his information is derived exclusively from official sources, he is altogether engulfed by the bureaucratic spirit. On March 5th Mr. Morel endeavoured to expose in the Commons some of the monstrosities inherent in the system of taxation which obtains in Kenya. By this system the Whites who are best able to pay make the least contribution to the public revenues, while natives who just live on the borderland of starvation are made to bear, over and above the cost of the native services, the largest share in the cost of the development of the country in the White's interest. What percentage of the receipts from native taxation is in fact devoted to European requirements, the Kenya officials have not yet made public, and will perhaps never do so, but occasionally you get an official or two who tell you privately but plainly that a considerable part of the money derived from native sources is really expended on European interests. I have seen many leaflets recommending Kenya for White settlement, in which the most seductive feature of this modern Arcadia is made out to be the absence of an income-tax or a land-tax. The absence of these two taxes is no doubt a very great scandal, but the full measure of the iniquity of this system of taxation will not be apparent until one is further told that the deficiency in revenue is made up by clapping on to the natives a tax which makes a large proportion of them work on European farms for nearly three months in a year. The gross partiality of this arrangement Mr. Morel tried to bring out by asking the following question in the House of Commons:—

"Will the Secretary of State for the Colonies take steps to review the incidence of direct taxation upon the native population of Kenya which in effect involved the able-bodied male population in work upon European farms and plantations for three months out of the year; and will he take steps to secure that the principle be adopted that at least one-fifth of the direct taxes paid by the natives shall be returned to them in technical education, medical service and agricultural instruction?"

"To this Mr. Thomas returned the following answer:—"I cannot accept the suggestion that a native cannot pay his tax by working on his own account. Active steps are being taken to extend native education and increase native agricultural production, but I do not think any fixed percentage can be laid down. The proportion suggested by my Hon. friend was very nearly reached in 1922 and, if veterinary services are included, was exceeded.

"As to the effect the increased native taxation has on the native labour supply, it is hardly worth while to engage in a controversy with the Colonial Secretary: it is writ large in the official Labour Commissions'

Report of 1912—13, to which it is enough to refer him. But on the latter portion of Mr. Thomas' answer, it is necessary to dwell for a few minutes. Before proceeding, however, to examine its accuracy, I must mention two facts. First, that the native pays not only in the form of the Hut and the Poll taxes, which Mr. Morel apparently had in mind when he put the question, but two other ways—through customs duties on imports for native consumption (and it must not be supposed that their incidence is at all light,) and through the tax in the shape of free labour in the Reserves, a part of which, e.g., on motor roads, is really for the benefit of the Europeans. The second fact to be borne in mind is that the test which Mr. Morel applies here is too easy, viz. that one-fifth of the proceeds of direct taxes from the native should be applied to the education and medical services in the Reserves. The real principle of allocation of revenues that ought to be applied is the one embodied in "A plan for Govt. on mandate in Africa" published by the League of Nations Union. As the Kenya Government professes to be conducted on the trusteeship plan, like countries administered under the League of Nations' mandate, there is no reason why Article XVII on Revenue therein should not apply to Kenya: "The Mandatory should, so far as possible, allocate all revenues derived from direct taxation of Africans to the native Government, to be spent by them subject to advice and approval of the Resident Advisers. The whole of the revenue of the Mandatory, from whatever source arising, should be expended for the sole advantage of the inhabitants of the territory." The principle therefore that should govern the Kenya Government's policy is not that one-fifth of direct taxes should be applied to education and medical help, but that all the revenues should be applied solely to native interests and the whole proceeds from direct taxation should be spent by the natives as they desire. But the Kenya Government does not come up even to the low standard mentioned by Mr. Morel. Mr. Thomas affirms that it does, but I propose to show below that it falls far short of it.

The Hut tax and the Poll Tax was estimated to produce in 1923 £500,365; leaving the cost of labour on roads etc., which natives are liable to supply out of the reckoning for the moment, the question is whether on native education and medical relief one fifth of £5000,000 or £100,000 is expended. It is most surprising that Mr. Thomas should have answered the question in the affirmative, whereas the fact is that to these two services only a quarter of this amount is devoted for the benefit of the native. In 1922 the Kenya Government spent 270,478 shillings on Arab and native education through its own agency, and it gave 217,920 shillings by way of grants to Missions. Now of the 2014 children in attendance in Arab and native schools, about 400 are Arabs; so we may take it that of the 273,478 shillings disbursed by it through its own agency, 216,380 shillings were spent on the natives, which with the 217,920 shillings grant makes a total of 434,300 shillings, or £21,715. So much the Kenya Government spent on native education (not only technical and agricultural education but literary education as well) in 1922. And how much did it spend on medical facilities for the natives? It is difficult to give exact figures, but in 1921 only £6,666 was spent on medical work in Native Reserves, £2,372 for the subsidizing of Missions and £4,294 spent by the Medical Department

itself. Thus, to these two services of the most vital importance to the natives, it would appear that only £28,381 was spent, which bears a proportion, not of 20 per cent. but 5·7 per cent to the proceeds of the Hut and Poll Taxes. Mr. Thomas says that if veterinary services are included, the expenditure would exceed 20 per cent. The amount spent on veterinary services in Native Reserves in 1922 (including the salaries of European veterinary officers) was £10,374. Thus the inclusion of these services would bring up the total of expenditure in the native interest to £38,735 and raise the percentage of direct taxation applied to these purposes from 5·7 to 7·7. The amount that is actually spent on the three services mentioned is thus a little over one-third of what Mr. Thomas says is being spent. It would be well if the Colonial Secretary would explain his figures in detail. I have no doubt that his arithmetic is very seriously at fault somewhere. These bald figures perhaps convey to the reader a very imperfect idea of the Kenya Government's grave neglect of the native. He will have a better idea of the medical and sanitary condition of the native when I put before him just two facts, that of every 1,000 children born 400 die within the first twelve months of life (whereas the infant mortality rate for England for the year 1921 was 83 per 1,000), and that when army recruitment went on, the Government had an average of about 33 per cent absolute wrecks among natives. One cannot be too censorious of the utter callousness with which the Government of Kenya has treated these three subjects of the utmost advantage to the natives; education, medical help and veterinary work. It is best to adduce the evidence of the Whites themselves. On May 4, 1920 Mr. C. W. R. Lanes said in the Kenya Legislative Council:—"With regard to the first (education), beyond the grant of a few rupees by Government nothing was done to educate the natives in the Reserves. With regard to the second (medical relief), the Nyanza Province consisted of five districts. The whole Province had only one Medical Officer whose time was taken up with the European Community in Kisumu. It naturally fell that the native got very little medical attention, if at all. The five districts mentioned were visited at frequent periods by small-pox, plague, etc., which naturally carried off thousands of natives. ... ...Thousands of pounds were spent annually in combating the diseases of animals outside the Native Reserves and as far as he was aware not a penny was spent on combating the disease of human beings inside the Reserves"! Another European member, Mr. A. C. Hoey, added, "The Elgai Reserve was visited occasionally by an officer, and then only for the collection of taxes or to see what labour he could get."

"I would repeat here a suggestion which has been made before. For administrative purposes the Government has separated native from non-native areas: why should not the Government effect a similar separation in the native and non-native budget? Why does it not decide that all the money raised from native reserves should be spent therein. There is nothing impracticable in this suggestion; it has been put forward, not by visionaries but by practical administrators. Then it will be easy to find out whether the native gets a proper share of the contribution he makes to the country's finances. As it is, the manner in which huge amounts are wrung from him for the purpose of devoting them to European interests redound to the unspeakable shame of England.

Indians in South Africa.

The position of Indians in South Africa was again assailed on November 20th last in the Natal Provincial Council meeting, when Mr. Geo. Hulett asked leave to introduce a draft Ordinance to amend the local township law, and urged that the measure be passed before the Union Parliament met in January. The object of the Hulett Ordinance was to enact that "no male person shall be placed on the Town Roll who is not entitled to be placed on the Parliamentary Voter's Roll." As Indians have already been crippled by previous legislation which denied them parliamentary franchise, the object now aimed at was to deprive them of the municipal franchise which they still enjoyed. In the course of the discussion that followed one member (Mr. Coleman) went so far as to state that the council had been returned with a mandate from the people to pass this measure. The bill, however, was held over on the advise of the Chairman till the arrival of General Smuts from England who was then attending the last Imperial Conference—notorious for the tussel between General Smuts and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—for a more comprehensive consideration. The introduction of this new measure led to a serious agitation in Natal and the Indians sent over petitions and representations to the authorities protesting for the fourth time against the draft ordinance entitled "To amend the Local Township Law No. 11 of 1881 in respect of the qualification of voters."

Within the last 2 years the cry for segregation of Indians has been raised in South Africa by the Whites and fought to success first in the Durban Land Alienation Ordinance and later in the Rural Dealers Licensing Ordinance—(for these see previous issues of the *Indian Annual Register*). The climax was reached in the Class Areas Bill of 1924 published in January last which sought to solve the "Asiatic (Indian) menace" once for all. The text of this bill is given below.

The agitation which was set on foot by the Indians in South Africa against the bill was commensurate with the interests involved. On Jan. 13th a representative meeting of Indian merchants of Johannesburg unanimously decided to raise at least £10,000 to fight the segregation bill. An over-crowded mass meeting of the British Indian Association was also held which unanimously passed the following resolution:—

"This meeting records its emphatic protest against the Class Areas Bill aimed to operate solely against Indians by depriving them of their means of livelihood and finally to expel them from the Union. It is therefore unacceptable to the Indian community. It urges the Union Government to drop the bill and the Indian and Imperial Governments to make immediate representations to improve the status of Indians in the Union. Further, the bill is insulting and degrading to the honour and self-respect of the entire Indian nation and the Empire. In the event of the bill becoming law, the community have unanimously decided to oppose it to the last, disregarding all consequences. The Association implores the Viceroy to take immediate steps and press the Union Government to drop the bill."

The Class Areas Bill

The following is the text of the bill proposed for the segregation of Indians in South Africa :—

SEGREGATION

Bill to make provision for the reservation of residential and trading reas in Urban areas for persons, other than natives, having racial characteristics in common.

REQUEST BY URBAN LOCAL AUTHORITY FOR APPLICATION OF ACT.

1. Whenever an Urban local Authority shall intimate to the Minister :—

(a) That any area within its limits is wholly or for the greater part occupied for residential or trading purposes or both such purposes by a particular class of persons, or that an area within these limits is available for the exclusive occupation for residential or trading purposes or both such purposes by a particular class of persons : and

(b) That it is desirable that the provisions of this Act should be applied in respect of such area ; it shall be lawful for the Minister to appoint a Commission consisting of not more than three persons (hereinafter called the Commission) to investigate and report upon the desirability of applying to such area and to the Urban area within which it is situated the provision of this Act.

DUTY AND POWERS OF COMMISSION

(1) It shall be the duty of the Commission to enquire and report upon the following :—

(a) the extent and nature of the area which was the subject of intimation under Section 1 of this Act :

(b) the number, dimensions, situation and nature of sites occupied or available therein for residential or trading purposes or both such purposes as the case may be ;

(c) Whether there would be afforded by the area proper adequate facilities for residences or trading sites or both as the case may be for the particular class of persons concerned :

(d) Whether due and proper provision exists or is assured for water, lighting, sanitary and other necessary services within the area :

(e) Whether it is desirable that the provisions of this Act should be applied in respect of the area ; and

(f) Any other matter which the Minister or the Commission may deem necessary or desirable.

2. The Commission shall have all such powers, jurisdiction and privileges as were conferred upon the Commission referred to in Ordinance No. 30 of 1902 of the Transvaal, and all the several provisions of that Ordinance shall mutatis mutandis apply in respect of the Commission and its proceedings.

PROCLAMATION OF CLASS AREAS.

3. (1) At any time within six months after the receipt of the report of the Commission, the Governor-General may, by Proclamation in the Gazette, so declare that, on and after a date to be mentioned in the Proclamation, the area defined therein shall be a class residential area, or a class residential and trading area within the Urban Area.

(2) More than one area within the Urban area may, by any such Proclamation be defined as class residential areas, or as class trading areas, or as class residential and trading areas as the case may be.

(3) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the Precious and Base Minerals Act of the Transvaal (Act No. 35 of 1908) or any amendment thereof or in any other law, a class trading area may

be established under this Act on land within an Urban area which, in terms of the said Act No. 35 of 1908 or any amendment thereof, is proclaimed land or land held under mining title.

ACQUISITION OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY IN CLASS AREAS.

4. From and after the date mentioned in any proclamation issued under this Act establishing a class residential area or a class residential and trading area, it shall not be lawful, save as provided in Section 10 of this Act :—

(a) for any person other than a person of the class concerned to acquire immovable property within any such area : or

(b) for any persons of the class concerned to acquire immovable property or a lease or renewal of lease of immovable property anywhere within the Urban area save within the limits of the class residential area or of the class residential and trading area, as the case may be.

Provided that nothing in this Act contained shall apply to the renewal of a lease of immovable property where a right to such renewal is held under a lease existing at the date aforesaid.

TRADING IN CLASS TRADING AREAS OR CLASS RESIDENTIAL AND TRADING AREAS.

5. (1) From and after the date mentioned in any Proclamation issued under this Act establishing a class trading area or a class residential and trading area within any Urban area, it shall not be lawful for any Licensing Court, Board or Authority, or for any person authorised to grant or issue licenses or permits to carry on any trade or business within the Urban area :

(a) to grant or issue to any person other than a person of the class concerned any license, permit, or other authority to carry on any trade or business within the class trading area or class residential and trading area as the case may be : and

(b) to grant or issue to any person of the class concerned any license or permit to carry on any trade or business within the Urban area elsewhere than in the class trading area or class residential and trading area as the case may be.

Provided, however, that if the Governor-General is satisfied that it is in the general interest of the public that it should be permitted to persons of the class concerned or any restricted number of such persons to carry on any particular trade or business within the Urban area, elsewhere than in the class trading area or class residential and trading area as the case may be, he may, by proclamation in the gazette for such periods as he may therein fix, exempt persons of the class concerned or a restricted number of such persons from the operation of paragraph (b) of this sub-section in respect of that particular trade or business.

(2) Nothing in this section contained shall be deemed to prohibit the grant to any person holding at the date mentioned in any proclamation issued under this Act any licence, permit or other authority to carry on any trade or business, or the renewal of such licence, permit or other authority.

Extension of Class Areas.

6. (1) Whenever in the opinion of the Urban Local Authority concerned, any area established under this Act as a class residential area or a class trading area or a class residential and trading area, proves inadequate for, or unsuitable to, the requirements of the population of that class in the Urban area, and the Urban Local Authority deems it desirable to extend any such area or to create a new class residen-

tial area or a class trading area or a class residential and trading area, the Urban Local Authority may communicate its opinion to the Minister, who thereupon may take all such steps as he may take upon receipt of an intimation under Section 1 of this Act.

(2) All and several of the powers exercisable under this Act in respect of the establishment of a class residential area or a class trading area or a class residential and trading area shall be exercisable in respect of the establishing of a new area or the extension of any existing area of like character.

Suspension of Provisions of Act.

7. (1) If at any time the Governor-General is satisfied that a class residential area or a class trading area or a class residential and trading area established under this Act is inadequate for or unsuitable to the requirements of the population of that class in the Urban area concerned, and that, by reason of the delay which would necessarily take place in removing the causes of the inadequacy or unsuitability serious prejudices would be suffered by that population unless the provisions of this Act in respect of such inadequate or unsuitable area be suspended, he may by Proclamation in the gazette so declare that, from and after a date to be therein mentioned the provisions of this Act shall be suspended in respect of the class residential area or class trading area or class residential and trading area concerned.

(2) From and after such date the provision of this Act shall in all respects cease to apply to the area deemed to be inadequate or unsuitable, and, in respect of such inadequate or unsuitable area, to the other parts of the Urban area within which it is situated.

(3) The Governor-General may, whenever he may deem fit to reproclaim as a class residential area or a class trading area or a class residential and trading area as the case may be, any area which has been the subject of suspending proclamation under sub-section 1 of this Section or to proclaim as a class residential area or a class trading area or a class residential and trading area under this Act any area which wholly or partly include any area which has been the subject of a suspending proclamation under sub-section 1 of this Section.

8. Any class residential area or class trading area or a class residential and trading area established under this Act for any Asiatic race shall for the purpose of section two (b) of law No. 3 of 1885 of the Transvaal be deemed to be an area within which, in terms of that law, fixed property may be owned by Asiatics.

Class Advisory Board.

9. (1) For every class residential area or class trading area or class residential and trading area established under this Act there shall be an Advisory Board consisting of not less than three persons of the class concerned resident within the Urban area, in addition to a chairman who, in the case of a non-European area, may be a European. The mode of election or selection of members of any such Board, the period and conditions of the office of the members, and the procedure of the Board shall be defined by regulations made by the Urban Local Authority and approved by the Minister.

(2) It shall be the function of an Advisory Board established under this Section to advise the Urban Local Authority in respect of any matter referred to it by such authority for advice, and no by-law or regulation particularly affecting the interest of the class of persons concerned shall be made or withdrawn by an Urban Local Authority, unless the advice of such Advisory Board shall first have been obtained

in respect of the making or withdrawal, as the case may be, of such by-law or regulation.

Savings and Exemptions

10. (1) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (3) of Section 3 and of Section 8 of this Act, nothing in this Act contained shall be deemed :—

(a) To affect the operation of law No. 3 of 1885 of the Transvaal or any amendment thereof of Section 2 of Act No. 18 of 1913, of Act No. 37 of 1919, of Chapter No. 33 of the Orange Free State's Law Book or any amendment threof, or of any other law prohibiting, restricting, regulating, or in any way affecting the ownership or occupation of immovable property or trading by Asiatics or by coloured persons : or

(b) To prohibit the acquisition by the government or any Urban Local Authority for educational, Municipal or any other public purposes of the ownership or occupation of any immovable property : or

(c) To prohibit the acquisition at any time of land or interest in land or the lease or occupation of any immovable property by devalution or succession on death whether under a will or on intestacy : or

(d) To prohibit any executor of a deceased estate or any trustee or insolvency from holding any immovable property or trading under any licences where power to do any such thing is conferred upon him by any law ; or

(e) To investigate or affect in any manner whatever any agreement or other transaction for the sale or purchase of land lawfully entered into prior to the date mentioned in any proclamation under this Act establishing a class residential area or a class trading area or a class residential and trading area.

(2) Nothing in this Act contained shall be deemed to effect any officer of the consular service or any person to whom the Governor-General may grant letters of exemption from the operation of all or any of the provisions of this Act.

Interpretations of Terms.

11. In this Act, unless inconsistent with the context :—"Class of persons" includes any European persons or any other persons having, in the opinion of the Minister, common racial characteristics, but does not include any natives as that term is defined in Section 29 of the Natives Urban Area Act 1923, (Act No. 21 of 1923.)

"Minister" means Ministers of the Interior or any other Minister to whom the Governor-General may assign the administration of this Act.

"Urban area" means an area under the jurisdiction of an Urban Local Authority.

"Urban Local Authority" means any Municipal Council, Borough Council, Town Council or Village Council or any Town Board, Village Management Board, Local Board or Health Board.

Mahatma Gandhi on the Class Areas Bill

In this connection Mahatma Gandhi issued on Feb. 14th, the following statement of his views regarding the anti-Asiatic movement in South Africa and especially the Class Areas Bill :—

'As one expected to understand the situation created in South Africa by the anti-Asiatic movement now going on there and especially the Class Areas Bill now under consideration by the Union Parliament, I deem it my duty to place my opinion on the situation before the public.

'The anti-Asiatic agitation on the part of Europeans in South Africa is no new thing. It is almost as old as the first settlement of unindentured Indians in South Africa and is principally due to trade jealousy on the part of the White retail traders. As in the other parts of the world, so in South Africa interested men, if they sufficiently persist, find no difficulty in gathering the support round them of those who are not so interested but who do not think for themselves. The present agitation, I remember, was begun as early as 1921 and the Class Areas Bill is, no doubt, one result of that agitation.

BREACH OF THE COMPROMISE OF 1914

'Before dealing with the nature and effect of the bill, it is necessary to point out that it is in breach of the compromise of 1914 arrived at between the Union Government and the Indian community of South Africa. Put it was a compromise to which both the Indian Government and the Imperial Government were as much a party as the Union Government and the Indian community, because the compromise was arrived at with the knowledge and concurrence of the Imperial and the Indian Governments. The latter had even sent Sir Benjamin Robertson as a representative technically to watch the course of the Commission that was appointed by the Union Government to inquire into the Indian position, but in reality to negotiate a settlement.

'The main terms of the compromise were settled before Sir Benjamin Robertson, who represented the Indian Government, returned to India. In accordance with that compromise no further anti-Asiatic legislation was to be passed by the Union Government. The understanding at the time was that the legal position of Indians would be gradually improved and that the then existing anti-Asiatic legislation would, in time to come, be repealed. The contrary has, however, happened. The public may remember that the first attempt to break the spirit of the compromise was made when in the Transvaal an attempt was made to enforce the existing legislation adversely to the Indians and contrary to the practice that prevailed at the time of the compromise. The Class Areas Bill, however, goes much further in restricting Indian liberty.

'Whatever may be the other implications of the compromise, this much cannot be disputed by any party that the settlement of 1914 pledged the Union Government not to put further restrictions upon Indian liberty, and apart from the general powers of disallowance vested in His Majesty under the Letter of Instructions addressed to the Governor-General of South Africa, the Imperial Government, if they would be true to their trust, are bound at any cost to insist upon the observance of the terms of the compromise referred to by me.

A FLAW IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION.

'We, in India, may not ignore the difficulties of the Union Government which is dependent for its existence solely upon the will of the Europeans of South Africa expressed through their elected representatives to the exclusion of Indians and the natives of the soil. This unwarranted exclusion is the original flaw in the South African constitution as it is to be found in the constitution of most of the self-governing colonies which have their native populations and Indian populations. As the Imperial Government permitted the flaw, it is in

honour bound to prevent untoward results arising from it. South Africa and Kenya will presently show what moral worth there is in the Imperial system. The pressure of public opinion must and probably will bring about temporary relief in both the places but it will be only temporary. It can merely postpone the final act in the tragedy unless some unforeseen radical change either in England or in India takes place.

'And now for the bill itself. Unlike the Natal Municipal Franchise Bill, which happily the Union Governor-General has in effect vetoed and which applied only to Natal, the Class Areas Bill is designed to apply to all the poor provinces. It enables the Government to segregate all the domiciled Indians and other Asiatics alike for residence and trade. It is therefore an extension, in a modified manner, of the location system devised as early as 1885 by the late Transvaal Government. Let me say in a few words what the segregation may mean. The Indian location in Pretoria, where, in spite of the Law of 1885, not a single Indian has been as yet compelled to remove, is situated far away from the town itself and entirely outside the best buyer, whether English, Dutch or Native. The only trade possible in such locations is trade among themselves.

'Therefore, segregation carried out to the full means nothing less than compulsory repatriation without any compensation. It is true that the bill appears to preserve to a certain extent the existing rights. But that reservation is of little consequence to the Indian settlers. I do not wish to burden this note by citing illustrations from South African experience to show how such reservations have in practice proved almost useless.

'Finally, let it be remembered that when Indian emigration to South Africa was unrestricted, the fear of the Europeans was expressed to be that South Africa might be swamped by India's millions. All the South African statesmen then used to say that South Africa could easily digest a small Indian population and could even give it a liberal treatment but that the European settlers could never rest content so long as the possibility of swamping remained. Now that the so-called fear of swamping has been removed practically since 1897, the cry is raised for segregation and if that is accomplished the next step will be compulsory repatriation, if the segregated Indians do not voluntarily retire. The fact is that the more accommodating the European settlers of South Africa find the Imperial Trustees to be, the more grasping they become in their anti-Asiatic demands"

Indian Representation to the Minister

About the middle of February last Mr. Duncan, Minister of the Interior, received a large and influential deputation of Indians in connection with the Class Areas Bill consisting of representatives of Cape Town, Transvaal and the Natal Indian Association who laid down the Indian grievances before the Union Govt. specially with regard to the question of segregation.

Mr. Duncan in reply said that he did not think the representatives of Indian bodies had treated the Government or himself fairly in the matter of the Bill. Before the Bill was published, he sent a

copy to the British Indian Association, Transvaal, asking them to circulate the Bill to other Indian bodies with the idea that before the Bill came into Parliament he might have the benefit of consulting the representatives of the Indian people, so that if they felt any grievance and if he could remove anything from the Bill it might be done.

Proceeding, Mr. Duncan said: "But no notice whatever was taken of the Bill. Instead meetings were held all over the country. People were whipped up into a state almost of frenzy and told they would be ruined body and soul and their livelihood be taken away and that there should be passive resistance and the like, and then you come to me. What does it matter what I say about the Bill when you have told the people they must resist it to their last drop of blood. Surely that is not the way to treat a matter such as this. I wanted to have the fullest consultation with the Indian people and now that thing is impossible. There is no use of my saying anything. You have said that the Bill is intended to drive them out of the land. You have not treated me or the Government fairly. You might have taken advantage of my offer, and if you found you could get no concession and all my explanations failed to remove your objection to the Bill, it was your duty and your right to go to your people and urge them to do all they could to oppose it. That is the position I want to put before you."

Mr. Duncan further said that he had undertaken to see them and would do so and give every consideration to the points they would put before him. In the short discussion which followed, Mr. Duncan said that the Bill was not intended as a measure of oppression against Indians or any other class of people. It was intended to give effect to a desire that had been pressed upon the Government for a long time that there should be power to provide for separate areas in towns where Europeans and other classes of people should not all be mixed up together. In conclusion Mr. Duncan said that they should not make up their minds that the Bill was intended for the destruction of the Indian people. On those points he would meet their wishes as far as he could, but as far as the principle of the Bill was concerned, it was as he had told them.

The Indian's Case

The Indians presented to Mr. Duncan a lengthy statement of their case, reviewing the Indian question from the early days, which summarised the general grounds for objection to the Bill as follows:—

( ) "The effect of the Bill being compulsory segregation, both residential and commercial, we object to it in principle in that it casts a stigma of inferiority on our race and affront to our ancient civilisation. (2) The effect of the Bill is calculated to encroach on the freedom of the subject. (3) It has been stated that the present bill is soundly justified by unfair competition in trade and industries as between Indian and European. Even assuming that is so for the sake of argument, the question is whether the effect of this Bill, that is to say segregation of races, is likely to find an adequate remedy. We maintain that it will not. On the other hand, it might cause considerable irritation on both sides, and the country might be plunged into mutual antagonism and widen the breach already caused by this unnatural

agitation caused by the anti-Indian party. (4) The effect of this Bill is likely to create international complications by virtue of Indian Rulers who are members of the League of Nations having entered into alliance with the British Government. (5) The effect of the Bill will prove detrimental to the immediate interests of both Indians and Europeans and the country will ultimately gain nothing by it."

The following are detailed extracts from this lengthy representation.—

Although the Class Areas Bill is a measure that will be applicable to all classes in general, except the natives, yet we have substantial reasons for raising an objection, because of the policy underlying this measure. To begin with, we venture to state that the Indians form a goodly number in the population of the Province of Natal, and relying on the traditional British Policy as enunciated in Queen Victoria's Proclamation, considerable wealth of the Indian community has been invested in several parts of the urban area, and therefore should the provisions of this Bill either in the present or in an amended form become the law of the land, the Indian community will be vitally affected by the operation thereof. The Government is perfectly aware of the fact that the presence of a large number of Indians is due to the express invitation of the late Colonial Government, and we have the assurance of the Imperial Government that the Union will undertake to fulfil in letter and spirit all obligations, which the late Crown Government entered into prior to the absorption of the four self-governing Colonies in the Union. In regard to the Indians in Natal, they were encouraged to come for the purpose of developing the country and in the early days they were given inducement to settle down, and therefore it appears to us that it is too late in the day for the present Government to make any disturbance in the arrangement that has existed since the inception of Natal as an integral part of the British Empire. We do not propose here to go into the merits or otherwise of the past policy of the late Colonial Government but what we do say is that the Indian is here, and that if the policy of the late Government was held to be wrong, then we maintain that it is unjust and unfair to mete out punishment of the innocent children of the Indians for the action of the forefathers of the present generation of Europeans.

Compulsory Segregation

Having in view the emphatic pronouncement of policy enunciated by the Imperial Government in respect of the position which the Natal Indians held, we beg to remind you of it in relation to the Class Areas Bill. We beg to submit that the policy underlying this Bill and the effect of it is compulsory segregation, both in residence and commerce, and it has been stated by the Prime Minister himself that such legislation was intended to aim at the race to which this deputation belongs. It is well known that this policy has been consistently pursued in the Transvaal in connection with our race since 1885, but then it has been persistently opposed by successive British and Indian Governments as well as the Indian Community and it has been looked upon with repugnance by all concerned. Under Law 3 of 1885 of the Transvaal Republic, it has been enacted that the so-called Coolies, Arabs, Malayas and Mahomedan subjects of the Turkish Empire shall not obtain Burgher rights and shall not own fixed property and shall live only in streets, wards, locations etc. This Law formed the subject of a bitter controversy extending over a long period between the British Government and the Transvaal Republic which terminated in a ghastly war and consequent annihilation of two Republics. On the eve of the declaration of War Lord Lansdowne, speaking on behalf of the British people and the Empire, waxed eloquent over the then conditions of the Indians and said, "The misdeeds perpetrated by the Boer Government as well as the treatment of Indians specially under the Law of 1885 was one of the greatest justifications for the war." It must be evident from the foregoing declaration that in addition to other causes, the policy underlying Act 3 of 1885 of the Transvaal formed part of the British case against the South African Republic.

Boers and British

Let us compare for a moment the policy of the late Republic towards the Asiatic with that of the policy enunciated in the Class Areas Bill. Under Section 3 of Law of 1885 Asiatics were prohibited from owning landed property and were relegated to locations, though they were allowed to trade in any part of the Republic. Whereas under the Class Areas Bill which is to be enacted by a legislature comprised of both

the Dutch and the British people, the very identical provisions of Law 3 of 1885 are embodied with an extra provision making it obligatory on the part of an Indian to live and trade in his own segregated locality. In view of the declaration made by Lord Lansdowne on this aspect of the Asiatic question prior to the commencement of hostilities, we beg to ask you whether the proposed action squares with the utterance of the British Ministers. We beg to submit that if the policy of the late Republic was held to be wrong, inconsistent with the principles of the British constitution and incompatible with modern ideas of justice and fairplay, then it must be equally so now despite the difference of time between 1885 and 1924. Notwithstanding the promise given on the eve of the declaration of War that the policy would cease to exist with the termination of hostilities, the fact remains that the Indian community in the Transvaal since that time and even now have been consistently struggling for the abrogation of that policy. The Natal Indians having been hitherto free from the pernicious policy prevalent in the Transvaal, we should confess we are very much alarmed by the present move on the part of the Government to extend the same into Natal. We venture to state that the Indian Community having large vested interests, in fact as much as any responsible section of the Community, will be confronted with financial ruin and absolute annihilation should this policy be extended to Natal. This Bill having a tendency of a retrospective nature, the Indian community cannot help but be apprehensive of what might be in store for them in the future.

Asiatic Commission

Having regard to the fact that the effect of this Bill being compulsory segregation both residential and commercial, we venture to draw your attention to the observations of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission on the Asiatic locations in the Transvaal. The Commission in paragraph 131 of its report states as follow :—"The suggestion that holders of new licenses should be confined to trade in locations or segregated areas as outside the township is not reasonable and does not commend itself to us. As was said by the Chief Justice in Motan's case, if the commercial dealings of the Indian Trader were to be restricted to the location in which he lived situated outside the town proper, and peopled only by men of his own race, then he might for practical purposes as well not trade at all. The result is, however, precisly what is aimed at by some of those who are responsible for the suggestion. Several witnesses who advocated compulsory segregation both as to trade and residence candidly stated that they supported it only as a means to an end, that end being to drive the Asiatics out of the country."

It is transparent from the observations of the Asiatic Commission to what extent demoralisation of a section of the Indians in the Transvaal has been taking place by the operation of the segregation policy and how it has been reacting on the health of the community on the whole, and having in view the practical experience gained there, together with the opinion of a Commission which was not pro-Asiatic in composition, it should not be surprising to see the Natal Indian Community getting alarmed at the prospect of an extension of that policy.

Asiatic Immigration

We venture to submit, that since the apprehended invasion of the Asiatics has been removed by the stringent operation of the Immigrants Regulation Act, the domiciled Indian Community expected an improvement in their lot as General Smuts and Mr. Burton held out to us such hopes at the Imperial Conferences, but instead of realising our expectations, we regret very much to say, we are being confronted with legislations having for its object filching away our rights slowly but surely. We take this opportunity to present certain practical proofs for the foregoing statement.

Not long ago, the Apprenticeship Act was passed by the Union Parliament. The circuitous operation of this Law in conjunction with the activities of the Trade Union has rendered the condition of many skilled and semi-skilled workers so dubious that in fact many of them have been thrown out of work by a mysterious process, which is difficult to prove, but nevertheless one can easily trace the origin of unemployment among Indian workers. By the operation of the Apprenticeship Act the opportunities hitherto enjoyed by the Indians for learning the skilled and semi-skilled trades have been closed. While the Union Parliament enacted the aforesaid measure with the express object of reserving the skilled trades to the descendant of Europeans,

the Natal Provincial Council which has become notorious for its rabid anti-Indian proclivities and doings have not been slow in using its power to pass a number of ordinances whose cumulated effect will have a restricted tendency towards the Indians. The Durban Alienation Ordinance, The Rural Dealers' Licensing Ordinance, The Public Health Ordinance are examples of the class of restrictive legislation towards Indians and one and all of them have contributed their quota to restrict our rights. Thus one can see slowly but surely, either the Provincial Council or the Central Legislature or both seem to be making unceasing efforts to drive us of our rights, and thus a silent process of lowering the status of Indians to the level of the aboriginal tribes of Africa is taking place.

Now Sir, the head of this Government, General Smuts himself, had publicly declared that the Britishers in Natal are opposed to the Indians. Indeed a comparatively small number consisting of the Indian Community is alleged to be a menace to the European civilization as well as to the preservation of the White Race. You are perfectly aware that the very same British section clamoured for the introduction of Indian labour for the maintenance of European civilization and sustenance of the White Race, because their industries were dying and commerce, on which they depended for their living, were declining. Look up the old records and study the pathetic appeals made by the Europeans in those days and you will verify the truth of the statement. We take this opportunity to tell you that the grounds of objection as well as the alleged menace to European civilization and the preservation of the White race would not stand scrutiny and we make bold to say that it has no foundation in fact. If there were real menace and if the Indian had any intention to submerge the White race and lower the European civilization, they would have done it because it was in their power by virtue of their numerical preponderance when they enjoyed the parliamentary franchise. But British Natal might have forgotten recent history, nevertheless the Government dispatches and the utterance of British statesmen still remain a standing monument to the steadiness of purpose, high moral principles and unflinching loyalty of our countrymen to the British Empire in every trying circumstances.

The Indian Menace.

Regarding the alleged menace of the Indian to the Western civilization in this country, we make bold to say that it is untrue and that the term is used in a loose manner to achieve certain political ends. The theory that a handful of Indians scattered over this vast Continent could sap the foundations of a mighty civilization, that is militant in spirit and highly organised in all aspects, must be palpably untrue. We could prove this by concrete illustrations. A small community of Englishmen—inheritors of Western civilization—has been holding its own in India for a century and half, and we have not heard anyone suggesting that the Western Civilization has been submerged by the Indian races nor Englishmen becoming denationalized by contact with Indians. Again a handful of British merchants still live and do business with other Asiatic nations such as Japan, China, and the Far East and we have not heard of either of the inheritors of these two civilizations being worsted in the struggle for existence. While no such danger has overtaken the Western Civilization, we ask you, sir, in all solemnity, whether it is ever likely in this vast Continent of South Africa, that the existence of the Indian community consisting as it does of less than 1,50,000 souls in your midst might prove a danger to the Western Civilization? But if it does, as alleged, then all we can say is that from the apprehension of the anti-Indian British politicians, it becomes self-evident that the Western civilization is not sufficiently virile to survive without transgressing the cardinal principles governing the existence of man in civilised society.

Regarding the Class Areas Bill the policy of the Government seems to be in the direction of giving effect to and extending that which was in vogue during the Republican regime in the Transvaal in a more aggravated form and this tendency finds a fitting expression in the present Bill. We venture to suggest that the effect of this Bill being compulsory segregation—a policy that has ever been disapproved by the Asiatic Enquiry Commission—it presents a serious outlook to our existence as a self-respecting community. We venture to state that no nation has prospered that has for its fundamental principle segregation. Indeed the concomitant evils following in its train have retarded the natural growth of the community which has been subjected to segregation and those empires and nations who have adopted it ultimately collapsed, not because that in itself it was bad but because by the very weight of inherent injustice and inhumanity involved in the principle of segregation.

The view-point of the South African Whites is admirably expressed by the Durban correspondent of the 'Pioneer' who says:—

"The Bill, it must be confessed, is rather a concession to popular (European) clamour than a serious attempt to solve the "Asiatic question." During and since the war, Indians have been invading economic spheres which were formerly preserves of the European and by reason of their lower standard of living, their competition is formidable as will be seen from the summary of the Natal Provincial Council debates. A large section of European public opinion takes a very serious view of this competetion; political capital has been made out of it by the opposition parties, and General Smuts has been strongly urged by his own supporters in Natal to take some steps to check it. The various Indian political organisations are naturally opposing the Bill vigorously; but it is doubtful whether its effect will be what is expected either by them or by those who have welcomed it effusively. The Indian community has its established place in the economic system of Natal, and while the Labour politician is declaiming against Asiatic competition his wife is buying her household requirements at an Indian store. It is not unlikely that the real effect of the Bill will be to demonstrate the impracticability of segregation. If that is so, the experiment will have done something towards the creation of a sounder public opinion. Meantime a very interesting debate may be looked for when the Bill is introduced in the House of Assembly, for the views which are held strongly in Natal are likely to meet with a good deal of criticism from the Cape members."

The Cape and the Orange State were, however, subsequently excluded from the operation of the bill.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's Visit.

The Indian agitation acquired a great fillip on the visit of Mrs. Naidu who went over to South Africa from Kenya early in March last and toured throughout the Cape and the Transvaal calling protest meetings against the bill, and the South African Indian Congress Associations carried on a systematic campaign with her help.

Mahatma Gandhi's Message.

In response to urgent calls from Durban, Mahatma Gandhi sent the following message to Srimati Sarojini Naidu :—

"Pray tell General Smuts and responsible Europeans that the Class Areas Bill is a poor recompense for the local Indians' exemplary self-restraint throughout interested campaign against them. Europeans should remember that local Indians voluntarily submitted administrative restriction on further Indian immigration. Remind the Union Government of the assurance given to Mr. Gokhale that no further disabling legislation will be passed and also the Compact of 1914. Nothing has since been done by local Indians to deserve proposed treatment. The acceptance of the Class Areas Bill is tantamount to political civil suicide. I trust your winsome eloquence will disarm opposition and make the lot of our countrymen easier for your presence."

After touring through Natal and Transvaal Mrs. Naidu reached the Cape and had an interview with General Smuts on the 13th and one with Mr. Duncan on the 17th. On the 13th she addressed an overflow meeting in the City

Hall supported on the platform by several Europeans and Labour Legislators, and attended by Indian representatives from the four provinces of the Union.

On Saturday the 22nd March she addressed another important meeting in the coloured quarter of Cape Town. The majority of the audience were Mahomedans. Speaking in Urdu she said that she had been there nine days and felt it her duty to address meetings in English in order, firstly, to appeal directly to the public and Government authorities whose tyrannical policy was to oppress her fellow-countrymen. She had brought a message from Mr. Gandhi to the South African public and the Government which was: "If you continue to oppress us, we shall leave your Empire; and if we do, where will your Empire be then?" (Cheers.)

Mrs. Naidu said that in India, their own country, the British had also oppressed them and kept them down, but now Mr. Gandhi had instilled a spirit into his followers which could not be suppressed. A few thousand Englishmen had made slaves of her people in India, but now they were standing up for their rights (cheers) and rising against their oppressors. They had started the national industry of spinning khaddar in India to boycott English cloth. Mr. Gandhi had said that if that were made a national industry and the people learned to use the charka, fifty mills would close down in Manchester.

Mrs. Naidu emphasised the fact that they must fight for their rights and fight on while they still had breath in their bodies. "Remember, they want to put you in the class areas and segregate you like they do the lepers on the Robben Island. (Cries of 'Shame'). "I am told this Bill will not apply to the Cape, but General Smuts will keep you here as long as it pleases him, and when he no longer has any use for you, he will tell you to clear out."

Her message to General Smuts was: "Beware, if you think that by this bribe you will catch our votes at the next election in this province. As long as our brothers in the Transvaal and Natal continue to be oppressed by you, we will accept no such bribe in the Cape." (Loud cheers). Mrs. Naidu then complained of the lack of educational facilities for Indians of South Africa. There was no Indian University in South Africa. Their sons could not obtain scholarships and be sent overseas to England, Germany or other countries.

The "Cape Times" on Mrs. Naidu's Speech

Commenting on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's activities the "Cape Times" in the course of a threatening article on the 24th. March declared that her speeches could not possibly do her fellow-countrymen and women in South Africa any good. There was plain risk that she might do them a very great harm. She was playing with fire and using the language of reckless incendiarism, which was addressed not so much to Mrs. Naidu's immediate audience, as to the restless and misguided people of India. If Mrs. Naidu wished to inflame her fellow-countrymen in India still further, she should have the decency to do it from the Indian platform.

After contesting Mrs. Naidu's contention that the Indian had as much right in South Africa as the White man, which, the paper declared, had been dragged in to raise prejudice and damage the

relations between the Whites and Blacks in South Africa, it said that if Mrs. Naidu was to be allowed by the Union Government to continue in her mission of stirring up mischief, she should at least be given a stern warning that any further attempts to create trouble between the Whites and Blacks in South Africa will entail her immediate removal from the country.

Contesting the Indians' claim for equal citizenship, the paper said: "No public-spirited work for South Africa owes anything to the Indian. He has lived in average on the lowest scale of decency and comfort that has been possible for him. He has deliberately exploited this low standard of living as a commercial asset, and has sent the bulk of his earnings out of the country. That being so, the claim that the Indian has equal right to citizenship in South Africa with the European and the native is impudent.

"There remains Mrs. Naidu's assertion that the Indian is "oppressed." She knows, if she had the courage to speak the truth, that the lot of the nine-tenths of Indians in the Transvaal and Natal is infinitely more fortunate than it would be in their own country, where their high caste fellow-countrymen would feel themselves polluted by the most fleeting passage of the shadow of such "untouchables" across the hem of their garments."

That is an epitome of the White feelings that ranged against the Indian settlers and determined to oust them gradually from the colony. General Smuts however was more diplomatic in his statements.

The Smuts—Naidu Interview.

In the course of the interview which Mrs. Naidu had with the General on the 13th March she received a very courteous and sympathetic hearing. In a free, full and frank discussion, Mrs. Naidu reviewed the moral and legal hardships and restrictions under which Indians had been living in South Africa and the repressive spirit of the legislation under the pressure of prejudice culminating in the threatened Class Areas Bill, the principle of which Indians could not accept consistently with their national self-respect and to resist which they were prepared once more to undergo prolonged and bitter suffering under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

General Smuts assured Mrs. Naidu that it was very far from his intention to impose any disabilities on the Indian community or to treat them as inferiors, but there was an urgent need to relieve the acute tension of feeling and prejudice in the country, and it was only with a view to enabling Indians, who after all had their home and future here to live and thrive, that he and his colleagues were bringing forward this piece of legislation as an experimental measure to permit each community to develop along its own lines and according to its own traditions without coming into conflict with one another.

Mrs. Naidu declared that coercive legislation never solved any problem and would not solve the Indian question in South Africa and appealed to the General as a man of vision and understanding, and as an accepted exponent of the gospel of peace, and as one who stood for protection of minorities, to apply the principle of the Imperial Conference and for that purpose convene a Round Table Conference of the leaders in the Union Parliament with local Indian leaders and Indian representatives from India for exchange of views to arrive at some understanding acceptable to all, especially

in view of the fact that Indians had no say in the legislation of the country affecting them, and also as to the best method of effecting an understanding.

Mrs. Naidu had also an interview with the Minister of the Interior on the 17th. The latter did not agree with the view-point presented by her but promised to place her case before the Cabinet and also her request to be heard by the Cabinet. [As regards the value to be placed on the words of Genl. Smuts, the reader is referred to Mr. Sastri's speeches on the subject given elsewhere in this volume].

On March 24th the following cablegram was received by Mahatma Gandhi from Cape-town signed by the General Secretary, South African Indian Congress :—

"South African Indian community submits notwithstanding strongest protest. Union Government determined carrying through Class Areas Bill violating pledges given. Bill indefensible. Foreigners also Euro-African Malays and Natives being exempted. Bill will apply only to Indians. Euro-African Malays and Natives assembled in thousands Cape-town assured Mrs. Sarojini Naidu of support to Indians in opposition to Bill. Indians never submit segregation. Inform India. Please take such action as you think best. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has made deep impression and won many hearts. Mrs. Naidu deferred leaving South Africa until 30th April owing great demand on her in interest of the cause."

On receipt of this news the Mahatma issued a press-note as follows :— 'This is a startling news almost too bad even for South Africa to be believed. I have already endeavoured to show why the Cape was to be excluded from the operation of the measure. If the information cabled by Reuter as to the exclusion of the Cape is correct, there is something wrong in the foregoing cable, or the information contained in it is applicable to the other three Provinces only, namely, Orangia, Transvaal and Natal. The position then will be that so far as the Cape is concerned the Cape Indians will still remain exempted from the operation of the measure, whereas in the other Provinces the measure will apply only to Indians. There is no difficulty about understanding the exemptions because the idea of Segregation of Natives and Malayas in the extreme sense is new. Every European household has natives of South Africa as domestic servants. Malays, as I have shown in a previous communication, are a negligible quantity except in the Cape. We have, therefore, the naked truth before us that the Bill in question is aimed merely at Indians and that it connotes not only segregation but indirect expulsion. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's visit to South Africa and her inspiring presence there will undoubtedly steel the hearts of the Indian settlers for further effort. Her presence is also bringing Europeans and Indians on the same platform. Let India, however, not be lulled into a sense of false security because of the commanding presence of Mrs. Naidu in the midst of the sorely tried Indian settlers. After all, the cultured Europeans of South Africa are gentlemen, and I have little doubt that Mrs. Naidu is receiving all the attention that is due to her for her many and matchless gifts, but the South African Europeans have also a fixed and determined anti-Indian policy. General Smuts is a finished diplomat. On due occasions he can speak honeyed words but he knows his mind, and let there be no mistake that unless India can make an effort adequate to the situation, the Bill will be carried through the Union Parliament in spite of Mrs. Naidu's resourcefulness.'

In the Union Parliament.

In the Union Parliament the Bill was introduced on March 5th. On the 2nd reading of the bill on April 2nd the Assembly was unusually crowded. Mrs. Naidu in the gallery was prominent among the large sprinkling of Indians. After tracing the history of Indians in South Africa the Minister, Mr. Duncan, emphasised that the Bill was introduced because of pressure by Indians on White people in Natal and Transvaal. The whole question should be regarded calmly and sanely, he said. This so called menace had been caused by competition with White population owing to Indians' rise in the scale of efficiency and skill. Mr. Duncan then quoted the figures showing the very small increase of Indians in Natal and Transvaal in the last ten years and pointed out that as immigration had ceased, there was no increase from outside. Inside, Indians had shown great rise in the scale of civilisation.

The Bill did not aim at segregation, but only at separation as regards residence and training. There was no idea whatsoever of ruining Indians or making it impossible for them to live decently. The whole object was to avoid friction. They were of different origin, had different traditions and the mixture had never been found good. The Bill recognised the right of Indians to live up to the proper standard with fair and just treatment. At the same time the incompatibility of position must be recognised. Not only in South Africa, but in California, British Columbia and elsewhere the same problem prevailed and even in India itself there was not freedom from caste. Take the position of the United States; the Negroes brought there similarly to Indians in Natal (Hear, hear). The constitution and law in America provided for absolute equality but what the law allowed custom took away. The Bill was intended to prevent a clash. Indians under it could live decently without any sense of degradation. The Minister said that the Whites and coloured citizens and natives were excluded from the Bill and also all peoples in the Cape Province and Free State. The Indian question was not an acute problem in these Provinces.

Turning to the statements that the Bill was a breach of some agreement between Smuts and Gandhi the Minister asserted that, firstly, Indians were treated with all due consideration, secondly, vested rights mentioned by Gandhi referred specifically to certain Indians affected by the Gold Law or Township Amendment Act and were purely a side issue. Mr. Duncan assured the House that the problem would be approached sanely and there would be no oppression as apprehended. Every consideration and justice would be shown. He knew that there was a claim for equality, but that claim could not be allowed. But all the proper claims of Indians must be met and they must have every opportunity to lead decent civilised lives. The Minister said that there was no place for expansion of Indians in South Africa to-day, but if they could help them to return, they must do so. During the last three years Indians had returned at the rate of two thousand annually. That policy could be developed and extended. The Indian menace, so called, could only be got rid of by expansion of the White people throughout the Union.

The Bill, however, did not proceed further as the South African Parliament was suddenly dissolved within a few days owing to the defeat of the Smuts Ministry on some local issue.

The British Guiana Colonisation Scheme

As if the Kenya and South Africa humiliations were not well enough, Sir Joseph Nunan and Mr. Luckhoo from British Guiana again came here in January last to secure, not indentured labour, for that is against law now, but whole families of Indian agriculturists to emigrate to British Guiana with the rosiest prospect of a happy and free life in the Colony. When the same deputation came here last time in 1920 the atmosphere was more favourable and they secured more than formal sympathy from the Govt. of India and the Central Legislature at Delhi and an Indian deputation was despatched to Guiana. The report of this deputation, so long held up by the Govt. had now to be made public, and so it was published on Jan. 23, 1924, as nothing further could be done with regard to emigration without previously publishing the report. The Indian deputation, sent by the Govt. of India to examine on the spot the scheme put forward by the last Guiana deputation, was on arrival at their destination confronted by the Governor not with the scheme which they went to consider and the object of which was agricultural colonisation, but with another scheme the object of which was the recruitment of labour for the benefit of the White sugar-cane planters. The result was that our deputation came away disappointed and with less faith in the bonafides of the British Guiana Govt. The deputation thought that though plenty of good land was available in the colony, no colonisation could be thought of unless large expenditure was incurred on drainage, water-supply, and other sanitary schemes which the finances of the colony could not permit. They also found that the Indian community there was opposed to any fresh immigration from India. Sir Joseph Nunan and his compatriot therefore came over to India again and carried an extensive campaign from Delhi to secure their object.

To understand the events that led up to the activities of Sir Joseph Nunan it is necessary to know the geographical position and the historical antecedents of the colony. The following account is taken from one published by Mr. S. Raja Rao of Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, in March last.—

"The climate of British Guiana is full of all tropical diseases. The history of those who have gone before for a period of seventy nine years, from 1838 to 1917, furnishes anything but painful reading. That the effects of the climate factor on the Indian population are appalling is borne testimony to by the highest authorities in the colony. According to the retired Surgeon-General of British Guiana 10 to 20 p. c. of all the deaths in that colony are due directly to Malaria. In the more remote villages the conditions are stated to be even worse for out of 96 deaths in a village as many as thirty have been due to Malaria. And what is pathetic is that the Indian element suffers most. There is greater mortality among the Indian population and a higher infantile mortality too, corresponding to their numbers, than among the other sections of the population. And in the net result we are confronted with the astounding fact that for every one thousand Indians that were brought into the country only 572 survived.

"BRITISH GUIANA, as one can see, has a prolific tendency in fitting out Deputations. In order to find their genesis, one has to go back to its early history dating from its final acquisition as a British Colony in 1814. Beginning as a sugar-producing country with planters drawn from Great Britain, Madeira and Portugal, and Negro slave-labour imported from the West coast of Africa, it plodded on with varying fortunes until 1835. Slavery having been abolished altogether in the latter year, and the Negroes of Africa emancipated from the curse, it fell to the lot of "Indians" to bear this cross under a system, as it was euphemistically called the "Indentured Labour" system, from the year 1838. The year marked the beginning of her prosperity. The year 1865 saw a few time-expired Indian immigrants raising 16 acres of rice, through their own efforts and absolutely unaided by Government. This grew to 200 in 1885; to 6,500 in 1898; to 19,000 only three years later; to 38,000 in another 7 years and to nearly 70,000 in succeeding ten years. Compared with this phenomenal development of rice-growing by 'small' planters, sugar-growing by the 'European' large 'planters' stood at 78,000 acres only during the same period.

"Further, the Indian "Indentured Labour" system itself having been in its turn abolished altogether in 1917, there was no other dark nation on the face of the globe to oblige the sugar-growing interests. In this dilemma it fell to Mr. A. B. Brown of the Guiana Planters' Association to move in the Colonial Legislature in February 1919 that "Whereas there is in the Colony insufficient labour to carry out its various industries and whereas this insufficiency of labor has led to a reduction of the area under sugarcane and will lead to a further reduction, the Court should send a deputation to His Majesty's Government to represent their needs."

"Earlier efforts that the White planters had made were in the direction of sounding the minds of our compatriots who had been discontented in the neighbouring colonies of Fiji, Trinidad and Natal.

"But it is a significant fact that we need noting well, that at a mass meeting of Natal Indians held at Durban to consider an "invitation" given by Mr. J. A. Polkinghorne to appoint delegates to visit British Guiana to see whether it would be suitable for Indian emigration, the gathering numbering some thousands gave it as their unanimous opinion that none of them wished to go and, without even having the British Guiana scheme placed before them, refused flatly to appoint a deputation to look into it and see the country for themselves. As a matter of fact, the emigrant population of the neighbouring British Colonies prefer to go anywhere else than to British Guiana to earn its livelihood; British Guiana being otherwise known as "mudland" to the residents of Trinidad close-by.

"So, a conjoint meeting was held on January 27, 1919 under the auspices of the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of the British Guiana and of the British Guiana Branch of the Royal Colonial Institute London, in which various other bodies took part and as a result a deputation of fifteen members from British Guiana "headed by the Governor" of that Colony proceeded to England. Now ten years previously, as a result of the Crewe enquiry, Lord Sanderson's Committee had definitely laid down what the primary duties of the Colony

were before it could conceive of or embark upon fresh schemes of adding to its population; yet, while this primary duty lay undischarged, a few among this deputation started another deputation, wended their way towards this country in December 1919 and finally sought to foist a "colonisation" scheme upon it purporting to tap 2,500 "agricultural families" per year and that for three years. Necessary inducements were of course forthcoming, such as 'free' passages, land on 'easy' terms and, to bless those who laboured honestly for three years, a magnificent reward of 'five' acres, in a country where the population is less than three per square mile, and political catch-phrases of 'equal status' and 'equal rights' were also thrown into it to make the dish more savoury and to allay the suspicions of an inquisitive public as well.

"Two of the members, Dr. Nunan and Mr. Luckhoo, having been accredited by the Secretary of State for India to the Government of India, no less a distinguished body than that composed of Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Surendranath Bannerji, Sir B. N. Sarma and six others were appointed to give them a respectable hearing in February 1920. Now if a minute examination had gone on their case would have been thrown out even then as the requisite preliminaries set forth in the Sanderson Committee had not yet been fulfilled by the Colony, but the stalwarts of Liberalism decided upon a deputation. The personnel of the latter, consisting of Mr. Tiwary of the Servants of India Society and Mr. Keatinge, I.C.S. of Bombay, was singularly fortunate in the inclusion of Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillai of Madras within it as its Chairman. The latter's association has, as the sequel proved, served more than anything else to throw fierce light on the exact conditions of our compatriots in that distant Colony.

"There is no use disguising the fact that there are two contending forces present pulling in opposite directions in the Colony. One is the interest of the Planters and the other that of the Indian element. Deputy Mayor Mr. Thorne, in his examination before the Indian Deputation, unequivocally declared that the Colony was owned up to 1891 entirely by the planters, that their interests always clashed with those of the people, that the people were struggling and gradually getting representation on the Legislative and Municipal bodies, that the Government instead of showing impartiality and giving the people drainage and irrigational facilities for which they had been clamouring for the last twenty one years, was representing the interest of the planters to get more labour for them and that the planters were trying to get back what was lost by the termination of the old indentured immigration system.

"The planters are certainly astute not to put forward a labour scheme, pure and simple, and they very much prefer to sugar their pill through some such device as to require the prospective 'settlers' to work as apprentices on the estates, and so on. This manoeuvre of the White section is clearly indicated by their mouth-piece, the Hon. Mr. Farrar.

Presiding at the 33rd Annual General Meeting of the George Town Chamber of Commerce on the 27th of July last the Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Farrar observed :—"The question of Colony Development is of as great importance to this Chamber as to any other section of the community, but it abounds with difficulties and these are not made any easier of solution by the counsels strongly urged by different schools

of thought. The development of our 'coast-lands' and 'interior presents 'two distinct problems,' and while both necessitate expenditure on an elaborate scale our primary necessity is population without which it is impossible to develop the one except to the injury of the other. The attempt now being made to recommence immigration from India on a Colonisation basis will, it is hoped, be successful, but if, as is possible, this is not the case, the matter must not be allowed to rest there. It is understood that any people so brought to the Colony will serve a period of apprenticeship on the Sugar estates."

The Ever Recurring Contest

"Sir Wilfred Collet, the Governor of British Guiana, fronted the Indian deputation with a Memorandum embodying the scheme formulated by the planters, and the sharp cleavage of opinion exhibited by both sides on this issue shows the distinctiveness of the two opposing points of view raging in the Colony. While the Indian opinion in the Colony unanimously rejects it, Mr. Keatinge supports the views of the other side and states as follows :—"I would recommend that a regulated admission of free labourers with facilities be permitted from India to British Guiana on terms of the nature outlined in the scheme presented to us by H. E. the Governor for the purpose of engaging in paid labour in the first instance and of receiving reward grants of land after three years' service. The matter is one for negotiation. The number of labourers emigrating from India to B. Guiana in any period need to be carefully regulated."

"So it is clear that the whole scheme revolves on the one question of how Indian 'labour' is to subserve the ends of the improvements of the Colony. The danger is ever present and inherent in the very order of things long established in the Colony itself that the prospective immigrant element would be placed betwixt two fires. The contest would recur day after day whether the sugar interests of the planters or the rice interests of the Indians, the improvement of the Coastlands or the development of the hinterland is to win the day. The skirmish would go on prepetually, a solitary Indian Mr. Luckhoo, and a sympathetic Irish Soul, Dr. Nunan, fighting on the one side of Indians, and a solid phalanx of European planters maintaining stout opposition on the other, notwithstanding any elaborate system of guarantees that the higher subtlety and legal acumen of the combined Houses of Legislature in India may devise to the contrary.

A Grave Warning

"However the warning is there. Mr. Kesava Pillai sounds it over and over again and concludes his summary thus :—"At present however, though unoccupied land is available to an almost unlimited extent, the physical conditions which govern the agricultural situations are such that it is hardly possible for ordinary settlers to take up land and cultivate it successfully immediately on arrival in the Colony..."We are doubtful whether in the near future it would be possible for the colony to find the large funds needed for opening up the 'hinterland' and making it 'suitable for settlement." And lastly,.....'In these circumstances, emigration should not be permitted." Unless therefore the Chambers of the Imperial Legislature at Delhi could be in a position to control expenditure and the direction

of the finances of the Colony in the interests of the prospective Indian settlers, and are prepared, in a word, to assume the responsibilities of the administration of the Colony—a contingency that can never arise, though Sir Frederick Lugard suggested a year ago in London that India should be given a mandate for Guiana,—the Legislators of this countrry cannot in all conscience lay the unction to their souls that the safeguarding of the interests of the prospective emigrants has been complete for all time. And unless they can give this guarantee to the public, it is immaterial and valueless whatever sops are offered by the Government of the Colony or whatever 'toys' held up for the edification of the Government of India. If there can be no 'mandate' there can be no 'scheme' acceptable to this country."

The Nunan—Luckhoo Propaganda

Sir Joseph Nunan and Mr. J. A. Luckhoo came to India early in January last. It was given out that they came here "with the approval of the Colonial office and the India office," though only a fortnight back a message from London stated that they had decided not to proceed to India in "view of the adverse opinion of the Government of India as to the desirability of their visit" at that time when the Kenya question was greatly agitating public mind in India. It seems, however, that the Govt. of India's views were discounted by the Home authorities and Indian feeling disregarded.

Messrs Nunan and Luckhoo were discredited by the B. G. Government last time that they were here. They had no authority to negotiate though they said openly that they were the representatives of the Govt. of the British Guiana and of their Legislature. This year too they did not state definitely and unequivocally that they alone had the powers to negotiate. After doing some campaign work in Bombay and elsewhere, giving press-interviews and publishing press notes, the deputation came to Delhi and circulated their lengthy memorandum on the 4th February. On Feb. 8th they met, on the invitation of Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, some 40 members of the Indian Legislature at Delhi and Sir Joseph addressed the gathering on their pet scheme. He mentioned the reaffirmation of the original scheme of 1920 and the acceptance by the Colony of all the recommendations of the Pillai report. Equality of status of Indians and all British subjects had been reaffirmed, he said, by a declaratory ordinance and its benefits had been extended to subjects of Indian Native States also, and moreover that if it were thought advisable to further ensure this equality of status of Indians, an agreement in the form of a treaty could be made between the Colony and India. India was also invited to appoint its own special representative as Commissioner, Agent-General or Consul-General to reside in British Guiana with a voice if necessary in the legislature to specially protect the interests of Indians; and so on. These alluring propositions were all set forth in the largely circulated memorandum reproduced on page 365.

An impression was also sought to be created that the deputation had the support of the Indians in British Guiana. This however was not true.

The East Indian Association of British Guiana which was sending over to India two delegates to confer with the Government here on the colonisation scheme, however, subsequently withdrew from it. On the 22nd January the Guiana Government rejected the proposals, promised by Dr. Nunan prior to his departure, for limiting the hours of work, minimum wages and suitable conveyance to fields, and in view of this action of the Government the Association dissociated themselves from the scheme. This brought to light the fact that though Sir Joseph Nunan was giving out that he was acting with the authority of his Government, he had really no power to bind them and virtually on the three fundamentals of labour problems he had been discredited.

Mahatma Gandhi on the Guiana Scheme

The name of the Mahatma was also used in connection with the propaganda which Sir Joseph Nunan was carrying. In an interview to the press on the 16th March he declared that four years back when he saw the Mahatma the latter preserved an attitude of *benevolent neutrality* to his colonisation scheme. This statement was obviously meant to disarm public criticism and to give weight to Sir Joseph's immigration proposals, which, he emphasised, was not altogether in the interest of the European sugar planters but to offer the Indians better conditions of living !

Two days after, however, on March 18th, Mahatma Gandhi issued the following statement to the press:—

'A document dated February 1, 1920 and signed by me at Lahore and handed to Dr. (now Sir) Joseph Nunan has been reproduced in an elaborate paper (dated 22nd November 1922) on the status of Indians abroad. As it has been used in support of a scheme of Indian colonisation in British Guiana and as it is stated in that paper : "so far as is known it still expresses Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards British Guiana," it is necessary to make my position clear. The statement made by me in February of 1920 is as follows:—

"From the outset Mr. Gandhi made it perfectly clear that he was not prepared to take any step that could be construed as a personal encouragement by him to Indians to leave India. He was not in favour of the emigration of Indians. At the same time he realised that many held different views on this point and he was equally not in favour of using compulsory legislative or executive action to compel Indians to stay at home. They should be treated as free citizens at home and abroad. They should certainly, however, be protected from misrepresentation. He knew nothing to prevent people emigrating now except a Defence of the Realm Regulation which would expire six months after the war. (This is the regulation preventing the emigration of unskilled labourers for work abroad until six months after the war unless under special or general license.)

"Once assured that equal rights for Indians existed in regard to political, municipal, legal, commercial and industrial matters in British Guiana, and that they were not alone receiving fair treatment from the administration and the general community but would be guaranteed in the continuance of such fair treatment, he would not oppose any scheme of free colonisation by Indian agricultural families.

"He was satisfied that the Colony had a liberal constitution and that Indians would be and were elected to memberships of the Legislature and to municipal office. He was satisfied that they had equality of rights with other races, and that there were opportunities of acquiring land for settlement. He was in favour of allowing a test of the scheme subject to a report at the end of six months on its working by Mr. C. F. Andrews or some other representative of the Indian popular leaders. The deputation accepted this proposal of a report by a popular representative independently of any supervising officer nominated by the Indian Government and offered to pay all expenses.

"Mr. Gandhi agreed that all necessary guarantees for the continuance of equal treatment could be furnished by the Colonial Office and British Guiana Government through the Government of India to the Indian people and its popular leaders."

'It was hardly fair to use this statement in support of any scheme. It could only be used for supporting a trial shipment under the supervision of Mr. C. F. Andrews or some one having the same intimate knowledge of the position of the British Indians abroad. But I admit that if such a trial proved successful from the Indian stand-point, I should be bound, under the foregoing statement, not to oppose a scheme of colonisation under proper safeguard.

'My views, however, since the 1st February 1920 about the British system of Government have, as is well-known, undergone a revolutionary change. At the time I gave the statement, my faith in that system, in spite of my bitter hostile experiences, had not altogether disappeared. But now I am able no longer to rely upon verbal or written promises made by persons working under that system and in their capacity as officials or supporters. The history of Indian emigrants to South Africa, East Africa and Fiji is a history of broken promises and of ignominious surrender of their trust by the Imperial Government and the Indian Government whenever it has been a question of conflicting interests of Europeans against Indians.

'The handful of Europeans have almost succeeded in East Africa in bullying the Imperial Government into sacrificing the prior rights of Indian settlers there. In South Africa the Indian settlers' faith is trembling in the balance.

'In Fiji the Indian is still the under-dog. There is no reason to suppose that British Guiana, if the test came, will be an exception.

'The moment Indians become successful rivals of Europeans in that Colony, that very moment all guarantees, written or verbal, will disappear.

'Filled as I am with utter distrust of the British Imperial system, I am unable to countenance any scheme of emigration to British Guiana no matter what guarantees may be given for due fulfilment of the pledges given. The benefit that must accrue to the Indian emigrants under any such scheme will be illusory. I am, therefore, unable to countenance the proposed scheme of Indian colonisation in British Guiana. I do not hesitate to give my opinion without consultation with the British Guiana Deputation because of the root objection stated above.

'If I am to express an opinion upon the merits of the scheme, the ordinary rule of courtsey would have bound me, before saying anything

hostile to it, to meet the British Guiana Deputation and understand their view points.

"Not till India has come to her own and has a Government fully responsible to her people and able effectively to protect Indian settlers abroad from injustice can any advantage accrue to Indian emigrants even from an ideal scheme."

THE REPORT OF

The British Guiana Deputation.

The following is the report of the British Guiana Deputation on Indian colonisation which consisted of Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai as President and Mr. Keatinge, I.C.S., and Mr. V. N. Tiwary as members. In their, report issued on January 20th 1924, the President and Mr. Tiwary summaries their recommendations as follows:—

We consider that the climate and natural characteristics of British Guiana are such as to offer good opportunities for Indian immigration and great possibilities for Indian settlers to obtain fertile land and become substantial peasant farmers. At present, however, though unoccupied land is available to an almost unlimited extent, the physical conditions which govern the agricultural situation are such, that it is hardly possible for ordinary settlers to take up land and cultivate it successfully immediately on arrival in the Colony.

We think that it would be possible to make available large areas of suitable land for the purpose of settlement by Indian agriculturists and to call into existence the organisation necessary for securing this result and giving the settlers the assistance which they would need to overcome their initial difficulties. We consider the inauguration of such a scheme to be desirable though we are doubtful whether, in the near future, it would be possible for the Colony to find the large funds needed for opening up the inland and making it suitable for settlement. The health conditions in British Guiana are far from satisfactory, as is shown by the excess of deaths over births in several years. The problem of sanitation is intimately connected with the problems of drainage and the arrangements for the supply of pure drinking water. The improvement of sanitary conditions is in our opinion of prime importance. It would be, to quote the words of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Clementi, "sheer folly, indeed immoral to take steps to introduce immigrants into this Colony without at the same time taking steps to keep them alive and in good health."

It is again a question of ways and means and we are not sure whether in these days of financial stringency, the Colony would be in a position to undertake measures for the improvement of sanitation on a large scale and commensurate with the requirements of the existing population. In these circumstances we recommend that emigration to British Guiana should not be permitted until the health conditions there have materially improved.

Representation in the Legislature.

The Government of British Guiana may take necessary steps to get the Declaratory Ordinance passed on the lines proposed by the Government of India, but what is of even greater importance is that steps should be taken to secure to the resident Indian population fair and adequate representation in the Court of Policy and the Combined Court of Policy. We are opposed to this being effected either by nomination

or communal representation. We have indicated in the section dealing with the political status of Indians the lines on which action should be taken to remedy the present state of practical disfranchisement of the Indian community.

At the present time the community is, from an educational point of view, in a most backward condition. The provisions of the existing Educational Ordinance should be given full effect to in the case of Indian children as is being done in regard to the children of the other communities. The Government of India should represent to the Government of British Guiana that marriages, celebrated according to Hindu or Mahomedan religion, should be recognised as lawful. Hindus should also be allowed the right of cremating their dead. The existing housing arrangements on the estates are far from satisfactory, and so far as the married immigrants are concerned, they are more likely to affect the integrity of family life. The quality and supply of drinking water is not good and requires immediate attention. The employment of children in Creole Gangs and several other legitimate grievances dealt with in the body of the report, from which labourers on the estate have been suffering for a long time, should be attended to.

To settle disputes regarding wages steps should be taken to constitute a board of arbitration composed of members who, on account of their independence and impartiality, would be acceptable to both parties. The rate of wages at the present time is so low that an average worker cannot earn a living wages. For its present requirements the Colony has got an abundant supply of labour. Until this has been absorbed and the claims of the existing population to prior consideration in any scheme of land settlement have been fully satisfied, we think there should be no resumption of emigration to British Guiana.

Repatriation Scheme.

As regards repatriation, we have dealt with the various points in the section relating to the subjects, and we recommend that the Government of India may take them into consideration for necessary action. The Indian community in British Guiana is unanimously opposed to the acceptance of the present scheme for the reasons given in the body of the report. We have no hesitation in recommending its rejection in its present form. It is merely tentative and does not contain definite terms, which British Guiana is willing and prepared to offer to the immigrants from India. If and when the Government of British Guiana make a definite offer, we would recommend that a satisfactory solution of the various points raised in the body of our report should be a condition precedent to the consideration of that scheme. In order that the interests of the Indian immigrants to British Guiana may be safeguarded, we would strongly urge that there be stationed in British Guiana an officer of the Government of India who would watch the interests of Indian immigrants and keep the Government of India informed of their condition. This officer should also be entrusted with the duty of safeguarding the interests of Indian immigrants in Dutch Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica. Under the New Immigration Act the Government of India can appoint such officers wherever they may deem it necessary. We earnestly recommend that such an officer may be appointed as early as possible for Guiana, Jamaica and Trinidad.

The Government of British Guiana should be requested to arrange for more return ships in order to expedite the repatriation of those, who are anxious or entitled to come. Arrangements on board of these return ships should be improved and greater regard shown for the comfort and convenience of the passengers. His Excellency the Governor told us that, owing to the present economic crisis, he was not in favour of immigration from India being resumed till the end of 1924 and not even then if cottages of an improved type have not been put up. The Indian community of British Guiana would not favour emigration from India until 1930, as they require time to settle down and to raise themselves from the prevailing state of depression and backwardness. They urge that the immediate resumption of emigration would aggravate and prolong the existing evils. The Hon'ble Mr. Luckhoo is strongly opposed to any emigration for at least another five years. Indians in British Guiana are strongly opposed to the acceptance by the Government of India of a purely labour scheme.

Mr. Keatinge's Report

Mr. G. KEATINGE, in his report separately submitted, summarises his recommendations as follows :—

I consider that the climate and natural characteristics of British Guiana are such as to offer splendid opportunities for Indian Immigration, and that there are likely to be great possibilities in the future for Indian settlers to obtain fertile land and become substantial peasant farmers. At present, however, though unoccupied land is available to an almost unlimited extent, the physical and economic conditions, which govern the agricultural situation, are such that it is hardly possible for ordinary Indian immigrants to take up land and cultivate it with success immediately on arrival in the Colony. I believe that it would be quite possible to make available large areas of land for the purpose of settlement by Indian agriculturists and to call into existence the organisation necessary in order to secure this result and to give the settlers the assistance, which they would need, to tide them over their initial difficulties. The inauguration of such a scheme would be very beneficial both to India and British Guiana.

Though I recognise that any scheme, which contemplates that immigrants will have to work as labourers on arrival, is less attractive than a scheme to settle them directly on a land, I would recommend that a regulated immigration of free labourers in families be permitted from India to British Guiana on terms of the nature outlined in the scheme presented to us by His Excellency the Governor of British Guiana, for the purpose of engaging in paid labour in the first instance and of receiving reward grants of land after three years' service. The matter is one for negotiation. The number of labourers emigrating from India to British Guiana in any period needs to be carefully regulated with reference to the demand for labour and the level of real wages which exist in British Guiana at the time or are anticipated in the near future.

To effect the necessary adjustments and control I would recommend

that the Immigration Department of British Guiana be strengthened, so that it can undertake the duties of a labour bureau more effectively, collect and publish the requisite statistical information, act as a labour exchange and undertake arbitration in labour disputes. I would recommend that an officer of the Government of India be stationed in British Guiana whose duty it should be to watch over the interests of Indians immigrants and to keep the Government of India informed of the pertinent facts concerning their condition and status.

Political Status of Indians.

As regards political status, Indians are on an equality with other races in the Colony, and the Colonial Government is prepared to pass an Ordinance binding their successors, so far as that may be possible, not to make any change in the constitution of the Colony which will operate in such a way as to place the Indian community in worse position than the rest of the population. I would not, however, recommend that any communal privileges be granted to Indians in the Colony or any regulations passed calculated to preserve them as a people apart from the rest of the inhabitants, since that would be likely to defeat the natural aspirations of the Indian community. Under the existing arrangements, there is nothing to prevent the Indian community from controlling the political activities of the Colony if they wish to do so.

The reason why I am in favour of the re-opening of Indian immigration to British Guiana under conditions of the nature specified is that I am convinced that the normal conditions of the Colony offer to Indians of many classes and occupations opportunities for a far higher standard of living than India is able to offer them and opportunites to win through the competence and wealth such as they have not in their home. In this connection a fairly large number of men have been broken in the past, but the terms of the offer made by His Excellency the Governor with regard to reward grants of land for such as wish to settle in the Colony and for easier terms of repatriation for such as wish to return to India will do much to obviate this.

As an additional safeguard, I would recommend that the Colony should maintain a subsidized farm Colony for unsuccessful men. If Indian immigration is stopped altogether, the effect on the labour supply of the Colony will be very serious for a time, and it is probable that many sugar estates will have to close down which will react very unfavourably on all in the Colony and on the Indian community more than any. In course of time the Colony would, no doubt, find other sources of labour, but the connection with India would gradually cease and the existing Indian community would in time become merged in the general population. If Indian immigration is again permitted and adequate development can be secured of such a nature as to attract the right class of settlers, Indians will in a short time predominate in the Colony, and a prosperous Indian Colony will be created offering varied careers to Indians and profitable trade to India. Indeed, it is not possible to foresee how far such development might not be pushed for it is not only in British Guiana but in the surrounding countries to a far greater extent that vast areas lie waste and clamour for a population to take possession of the rich lands and to subdue them to agriculture by methods which none can display with greater effect than the skilful and industrious Indian cultivator.

The Nunan-Luckhoo Memorandum

The following is the full text of the memorandum issued on Feb. 4th. 1924 by the British Guiana Deputation under the leadership of Sir Joseph Nunan, K. C.

The Select Committee of the Imperial Indian Legislature accepted the summary of the British Guiana Colonisation proposals known as the Nunan-Luckhoo scheme on the 10th February 1920, subject to a report by an Indian Visiting Committee. The visit of this Committee was postponed indefinitely on the recommendation of Mr. Montagu, dated 18th August, 1920 : (India Office printed paper No. J. and P. 2498, dated 3rd May, 1921). The visiting Committee eventually arrived on the 12th February 1922, that is, two years after the conditional acceptance of the Nunan-Luckhoo scheme.

On being notified of the postponement of the despatch of the Visiting Committee and of the late Indian Government's refusal to allow emigrants to leave for British Guiana on individual certificates, which the Select Committee was willing to permit, the late Governor, His Excellency Sir Willfred Collet, K. C. M. G., had replied to the Colonial Office on the 27th October, 1920, that it would be preferable that the proposals should be settled after the Committee had arrived. (See India Office paper above referred to). The context shows that he referred exclusively to the offers of land made to those not coming to work for registered employers. On the arrival of the Committee, which then heard for the first time of this new attitude, he submitted a document known as Memorandum "B" (Pillai-Tiwary Report para. 282), differing in some material respect from the scheme conditionally accepted in India. His Excellency wrote on the 28th April, 1922, to the Colonial Office (B. G. No. 164) .....'I enclose copy of minute I sent to the Delegation with regard to Indian immigrants not coming out to work for registered employers. I believe that they consider that this is a variation of the terms placed before the Indian Government. I do not know that it is.' Messrs. Pillai and Tiwary report that His Excellency informed them that his Memorandum "B" should be regarded not as a definite offer but only as a proposal for discussion. They have reported against it, and on page 99, para 207 their report reads:—"If and when the Government of British Guiana make a definite offer, we should recommend that a satisfactory solution of the various points raised in the body of our report should be a condition precedent to the consideration of that scheme.'

On his arrival in the Colony on the 4th April, 1923, the new Governor, His Excellency Sir Graeme Thomas, K. C. B., took steps to put forward a definite offer. This consists in the re-affirmation of the original scheme by His Excellency in Council and by the Legislature of the Colony at the request of the Chamber of Commerce and other public bodies, accompanied by the unanimous resolution of the British Guiana Indian Association.

His Excellency's letter of authorisation, dated the 23rd November, 1923, signed by the Colonial Secretary and addressed to the Hon. (Sir) Joseph

Nunan, K. C., L. L. D., Chairman of the original Deputation, reads as follows :

"You will understand that the colonisation scheme re-affirmed by the Colony is that set out in the summary of the original Colonisation Report of April 1919, accepted by the Select Committee of the Imperial Indian Legislature on February 10th. 1920, and explained more fully in the Supplementary Note to our Indian report (Combined Court No. 12 of 1923). For any alterations proposed by the Indian Government or Legislature which you consider should be accepted, you should if possible obtain confirmation by cablegram and in other cases only accept subject to confirmation."

Recommendations of Pillai-Tiwary Report

The recommendations of the Pillai-Tiwary report comprise, adopting the order of Section 13 of the report : —

(1) Provision of areas of suitable land for settlement, along with the necessary organisation for assisting the settlers in their initial difficulties. (2) Improvement of sanitary conditions, including the drinking water supply. (3) Passing of the Declaratory Ordinance as to status and the adoption of measures for securing fair and adequate representation for Indians in both Courts of the British Guiana Legislature. (4) More rigid enforcement of the present Education Ordinance (to which must be added from other passages of the report : suitable provision for vernacular education). (5) Special provision for marriages of Hindus and Moslems. (6) Right of cremation of their dead by the Hindus. (7) Improvement of housing arrangements, especially as regards married immigrants. (8) Non-employment of children in "creole gangs" on estates. (9) Independent boards of arbitration as regards wages. (10) More generous measures as regards repatriation, including more frequent return ships with improved arrangements. (11) Official representation of India in British Guiana. The report expresses doubt as to whether the Colony would in the near future be able to find funds necessary for land settlement and the improvement of sanitary conditions. I may say that on this point we are in a position to give satisfactory assurances to the Government, the Legislature and the people of India.

It may be mentioned that every one of the recommendations of the Pillai-Tiwary report is included in the original Nunan-Luckhoo scheme and they are therefore included in its re-affirmation. In short, the Colony is prepared to carry them all into effect.

In the general and entirely unforeseen collapse of the price of tropical agricultural products in 1921-1922, notably sugar, rice and cocoanuts, a period of intense depression seized on British Guiana as well as nearly every other country. India itself suffered heavily. The tendency everywhere is to regard such periods of depression, like periods of prosperity, as permanent. The Colony rapidly recovered at the end of 1922 and 1923. Rice, an exclusively Indian matter in origin and cultivation, is being rapidly restored to its former position. Present sugar prices make that industry remunerative and accounts are also recovering. Diamond working has progressed by leaps and bounds and it is a small man's industry. Some 18,000 men (so far only those of African race) are engaged chiefly as independent miners on the large alluvial diamond areas, and the capitalist comes in principally as the purchaser of the

diamonds or the owner of shops for the supply of goods to the workers. Owing to the large diamondiferous area, there is room for a much larger number of workers. The export for this last year was valued at over a million sterling. A survey for a railway to open up the district is being made. The timber industry also offers vast possibilities. The Colony's finances are again in good order. The recent Civil Service Commission has effected necessary economies. The loan charge of the Colony are small and its credit is good for several millions sterling. The budget has been balanced and the future is promising.

The seven areas of land suitable for preparation for settlement indicated in the original scheme were not shown to the visiting Committee. Since then other areas immediately suitable for settlement, (e. g. Anna Regina Estate and Essequibo of 10,000 acres) have been purchased by the Guiana Government, or they hold an option over them (e. g., Nismes and Arabi in Demerara and Berbice Counties 1,000 acres)—enough to provide immediate accommodation for several thousand families.

The original scheme was to be financed by a loan of £. 500,000 to £. 600,000, based upon an existing export tax of one per cent. Of the necessary sum about one-half has already accumulated in the Colonisation and Immigration Funds without any loan. The proposal was confined to 7,500 agricultural families introduced within three (now four) years. No unlimited immigration or expenditure was or is projected.

No child labour exists in the Colony at the present time. Wages offer a substantial balance above the cost of living. Ours is an offer of current wages—no minimum wages being in contemplation. A dollar (three rupees) can still be earned in a seven hours' day at piece-work. The average pay actually earned is however about three shillings. Our proposal includes the appointment of independent arbitration boards for wages, which will be subject to the criticism of the Indian representative (Commissioner, Agent or Consul-General, whom we ask the Indian Government and Indian Legislature to appoint) who may sit on all such boards. He will also be a member, and if an expert, may even be Chairman of the special Land Settlement Commission, which will arrange details of settlement.

As regards education, the schools of the Colony have always been open to Indians on the same terms as other residents and there are some Indian vernacular schools and an Indian High School. At the same time, it is true that in the absence of any considerable voiced demand, no elaborate provision has been made for vernacular education in past years. It was arranged last November to deal with this by the appointment of a subcommittee consisting of two Hindu and two Mahomedan members, along with two Christian clergymen (Rev. Mr. Cropper, Presbyterian, and Rev. Mr. Yeates, Wesleyan), who are specially identified with Indian education, to make recommendations through an official chairman as to what steps should be taken to deal with vernacular and other Indian educational requirements, including the provision of trained Indian teachers. Even in the years of depression a certain amount annually was provided for vernacular education in the estimates, which in the past was found adequate. We are prepared to recommend the appointment of an Indian Assistant Inspector.

Voting papers have now to be printed in Hindi and Urdu as well as English. They will be printed in Tamil and Telugu whenever a

demand exists. An arrangement is perhaps possible by which the Indian representative should have a seat in the Legislature during the period of immigration and settlement. Whether he should replace the Immigration Agent General or sit without a vote but with the right of speech can be discussed. Any formal proposal would of course require approval by cablegram from the British Guiana Government.

A Declaratory Ordinance has been passed setting out the equality of status of all British subjects and this equality has been extended to subjects of native Indian States. An Ordinance to regulate the marriage and divorce of Asiatics has been introduced into the Legislature in accordance with the recommendations of the visiting Committee and the wishes of the local Pandits, Moulvies and general Indian Community. Indians desirous of cremating their dead will have opportunities afforded for so doing. There has never been any legislation prohibiting cremation. It is a mere question of arrangements.

As regards sanitation, substantial progress has been made since the Indian Committee's visit in February and March, 1922. To begin with George-town, the capital, where over 20 percent of the population lives, on the recommendation of joint committees of the Government and Municipality presided over by the Chairman of the present Deputation and following the plans of an eminent Consulting Engineer, Mr. H. Howard Humphrys of Victoria Street, Westminster, work has already begun on schemes of sewerage, water-supply and roads, involving an expenditure of £. 600,000 sterling, for which sanction has been obtained. The British Guiana Government has also obtained the approval of the Legislature for a loan of £. 500,000 sterling for the irrigation, drainage and water supply of the Coast lands, on which some 100,000 Indians are now settled. The plans are ready and the work has already begun. These schemes are independent of special expenditure of the Colonisation Fund for the irrigation, drainage and water supply of the lands for the settlement of the new Indian immigrants under the present proposals. Health conditions will no doubt be greatly improved by the working of all three schemes. The total expenditure in contemplation runs to over 1¼ million rupees. It is true that for some years the health conditions, although better, have not been much better than those of India as a whole. The defects of the indenture system included the importation of the dregs of Indian towns, at the rate of four females to ten males. The rice industry is not a specially healthy occupation anywhere. Our African population has also much progress to make before conditions are really satisfactory. According to the Guiana Official Handbook of the year 1922, during the decade 1911-1921, the births exceed the deaths by only 34. It goes on to state: "The population of the Colony at the taking of the 1921 census was 297,691, which shows an increase of 1,651 since 1911, the year of the previous census. Of this number, no less than 124,938 or 51·97 per cent. are East Indians." The influenza Epidemic in 1918 and 1919 however was responsible for 19,000 deaths in the Colony and mainly accounts for smallness of the increase shown. Our normal health returns should be compared with ordinary Indian and general tropical returns and not with those of health-resorts like Barbados, Jamaica, and most of the West Indian Islands, which have a small area and a non-migratory and almost homogeneous population.

The present Deputation, which consists of those who placed the

original schemes before the Select Committee of the Indian Legislative Council in February, 1920, and also of the Vice-President and ex-Vice-President (Hindu and Mahomedan respectively) of the British Guiana Indian Association chosen from a small list elected by the Association itself, hopes to have the opportunity afforded it of re-affirming the original proposals before the Emigration Committee or before any special Committed appointed by the two Chambers, also before the Legislature itself. The disapproval expressed by the British Guiana Indian community in February-March, 1922, referred solely to the late Governor's scheme, (vide para 196, sub-para 3, page 97, Pillai-Tiwary report). We trust that an invitation will be issued to Messrs. Pillai and Tiwary to give their views on the original.

The Deputation is here solely on the initiative of the Government and people of British Guiana, which is not a Crown Colony but an Imperial possession of which the popular constitution was guaranteed by the Treaty which transferred it to the British Crown from the Dutch in 1803. The control of the budget is therefore permanently in the hands of an unofficial elected majority. In case further guarantees beyond the Declaratory Ordinance are required for the preservation of the existing equality of status, an agreement in the nature of a Treaty between the Indian and British Guiana Governments can no doubt be arranged. The Ordinance is printed in the Deputation's pamphlet, entitled "Status of Indians Abroad"—"A Colony for India."

We wish especially to emphasise the proposal to establish regular communication between Indian ports and the Colony by means of steamers under Government control or ownership carrying passengers and freights at cost.

The Pillai-Tiwary report summarises as follows the difference between the Nunan-Luckhoo and the late Governor's scheme :—

"The following important features of the Nunan-Luckhoo scheme are not to be found in the Governor's scheme :

(a) It provides for large scheme of irrigation and drainage.

(b) The inducement of land settlement is to be offered to old settlers as well as to fresh emigrants on similar terms of service.

(c) The organised campaign of sanitation is to be initiated.

(d) Water supply is to be improved.

(e) Agriculturists with families, if any, emigrating from India, and desirous of working on land of their own immediately on their arrival in the Colony, are to be given free passage to British Guiana. As regards repatriation, they are placed on terms of equality with those that start as labourers.

(f) Similarly, reward grants of five acres of land, specially prepared, are to be given to both classes of agricultural settlers on the completion of three years' residence, during which time they may have been engaged either on their own account or as labourers, in any form of agricultural work in the Colony.

(g) Non-agricultural settlers are also to be encouraged to emigrate providing free passages for them in some cases and assisted passages in others. Traders and small capitalists will be given cheap passages.

(h) One religious minister for each group will be taken free on each voyage with right of repatriation free."

At a general meeting of the British Guiana Indians in the Town Hall, Geoge-town, under the auspices of the Indian Association, on November 22, 1923 the following resolution was unanimously carried :—

'Whereas at a general meeting of the B. G. I. Association the Colonisation Scheme proposed by the Government for the introduction of Indian settlers to this Colony was discussed,

'And whereas after due consideration in its details, this Association in view of the conditions and benefits offered by the Government does not regard the Scheme as a Labour Scheme or a project for cheap labour :

Be it resolved that this Association after careful and serious consideration of the various conditions therein set forth, and the recommendations made by the Committee, respectfully support the same, and request His Excellency the Governor to forward a copy of the resolution to the Indian Government; And further, this Association approves of the Delegates proceeding to India with the Resolution as a mandate from the Association.' Moved by Mr. M. Panday.

The End of the Scheme.

In April 1924 the following correspondence passed between Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, President of the Government of India Deputation to British Guiana, and the Hon'ble Sir Joseph Nunan, K. C., President of the British Guiana Deputation.

Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai was invited by the Government of India to be in Delhi on the 17 or 18th March as the Standing Committee on Emigration wanted to hear him before they decided to give a reply to the Deputation from British Guiana. As Mr. Pillai could not reach Delhi on that date, on 14th April last Mr. Pillai received the following message from the Hon'ble Sir Joseph Nunan, the Chairman of the Deputation :—

"I very much regret that you cannot attend as the decision this session is vital in the interest of Guiana and advisable in the interests of Kenya and Dominion questions. I much appreciate and am grateful for your letter of 9th instant. We will repatriate Indians desirous of returning by the first steamer of the new regular line at rates not higher than Trinidad, possibly much lower. Conditions have so much improved that they are now very few, but we are willing to make immediate repatriation a condition precedent for adoption of the scheme. I quite agree that past neglect of this question is deplorable. We accept your views and Mr. Keatinge's on this question. The Indian Government has published for the use of the Committee the following statement from Mr. Keatinge dated the 30th January referring to our scheme."

Mr. Keatinge's Statement—a Liberal Scheme.

The following is the statement made by Mr. Keatinge in reference to the Nunan Scheme :—

"So far as I can judge the scheme is a very liberal offer and India would do well to accept it. Dr. Nunan of British Guiana informs me that the Government of British Guiana is prepared to put in force the offers made in the scheme for Indian colonisation in British Guiana made some three years ago and put before a Committee of the Indian

Legislature at Delhi by Dr. Nunan and Mr. Luckhoo. This scheme is a more favourable one than that put before us by H. E. the Governor while we were in British Guiana and as I was able to express a limited approval of the latter scheme subject to certain safeguards I am able to express a far stronger opinion that the Nunan-Luckhoo Scheme would offer favourable opportunities to Indian emigrants.

"I understand from Dr. Nunan that the Government of British Guiana are prepared to purchase empoldered lands in Essquibo country and on the quaratine coast and make them available for Indian settlers. I do not know the actual lands in either case. But I know the localities which are situated on the rich alluvium and if the lands are empoldered lands, formerly part of a sugar estate, they ought to be very suitable for Indian settlement. I also understand that the scheme to develop suitable tracts in the North West Province is to be taken in hand. So far as I understand the scheme now put forward, I consider that it offers very advantageous terms to Indian emigrants, and that with sympathetic handling, it offers very good prospects of happiness and prosperity to such Indians as may care to accept."

Sir Joseph also said in the message :—

"If you would wire to the Education Department an expression of your opinion as to the possibilities of our scheme as contrasted with the Collett scheme which your report rejected in view of the scheme of Irrigation, Drainage, Sanitary and Education now being carried out, you would be doing Guiana Indians good service, and believe me you contribute to the solution of the present complex problems of Indians overseas. If our scheme is rejected or postponed, general conditions will make its revival impossible and connection between India and Guiana will grow less and less.

"I mentioned to the Legal Department to-day that if our treaty constitution is preserved the transfer of the present Colonial Office control to India would in a short time be practicable if the scheme is successful. We expect a unanimous committee and Pandit Motilal Nehru is arranging a Swarajist meeting for Wednesday to receive us. In any event it will not be treated on party lines and I expect unanimity. The Socialist party is also supporting. Would you be kind enough to wire your statement to the Department as questioned?

"Please have it duplicated to me ; telegrams are prepaid.

Mr. Kesava Pillay's Reply.

Mr. Pillai replied sending copies to the Education Department, Sir. B. N. Sarma, Hon'ble Mr. Natesan and Hon'ble Mr. Karandikar :—

"Any step taken will have far reaching consequences. The Committee should examine me and Mr. Tiwary, and in their presence I should ascertain particulars from the Delegation before agreeing to re-open emigration even under your Land Colonisation Scheme which is so tantalising. I have been noticing conflict of opinions in British Guiana and through distrust of a large section of East Indians as to the practicability, if not sincerity, of executing rapid improvements of prevailing conditions and redress of grievances noted in our report to make Guiana fit and safe for emigrants. The repatriation of people referred to in our report has been painfully neglected. Very thankful for assurance that there will be repatriation according to agreements and on easy terms to be within reach

of those longing to come back. There are grave and reasonable apprehensions that what the planting interests once did with your original scheme might do it again with perfect non-chalance or circumvent it.

"Promise to the ear and breaking it to the heart has been the rule with proclamations and pledges. Any precipitate action will rouse deep and widespread dissatisfaction and shatter your high aims and hopes. Planters' plots, real or feigned, to introduce cheaper Chinese labour to displace resident East Indians as well, threats to prohibit and disable Indians as elsewhere, are deplorable."

Associations Delegates' Message.

On the 17th March Mr. Pillai received the following telegram from the delegates of the Association in Guiana who had come to Delhi.

"Arrived yesterday. Seen the telegrams sent to Sir Joseph. Assure you no conflict of opinion. Only misunderstanding which has been cleared up. Brought mandates from Hindu and Moslem communities. Besides the Association supports the scheme. Rapid improvements are being done. No fear, the scheme will be altered. Planters are in a minority. An Indian representative will visit Guiana, examine conditions in the light of your report – Sanitation, Wages, Settlement areas—before recommending a single colonist to leave India. The scheme will be in contract form between the Government of India and the Guiana Government. The Council disperse on 26th. Sorry you cannot attend. But respectfully request you to send opinion any conditions you may impose besides conditions precedent. The rejection of the scheme will damage progress of Indians in Guiana. Return passages for present residents—Trinidad rate or lower—being arranged.—Pandy Mukudam."

And also the following telegram from Dr. Nunan:—

"Just learned of your telegrams to Messrs. Sarma, and Natesan. If Indians are not satisfied with the offer to make emigration depend upon the report of the Indian representation that all guarantees are being carried out in Guiana, the matter ends. As far as I am concerned I have done my best and even undertook at great health risk to return to Guiana to carry the scheme into effect. Officials consider that your telegrams will cause its rejection. I do not think you intended this. If you think the scheme should be carried out subject to adoption of your proposals and the proposals and the report of Indian representation, you ought to wire Messrs. Sarma and Natesan in fairness to your countrymen in Guiana. My Indian colleagues are greatly disappointed at this unexpected misunderstanding. The Committee meets at 3 o'clock on Tuesday; if it adjourns the matter indefinitely I leave India and abandon the scheme as hopeless."

Mr. Pillay's Reply.

Mr. Pillai wired in reply as follows:—

"Would gladly recommend your scheme after our recommendations are carried out. Your promises must be honoured by others. The past history makes us sceptical. While lands are not yet ready and conditions not substantially improved and repatriation neglected the re-opening of emigration will not benefit resident or emigrating Indians. Personally I feel keen sorrow causing disappointment to so good and stalwart a champion of East Indians like you."

And there the matter rests now.

The C. P. Dead-lock & After

(Continued from Page 264)

After the wholesale rejection of the budget by the Swarajists in the C. P. Council a Govt. Resolution was published at the end of March in the CENTRAL PROVINCES GAZETTE explaining the action taken by the Governor. After narrating the circumstances and discussing possible courses of action, the Resolution says:—

This emergency has arisen from the refusal of the Legislative Council to vote any demands. The power conferred with reference to expenditure on transferred subjects is thus more restricted than that conferred in regard to reserved subjects. In the former case an emergency must have arisen rendering the authorisation of expenditure necessary for carrying on of a department, in the latter all expenditure may be restored which is essential for carrying on the ordinary administration. In authorising expenditure His Excellency has observed the following principles. In the reserved subjects the budget provision has for some years, owing to financial stringency, been curtailed to a minimum, and His Excellency has therefore certified the votable expenditure in these subjects with the exception of some items which can be postponed without serious detriment to the administration or loss to the provincial revenues.

In the transferred departments, on the other hand, His Excellency has been able only to authorise expenditure on the scale necessary for the carrying on of each department. Certain items which are classed as 'new expenditure' but which are really commitments of the Government in accordance with past practice, such, for instance, as grants to local bodies for general purposes, have been authorised, but other new expenditure proposed in the budget for schemes of development cannot be authorised, and these schemes must be postponed till funds are voted for them by the Council. Such projects include the construction of several new roads and bridges in Berar, new educational buildings, the improvement of water-supply including boring operations, the District Health Officers' scheme, the improvement of hospitals, the appointment of an Industrial Chemist, experiments for the improvement of sugarcane and so forth. The postponement of these schemes must inevitably have the regrettable effect of arresting the development of the province, and the action of the Legislative Council necessarily falls most heavily on the transferred subjects, where development is most required. Again, His Excellency the Governor is advised that he has no legal power to authorise the payment of reasonable salaries to Ministers. The result of the refusal to vote salaries for the Ministers is, therefore, that the office of Minister cannot be filled, and His Excellency has been obliged to take over temporarily the administration of the transferred subjects, the province being thus deprived of the most important advance towards self-government made by the Government of India Act.

Following these principles, His Excellency the Governor has exercised his statutory powers to authorise expenditure to the extent shown in the Appendix. The budget as introduced, excluding capital and debt heads, provided for an estimated revenue of Rs. 5,31,81,000 and an estimated expenditure of Rs. 5,29,36,000, thus giving a surplus of Rs. 2,45,000. Including the amounts now authorised, the provincial

expenditure will be reduced to Rs. 5,21,09,257. The expenditure not chargeable to revenue will be reduced from Rs. 74,56,000 to Rs. 69,31,000.

As a result of the action taken by His Excellency the Governor in consequence of the refusal of the Legislative Council to vote any demands, the principal items omitted from the budget are as follows :—

A—Reserved Subjects.

FORESTS—Purchase of 5 elephants Rs. 22,500, Purchase of 2 hay presses Rs. 6 000, Improvements of clerks' pay Rs. 5,500, Construction of new roads Rs. 75,000. EDUCATION (European Schools)—Grant to Christ Church Boys' School, Jubbulpore, for Science equipment Rs. 4,000. MISCELLANEOUS Departments—Preparation of an index figure of the cost of living Rs. 6,000.

B—Transferred Subjects.

General Administration—Salaries and travelling allowance of Ministers Rs. 74,998. EDUCATION—Equipment for the Engineering School Rs. 5000. Conversion of twenty lower division posts to upper division in the Subordinate Educational Service Rs. 4,000. Extension of female education Rs. 4,311. Grants to local bodies for compulsory primary education Rs. 10,000. Contribution to the Victoria Technical School, Bombay, for the training of twelve Central Provinces students Rs. 2 400. MEDICAL—Health propaganda work in Berar Rs. 2,403. Grant to the Muir Memorial Hospital, Nagpur, for buildings Rs. 5,000 Provision for the treatment of venereal diseases Rs. 2,000. Grants for dispensary buildings Rs. 2,500. Grants for quarters for Medical Subordinates Rs. 14,000. PUBLIC HEALTH—Grant to the Distict Council, Amraoti, towards the Health Officer's Scheme Rs. 10,000. Improvement of water-supply in the rural areas Rs. 10,000. AGRICULTURE—provision for sugarcane experiments Rs. 15,000. New plant and agricultural implements for demonstration purposes Rs. 10,000. Oil engine and pumps for Damoh farm Rs. 3,500. INDUSTRIES—Appointment of an Industrial Chemist and staff Rs. 15,500. CIVIL WORKS—Quarters for the Sub-Divisional Officer, Public Works Department, Ellichpur Rs 8,900. Additions and alterations to the District Court-house at Wardha Rs. 20,000. New building for the Anglo-Vernacular School hostel at Morsi Rs. 20,000. New building for the Anglo-Vernacular School, Mungeli Rs. 17,500. Additions and alterations to the High School building, Balaghat Rs. 11,000. Additions and alterations to the Model High School hostel, Jubbulpore Rs. 30,000. Hostel for the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School, Murtizapur Rs. 20,000, New building for the Anglo-Vernacular School, Murtizapur Rs. 20,000. Extension of the Akola High School hostel Rs. 18,000. Raising in class of the Digras Pusad road Rs. 40,000. Improvement of the ghat on the Malkapur-Buldana road Rs. 20,000. Causeway over the Adan river on the Darwha-Yeotmal road Rs. 15,000. Submerged bridge over the Chenakoli river on the Darwha-Digras road Rs. 15,000. Construction of a bridge on the Ellichpur-Anjangaon road Rs. 20,000. Submerged bridge on the Yeotmal-Wun road, Rs. 20,000. Grant to District Council, Amraoti, for raising in class of the road from Warud to Wardha Rs. 30,000. Grant to the District Council, Amraoti, for construction of the Pohora-Chandur Railway road Rs. 18,000. Reserve for unforeseen major works, reduced from Rs. 72,000 to Rs. 50,000, Rs. 22,000. Investigation of water-supply projects Rs. 10,000. Boring operations in Amraoti district for water-supply Rs. 13,000. New tools and plant reduced from Rs. 88,000 to Rs. 50,000, Rs. 38,000. MISCELLANEOUS—Grant to Jalgaon Municipal Committee Rs. 4 000. Reserve for transferred departments Rs. 1,50,000. LOANS AND ADVANCES BY THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT—Provision for a loan to the Nagpur Municipal Committee Rs. 4,50,000.

Government Propaganda Against Swarajists

The situation created in the Central Provinces by the Swarajists by throwing out the whole Budget in the Council placed Government in a fix. The Governor no doubt exercised in full the statutory powers conferred on him by the Government of India Act and the Government was carried on along the old autocratic lines without the showy gilding of a Council or Ministers. The two Ministers handed over charge of their offices on March 27th, and the Governor then took up the temporary administration of the transferred subjects after certifying that an emergency had arisen. The Secretary of State's sanction was sought for an extra Indian Executive Councillor to do the work of the Ministers. A dissolution of the Council and the ordering of a new election would have followed the impasse into which the Council had thrown the Government but it appears that the Local Government was advised by higher authorities to temporise and wait and watch the Swarajist movements. So long as the country was strong in support of the Swarajist, a new election of course would give them a greater triumph, and Government could not take up the challenge. Instead of doing this the Government carried on through its publicity department a huge propaganda ostensibly for educating the electorate but really and secretly to undermine the Swarajist influence and lessen their chance of success in the forthcoming elections.

A communication No. 154 C., of the 1st April 1924, from the Chief Secretary to the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar runs thus:—

'I am directed to issue the following instructions regarding measures to be taken in order to bring home to the electorate as far as possible the effect of the obstructive policy followed by the Swaraj party in the Legislative Council.

After reproducing in full the rules governing the conduct of Government servants in relation to politics, the communication goes on to say:—

'It will be observed that whilst Government servants may not interfere or use their influence in election to the Legislative Council and should, as far as possible, refrain from making any reference to personalities or parties or individuals, they are at liberty to defend and explain in public the policy of the Government to remove misapprehensions, correct mis-statements and refute disloyal and seditious propaganda. They may explain the reason why things are done, reason which underlies decisions and arguments against the proposals which they consider will be detrimental to the welfare of the country (vide paragraph 14 of Joint Select Committee's report on the Government of India Bill). Taking such action it will not be possible to refrain from making reference to the programme of particular parties. But care should be taken to avoid as far as possible personalities.

Distribution of Leaflets.

'But when an election is declared, care must be taken to give no ground for the suggestion that any action is taken with the object of influencing the electorate in favour of or against any individual candidates. The broad aspects of the effects of the policy of obstructive action of the Swaraj party members in the Legislative Council have been stated in the speech of his Excellency the Governor at Khandwa on the 26 March last, an extract from which has already been issued as Publicity Leaflet no. 97. This should form the basis of propaganda to be conducted in your district. In addition, certain vernacular leaflets have already been distributed and it is proposed to issue others from time to time. It is for you to decide the most suitable distribution of these leaflets in accordance with instructions given.

'If any officer desires to obtain other particular publication or special information on any particular point, he should address the Chief Secretary who will endeavour to meet the demand.

Spoken words more powerful.

'Whilst distribution of such leaflets may serve a useful purpose, the local Government believes that the spoken word is a more powerful influence than the written word. I am therefore to state that you and your subordinates should give special attention to this matter of oral explanation. It should be regarded as one of the most important duties to discuss the present situation at evening meetings with villagers in camp. In addition, arrangements should be made to hold special meetings or small darbars at tahsil head-quarters and other suitable centres. Such action may be best taken by you and sub-divisional officers and if you consider that selected tahsildars can be similarly employed, you should take action accordingly. If you desire also assistance of selected officers of other departments, you are authorised to make your arrangements direct with them.

Encourage Non-Official Organisations.

'Whilst such propaganda by Government officers may be expected to help to bring home to the electorate the evil effects of the action of the Swaraj party, it is most desirable that similar propaganda should be undertaken by non-official organisations or other non-official agency willing to undertake such work by provision of material for propaganda and such other assistance as may suggest itself."

Here is a sample of a propaganda leaflet (translated from the vernacular) :—

Did you vote last November for Mr. . . . . to represent you in the Legislative Council at Nagpur?

Did he explain to you the nature of the work that is done in the Legislative Council? Did he do this by speeches or writings? Or did he treat you as not worthy of having the truth put before you?

Did he tell you he was going to use your vote to try and ruin you, by preventing the Government from doing all those things which are necessary for your health, comfort and prosperity and even for your very life?

Did he not indeed try to ruin you by voting against the budget?

For is it not the budget which provides the Government with money whereby roads, bridges and buildings are made and repaired; hospitals and schools are built and maintained; medical relief is given, and plague, cholera, small-pox, malaria and 'badmashes' are arrested and sent to jail after conviction; crime is put down and your lives, houses, cattle and crops are protected; canals and tanks are constructed, and takavi loans are advanced to cultivators?

Again, did he not vote against four Bills which the Government wanted to introduce and make into law? Did he not also do this without ever considering the good or evil of the questions or making any remarks about them? Was there then no good in these Bills?

One of these Bills was designed to facilitate primary education. Is he then opposed to primary education? Did he tell you he was going to vote against primary education, so that your sons and daughters may be kept in blindness and ignorance, and then when he has got Swaraj he will be able to rule over you more easily?

What was wrong with the Madak-Smoking Bill, or the Weights and Measures Bill? Why did he vote against these Bills? Is he an enemy of the people, determined to reject any measures proposed for the people's good?

Was not the Tenancy Amendment Act entirely good? Did it not provide for special protection of the tenant in the matter of failure to pay rent? Why then did Mr . . . vote against this measure? Does he indeed want to see the tenants' land sold up to pay for arrears of rent? Is he a 'bania?' Would he wish to thrive on the misfortunes of the poor?

Such was the Government propaganda. It helped not only to accerbate feelings more deeply, but also made the Government the laughing-stock of the province. This propaganda may be likened to the one started in Behar during the Sinha regime when the virtues of drink were extolled in a public proclamation in a Police Gazette saying that all great men, from Shakespeare and Napolean downwards, had favoured drinking, and

that far from being an evil, alchohol saved a good deal of the poor man's cost of food as it inhibited hunger!!

Such propaganda went on for months. Early in May a leaflet was issued under the caption: "Does the Swaraj party deserve the country's confidence"? This leaflet indulged in such gross and humiliating misrepresentations that even the C. P. Moderates, who were to benefit under the Government scheme, felt it revolting and protested against it. We are told that "when the British came, they found the people ignorant, oppressed and frightened" and that they were killing one another like ravening wolves. "Those who tell you", says one sentence, that men were happy in the earlier days before them are liars". We come across frequently such choice expressions as "foolish", "lies" etc. If the Swarajists exaggerated the evils of the present system of Government, these Government propagandists with unblushing mendacity exaggerated the benefits of British Raj in a language fit only for Bedlam!

Another production of the Publicity department of the Government came to light in the middle of June. It is entitled "Strong Commonsense" and refers to the strong commonsense of a cultivator who is made, in a long imaginary interlocutory, to understand the blessings of the Reformed Council Government more than the Swarajist M. L. Cs whom the leaflet was meant to discredit. As a piece of stupid performance, as laughable as it is jejune, it beats all the rest. It is too long and too nonsensical to be quoted here, but the curious may search for it in the C. P. papers (vide *Hitabada*, June 25th).

Swarajist Activities in the C. P.

On the part of the Swarajists, however, nothing seems to have been done after the break-down of the Council. Mr. Rao of Bilaspur had for some time been giving out that their next step would be disobedience of orders of the Govt. in matters relating to the transferred subjects. He threatened to start a Board as the supreme authority for a parallel Government in the Transferred departments, but it remained only a threat. It meant in reality suspension of taxes and civil disobedience. But the people were not prepared for this, as the Swarajist himself knew. Mr. Rao argued that the British Parliament had abdicated its authority in favour of the electorates in respect of the transferred subjects, and it would be intra-constitutional if they refused to obey an authority which might be substituted for the Ministers.

But the position of the Swarajists themselves were hanging in the balance, and the happenings at Juhu kept them on the tenter-hooks of suspense. The rise of Mahatma Gandhi in the political horizon was looked upon with great apprehension by the C. P. Swarajists, for there was not much love lost between them and the politics of the Mahatma. After the decisions of the Juhu Conference between the Swarajist leaders and M. Gandhi was published, (see p. 601) a general meeting of the Nagpur Provincial Swaraj Party was held at Nagpur on May 25th and naturally attracted much attention. The mysterious ways in which the Central Provinces Government had been carrying on propaganda for the purpose of

undermining the influence of the Swarajists was thoroughly discussed. The meeting was presided over by Dr. Moonjee, who had returned from Bombay the previous day after long deliberations with Mahatma Gandhi, and Messrs Das and Nehru also attended the meeting.

After Dr. Moonjee had narrated his experiences at Bombay and told them how the leaders had arrived at their important decisions, the members from the moffussil explained the subtle ways in which the Govt. officials belonging to the various departments were trying their utmost to mobilise their forces for the impending second fight with the Swarajists at the next general election, and how pressure was being brought to bear upon all classes of people by officials in the district. Several proposals were made and steps suggested for counteracting Government propaganda. The meeting then unanimously resolved to create a Publicity Bureau of their own to take immediate steps to counteract official propaganda by issuing leaflets and carring on a vigorous agitation through the provincial press and otherwise. It was also resolved to organise at the earliest possible date a provincial tour to explain to the electorate all the methods with which the bureaucracy was strenuously attempting to misguide them.

Much discussion then followed regarding the Das-Nehru statement. The following resolution was unanimously adopted :

"This meeting of the Nagpur Provincial Swaraj Party heartily approves of the principle of Non-Co-operation based on self-reliance and resistance to the bureaucracy as defined in the statement issued by Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru in reply to Mahatmaji's statement, and generally approves of the programme of work both outside and inside the Council as suggested therein subject to its approval by the All-India Swaraj Party."

This resolution was meant to counter the Government plans of discrediting the Swarajists by introducing into the Council certain beneficial measures and thus placing the Govt. in a dilemma. Having adopted the Das-Nehru statement the party could change their previously settled policy of consistent and persistent obstruction to all official measures, good, bad or indifferent, and could, without stultifying themselves, avoid incurring the displeasure of the electorate by entering into all the Select Committees to which such beneficial measures were likely to be referred to.

By adopting the following resolution regarding capturing of Municipalities and other local bodies, the party then attempted to avoid any conflict with the other section of the Congress organisation :—

'All Swaraj Party organisations should try to capture Municipalities and other local bodies in co-operation with local Congress organisations.' The meeting then resolved to raise large funds for carrying on an electioneering campaign.

Similarly, with the propaganda carried on by the Government and the whole administrative machinery at their command, the Berar Swaraj Party decided to hold an All-Berar Electors' Conference at Amraoti in the month of July wherein the future programme and policy of the Swarajists will be detailed. No further developments worth recording took place up to July last.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE

Bengal Legislative Council

JANUARY—MARCH 1924.

The first session of the Second Reformed Council of Bengal met at the Town Hall on Tuesday the 22nd January at 3 in the afternoon for the taking of oaths. The Hon. Mr. H. E. A. Cotton presided. The Swarajist members occupied the left wing of the Presidential chair with the Independents sitting in a group on their left, while the Constitutionalists and non-official European members were seated on the right of the President, the officials occupying the front seats. Most of the Swarajist members were clad in white *Khaddar*. Babu Anil Baran Roy was in loin-cloth and Babu Satkaripati Roy bare-footed. The Nationalists were either dressed in *dhoti* and *chapkan* or *dhoti* and *chadar*, with the exception of their leader, Mr. B. Chakravarty, dressed in frock coat. Mr. C. R. Das, with Mr. B. Chakravarty on his left and Babu Bejoy Krishna Bose on his right, sat on the front keeping his party in the rear and in the flanks. Babu Surendra Nath Roy, Deputy President of the last Council, preferred to take his seat with the Swarajists and chose an obscure corner.

The President entered the hall punctually at 3 and took his seat when all the members stood up to greet him. After this the two Ministers, the Hon'ble Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq and the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi were sworn in, followed by the official members. The Secretary then called the other Members one by one. All proceeded to the President's table and took the oath, the ceremony ending with a shake of hands with the President. When Mr. C. R. Das was taking the oath, he, an avowed destroyer of the King's constitution to swear allegiance to the King, was cheered with derisive clappings coming from the Independent group. Babu Satkaripati with bare feet and Babu Anil Baran in his loin-cloth attracted much attention.

Of the 47 elected Swarajist members, 44 attended and took the oath, of whom 24 were Hindu out of a total of 25 Hindu Swarajists, and 20 Mussalmans out of a total of 22 Mussalman Swarajists. The Council was then adjourned till the next day.

The Governor's Opening Speech.

On the 23rd January, the Governor, H. E. Lord Lytton, formally opened the Council and in doing so delivered a long speech surveying the political situation, specially dwelling on the political crisis which has arisen on the entry of the Swarajists in the field, and justifying the arbitrary action of his Government in arresting people right and left under the old hateful Regulation III of 1818. Said His Excellency :—

My power to help forward the attainment of responsible Government in this country is proportioned to the support which I can receive from this Council, and the support which gentlemen are likely to give me will be determined by the conception you entertain of the proper functions of this Council. Under such a constitution as you aspire to possess it is not the function of the Legislature to govern. That is the function of the Executive. The primary function of the Legislature is to determine the character, not the personnel but the character, of the executive and having determined it to support it so long as it preserves that character. That form of constitution can only work so

long as the political opinion of the country is organised into clearly defined groups or parties. A general election then becomes a contest between the different groups for the right to determine the character of the executive.

The obstacle to complete responsible Government in India to-day is not so much the defective form of the existing constitution as the defective formation and mobilisation of political opinion. So long as the voters and the candidates for election regard themselve as individual units free to vote according to the dictates of their personal consciences and in the absence of recognised leaders who can count on the support of their followers, responsible Government on the representative principle cannot be established. It was that condition which made the selection of the first Ministers so difficult and which rendered it equally difficult for the Ministers when selected to serve the Legislature to which they were responsible. The work of the late Ministers in partially organising their followers and the arrival on the scene during the last election of a definitely organised political party with an acknowledged leader have carried us a long way forward along the road to the desired goal. It will be your task, gentlemen, in the Council which I am opening to-day by still further consolidating the political groups to which you belong to improve the working of our representative machinery.

Election of Ministers.

When the results of the recent election in Bengal became known it was apparent that the party which had secured the majority of the elected seats was not a party which acknowledged the leadership of the existing Ministers and it was for this reason and this reason alone that I accepted their resignations. As you know, I then invited the leader of what appeared to be the largest party to accept responsibility for the transferred departments. That invitation was declined, because it is at present a principle of that party to accept no responsibility and to oppose all Governments until the form of the constitution has been altered. I shall not on this occasion say anything about the merits of that policy. I am only now concerned with the consequences of it. Since I could not secure Ministers from that party, and since Government by opposition is the very negation of responsible Government, I selected my new Ministers from among those who believed that the best way of achieving the end which is desired by all is not to refuse but to accept responsibility, not to destroy the foundations but to build upon them, not to obstruct but to construct. That will be the policy of the Ministers who accepted office, as it was the policy of my late Ministers, and if all those who believe in that policy will sink their personal differences and subordinate their disagreements on minor matters to the service of this one great principle which they have in common, the present Government will have sufficient votes in this Council to carry out its policy during the next 3 years, and to advance in that time appreciably nearer to the goal which we all desire to reach. But without organisation, without party discipline, without loyalty to party leaders, there will be no progress.

Throughout the sessions of this Council there will be only one main issue before you, namely, whether you will side with the party of obstruction or whether you will side with the party of construction. If the object of both is the same, namely, the attainment of full responsible Government, their methods of obtaining it are fundamentally different. One proposes to show that within existing limits partially responsible Government can be made to work so successfully that there will be no danger in removing the limits, the other proposes to show that partially responsible Government is unworkable but can unfortunately by that means alone convince no one that full responsible Government will work any better. It is for you to choose which is likely to be the more successful, but do not forget that whatever may be the immediate subject on which you will vote, every division will in reality be taken on that issue.

Revival of Revolutionary Conspiracy.

Gentlemen, there is one other subject to which you will probably expect me to refer because it is one on which this Council is entitled to some explanation from the Head of the Executive Government. When proroguing the last Council I made an announcement which probably surprised the members as well as the general public. I reminded them of the bitter experience which this Province had had of political crime in the past ; I warned them that Government possessed evidence of the revival of a revolutionary conspiracy and that young men were again being trained to commit robbery and murder in the belief that they were thereby serving their country. I announced that the Government would take whatever steps might be necessary to suppress this dangerous movement, and I appealed for public suppport in the measures we might adopt. That was all I was able to say at that time and in the absence of definite evidence many

persons may have found it difficult to believe that the recent dacoities which had been committed had any political motive or had been inspired by any revolutionary organisation. Recent events have unhappily proved the justification of the warning and must have convinced every thinking man and woman that there are still in Bengal misguided individuals who believe that political aspirations can best be realised by means of assassination and who consider it an act of patriotism to murder prominent officials. No sane person is likely to believe that the authors of these crimes are isolated fanatics who have conceived a personal hatred of their intended victim and have acquired their foreign weapons without the aid of associates. Everyone in Bengal knows only too well the kind of influence which is brought to bear on these impressionable young students, the kind of literature by which their minds are inflamed, the kind of organisation which supplies them with the weapons which they possess and trains them in their use.

Regulation III and Arrests.

Now, it is the universal experience of all Governments that are confronted with organised and revolutionary conspiracies of this character that they cannot be suppressed by means of the ordinary law. It is not peculiar to India. Almost every European country has at one time or another had this experience. Every Executive Government so situated is obliged to obtain the sanction of its Legislature to the use of emergency measures. That was the experience of the Government of Bengal in the past. When they had to rely on the ordinary law the revolutionary movements flourished; when they were armed with the emergency powers of the Defence of India Act it was effectively suppressed. If any doubt could exist on this point it has recently been removed by the publication of the reminiscences of the older revolutionaries who openly boasted of the helplessness of the Government when it had only the ordinary law to rely upon. The power of internment suppressed the movement and this very significant fact should be remembered that though over 1,200 men so interned have been subsequently released no allegation has ever been made that any man had been detained who was not in fact connected with the revolutionary movement.

That the movement has been revived within the last year no one can now doubt, and the only question to be considered is how it is to be dealt with. It is no party question. All parties in this Council, I am convinced, are equally anxious to save Bengal from another outbreak of violent revolutionary crime. The suggestion that Government are trying to hamper the activities of the Congress Party or the Swaraiya Party, was arresting their members, is of course entirely without foundation and statements to that effect do not deceive any one. The Government has no quarrel with those parties. Violence is, I believe, equally condemned by both of them and in the suppression of organised violence Government is as much entitled to their support as to that of any other party. There are as I have explained only two alternatives open to us, one is to allow the revolutionary conspiracy to continue, to permit robbery and murder to be planned and content ourselves with the punishment of those who commit them when they can be captured, to allow the minds of impressionable young men fresh from college with eager impulsive natures and hearts aflame with righteous patriotic fervour to be poisoned by the revolutionary virus, to risk the lives of our servants and even those of innocent men in the street, to send the assassins to the gallows and allow those who have perverted them, trained them, armed them and sent them out upon their butcher's work to lurk in the background, unscathed, and to prepare lists of fresh victims—that is one policy, that is what is euphemistically described as relying on judicial proceedings. It is a policy which we have unhesitatingly rejected. The other policy is to employ emergency measures, to strike swiftly and unhesitatingly at the leaders, to stop the poison at its source, to use exceptional powers never intended for normal conditions to such men only as have placed themselves beyond the pale of the ordinary law. I told the members of the last Council that we would not hesitate to employ such measures—the only ones that have proved effective in the past—if the occasion should arise. The occasion has arisen and we have dealt with it promptly without waiting for the poison to spread. If any member of this Council can suggest a better method than the one we have adopted for dealing with the situation, we shall be glad to hear it. Looking at the resolutions which have been tabled however for this session, the only contribution to our difficulties which I can discover is a proposal that we should release the men who hatch the plots and content ourselves with hanging the men who carry them out.

I have not the slightest doubt that the whole public opinion of Bengal would support us in the action we have taken if only they knew all the facts which are known to us. Unfortunately we cannot place them in possession of that knowledge but they are entitled to some guarantee that we have made no mistakes in the individuals whom we have selected. After all it is only human to err and we do not claim to be immune from the possibility of error. With the best intentions in the world and with the best informations, we are not infallible and where our mistake would mean depriving an innocent man of his liberty some check on our own judgment is required. I do not believe that any member of this Council would ask for the release of the men, whom we have arrested and interned, if he believed that they were guilty of organising robbery and murder. Remember these men are not detained for their political opinions. We are in no way concerned with their opinions but only with the methods they employ to attain their object. In order, therefore, to safeguard ourselves against error and to provide the public with some guarantee that we have not abused the powers we possess, we have submitted the whole of our case to the impartial examination of two Judges. These Judges have examined the material we have put before them and have informed us, (1) that the existence of a revolutionary conspiracy is clearly established, (2) that the evidence is sufficient to prove active participation in that conspiracy in the case of every man whom we have detained by the use of Regulation III of 1818.

I trust that the Council will seriously consider the information that I have given them and will support the Government in their efforts to save Bengal from reverting to the horrible experiences of 1912-1916 and incurring the reproach of the whole civilised world that the cause of Indian nationalism is stained with blood.

This speech only aggravated the impending crises, and it showed how much Lord Lytton was in the hollow of the hands of his Executive which was fighting for dear life to strangle and stifle the rising voice of nationalism in Bengal. His Excellency then ended with a long-winded peroration on "Law and Order" to which he wanted the Council's support.

Election of Deputy President.

After His Excellency had left the Council the election of the Deputy President of the Council took place. Major Hassan Suhrawardy was declared elected by a majority of 51 votes against his two rivals Mr. Surendra Nath Roy (29) and Khan Bahadur Musharuff Hossain (4). Major Suhrawardy received the congratulations of the President. The Council then adjourned till the next day.

On the Council meeting on the 24th, after Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta had taken his oath of allegiance, the President announced that His Excellency the Governor had approved of the election of Major Hassan Suhrawardy as the Deputy President of the Council. The following panel was next formed to preside at meetings of the Council in the absence of the President and the Deputy President :—

Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Roy, Sir W. Carey and Messrs. S. N. Roy and J. N. Basu. Mr. S. N. Roy expressed his inability to serve.

Amendment of Standing Order.

Maulvi Emdadul Huq (Swarajist) asked for leave to move a resolution for the amendment of Standing Order 60. He said that under that Standing Order no member could ask more than 12 questions at one session of the Council. This rule did not prevail in the Legislative Assembly or in any other Provincial Council. The motion was carried with the support of Swarajist members.

Release of Regulation III. Prisoners

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta (Swarajist) then moved the following resolution :—

"This Council recommends to the Government that all political

prisoners of and belonging to Bengal, detained under Bengal Regulation III 1818, be forthwith released." He said :—

It did not require many words to tell people, particularly the persons who belonged to a free country, (referring to his English friends), that it was against all principles of a free and democratic State to keep persons imprisoned without placing them before a court of law and allowing them to cross-examine the witnesses who were produced against them to test whether they were actually telling the truth or not. In England during the war even the German spies had the benefit of a trial even though before a court-martial. They had the right to be represented by counsel, the right to cross-examine the witnesses and they had even the right to be acquitted by that court if after cross-examination it was found that there was not sufficient evidence against them.

What I would ask the members of this House and particularly my English friends : what would they think of any British Government, however strong it might be, if they imprison 15 or 17 Englishmen and keep them in detention without trial ? Do they think that such a Government would be worth a moment's purchase or would last even for 24 hours ? We have been told repeatedly that the beginnings of a free and democratic Government have been made in India, and we have a taste of it by the imprisonment of these 17 Bengalis without a trial ! There was a Government of India resolution of the 19th September 1921 which said that Bengal Resolution III of 1818 should not be applied to Bengal or in any other province and that its application should be limited to that particular tract of India—the inflammable Frontier. As early as March 1922 after a resolution which the speaker understood was carried in the Council of State moved by the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, a Committee with Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru as Chairman was appointed to consider the repressive laws and make recommendations as to their repeal or amendment. That Committee considered the repressive laws and submitted its report. At the end of that report the Committee definitely said that the application of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 should be confined only to the inflammable part of the Frontier of India and that it should never be applied to Bengal or any other Province. These recommendations were accepted by the Government of India, Home Department. That being so, could the Government of Bengal or for the matter of that the Government of India apply the provisions of the Bengal Regulation and detain those persons in prison without a trial ? The Committee further said in that report that times had changed, the beginnings of responsible Government had been made in this country and these old laws or Regulations must not be applied.

Mr. Nurul Huq Chowdhury (Swarajist) supporting the resolution said that they were told that the country was living under a civilised Government, and if that be so why a regulation which was more than a century old should hang on the people of India? It was most unjust and inhuman to detain these men without trial.

Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray said that in no other civilised country would a responsible executive ever think of adopting such risky measures. The people of Bengal had a bitter experience of them when a few years back men in their thousands, on the merest suggestions of contemptible spies, were snatched away from their homes and made to rot and die in unhealthy places and snake-infested quarters.

Rai Harendra Nath Chowdhury supporting the resolution quoted extracts from a publication by Professor Rushbrook Williams to show that anarchical crimes were extinct.

Babu Surendra Nath Roy who also supported the resolution spoke from his own experience to the worthlessness of uncross-examined evidence. They could not, said Mr. Roy, spirit away people which was against the elements of British justice and fair-play. Some sixteen years ago the Government deported nine respectable gentlemen including Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter who was now a pillar of strength to the Govt.

Mr. Travers, an Anglo-Indian, said that the effect of the resolution would be to let loose upon society a number of men who had

already committed serious crimes ! ! (Cries of Question). It would mean that they would be given opportunity to commit further crimes against law-abiding citizens. Bengal at the present moment required all the capital for exploitation that she could get hold of for the development of her industries, agriculture etc ! He would say that during the past four years non-co-operation agitation in the province had seriously increased the poverty of the people (Cries of 'no,' 'no', 'order,' 'order.')

This stupid speech was followed by another from Mr. M. E. Villiers, another Anglo-Indian, who had attained notoriety by calling Mahatma Gandhi as a homicidal maniac. In opposing the motion he said that he considered the arguments of the supporters of the motion to be positively beneath contempt.

(Cries of unparliamentary expression.)

The President remarked that those arguments were beyond Mr. Villiers' comprehension (laughter). Mr. Villiers then made haste to withdraw the expression.

Continuing, Mr. Villiers observed that the report of the Repressive Laws Committee referred to by Mr. Sen Gupta said that in cases of emergency emergent laws were necessary.

Mr. Campbell Forrester who opposed the resolution said that if these persons were set at liberty, he would not be surprised if the police force resigned in a body ! This remark was met by derision.

The Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan said that it was an inopportune time to bring the resolution, a day after the Governor's speech and ten days after the murder of a law-abiding European citizen in broad day light in Calcutta. (This referred to the Day Murder, See Vol. I, p. 8). The Govt. could not, in face of the facts it possessed, possibly give any effect to any of the recommendations made in these resolutions, for it would mean abdication of the Government and a negation of all guarantee of law and order. This as well as other remarks of the Maharaja was taken by the members as an intimidation. On this point, however, he was met by Mr. C. R. Das later.

The results of divisions on these resolutions, the Maharaja said, might be a foregone conclusion but that would never go to prove to be a true index of the political situation (hear, hear) and if they conveyed the true mentality of educated Bengal it would go to prove, without any manouvering on the part of co-operating or no-co-operating agents, of men bent upon obstruction and destruction, that Bengal was not yet fit for self-government. (Cries of question, question, hear, hear.) The Maharaja further said that questions might arise of strengthening the hands of the executive instead of weakening it by those methods under the Defence of India Act which had previously made it possible for the Government of Bengal to paralyse the revolutionary movement in Bengal.

At this stage Mr. C. R. Das moved that the debate be continued till 9 p.m. or such time till it was not finished.

The President said that he would allow the debate to continue till a quarter past seven as usual and would not prolong it. Eventually the discussion was adjourned to the next day.

Next day, **January 25th**, on the resumption of the debate Mr. S. C. Mukherjee, the nominated member for the Indian Christians, who, it was alleged, had been angling from sometime previous for official favour, and

though repudiated by his community had been posing as their representative in the Council, rose and spoke against the motion. He created a diversion in the House by quoting some unauthorised statements from newspapers and was after a good deal of heckling made to sit down.

He was followed by two Mahomedan gentlemen, one of whom characterised Regulation III of 1818 as a necessary evil. This gentleman had apparently a dread of newspapers and had a cheap fling at Nationalist newspapers specially and remarked that "sometimes speeches and writings in newspapers may do greater harm than Maxim guns."

Sir H. STEPHENSON on behalf of the Govt. entered into a lengthy and carefully prepared defence of the measure. He gave a connected history of "revolutionary crimes" in Bengal and made an impassioned appeal to the House to throw out the resolution. His speech was received with cheers from the official and European benches. The Nationalists appeared, however, to be quite unconvinced by his specious reasonings. Sir H. Stephenson displayed, however, great tact and moderation in his utterances and tried his best to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of the Nationalist members.

After Sir H. Stephenson had stated the Government views Mr. C. R. Das rose to support the resolution. With great force and eloquence Mr. DAS refuted the arguments of the officials and other supporters of the obnoxious measure. "We have done it, trust us, was the whole argument of the bureaucracy in support of the deportations", said Mr. Das. He emphasized the fact that the Indian National Congress was pledged to a policy of non-violence for the attainment of "Swaraj." It was impossible therefore, said Mr. Das, that one belonging to the Congress should countenance the murders and other measures of violence. But some of the deportees, said Mr. Das, were his associates and he could give his word of honour that they preached non-violence wherever they went. The Government declared "that it would not be coerced by the tactics of the Swarajists." "If the government is not to be coerced", declared Mr. Das with great warmth amidst the applause of the Nationalist members of the House, "the people of this country are not also to be coerced." Pin-drop silence prevailed in the House when Mr. Das was on his legs and his remarks were heard with bated breath by the whole House. He said :—

It is not our grievance that the Government has put these men under arrest without any information at all. But our grievance is that this information is not properly tested. As regards this grievance we have not heard one word in answer (hear, hear). We have been told that there are statements made by several persons; we have been told that reports have been made and that they have been considered by the Government. What I want to ask is how any Government official, however gifted he might be, is in a position to test the truth of a statement, unless the man who makes that statement is brought before him and questions are put to him. I submit, it is impossible. What is usually done and I take it, the report is made, the report is read, of course the report contains the information which would be sufficient in the opinion of the officials concerned for the application of the act. And then I take it, that information is counter-signed; it is sent up to the Government of India and it is sent up before two Judges. The wonder is that Judges can be found to report as to the guilt or innocence of persons upon what we call dead records!

The Judges make their report (hear, hear). The report is confidential. We have however been favoured with extracts from that report. To prove what? Not one single sentence has been placed before this House. Not one argument is placed before us. The only reason is—"We have done this, we have done that. You must trust

us." I can assure the Hon'ble Member in charge, the whole country is definitely of opinion that these persons who have been arrested lately ought not to be detained any longer (hear, hear). Is that opinion wrong? I venture to think, no. The Hon'ble Member in charge has given you certain specific instances without names and other description. I am not complaining against that. But let me give you what has happened in my own personal experience and my experience is as good as that of any body else in this House. It has been my endeavour for the last few years to approach these youngmen who for sometime or other belonged to revolutionary societies to bring them over to the Congress and prove to them that we cannot win our liberty by the application of violence. And I say I have succeeded in persuading many of them. But to my horror, what do I find? They were pounced upon by the police within a few days and lodged in jail. For what offence? We could not ascertain that at the time. Afterwards we were told that they were detained under Regulation III of 1818.

I will give you a few interesting details. Questions were put in this House as to whether any definite charges were made against them.—I want to draw your attention, Sir, and the attention of this House to that—to say what were the definite charges brought against them? What is the reply? The answer is "charges have been put to the prisoners." Is it with regard to definite offences? The answer is *vide* the previous answer. Sir, the previous answer is "charges were put to them". Every body understands the distinction between 'charges' and 'definite charges'. And I declare in this House that no definite charges were put against any of them. We investigated the case. If the Hon'ble Member has quoted an extract from a report of judges, let me quote to him extracts from my report. We obtained permission to visit these persons. We sent our friends to them. They were asked specifically with regard to what had happened. And they were told this.

These are the charges: "You are a Bolshevik agent:" That is charge No. 1. "Was any definite proof placed before you"? No. What did you say? "I said it was an abominable lie." I am quoting from my report. I ask you to consider supposing any one of you is charged like this, how can you prove that you are not a Bolshevik agent? Suppose I am charged like this, how can I prove that I am not a Bolshevik agent? Because some one reported some thing—a spy somewhere has said something that so and so has done such and such thing which is untested—am I to be charged like that? The man who has made the statement must be brought before some responsible officer. He should be cross-examined to show the utter hollowness and falsity of his statement. With regard to these men I cannot believe for one single moment that they are Bolshevik agents.

Then there is another charge—"You are privy to murder of a police officer." Which police officers?—they asked. The information was denied. When did the murder or murders take place?—they asked. This information, too, they were denied. I ask you, in all seriousness, how is it possible for a man to answer a charge like this—"You are privy to murder of a police officer." They can only say that it is a lie, an abominable lie. That is what they said.

Then the third charge is "You are an associate of so and so." These associates are also detained persons. Of course it is possible to be associated with these men without being guilty of murder. If that charge is preferred against me, I am afraid, I have to plead guilty to that charge. Some of these interned were my associates—they are men with whom I have worked. They have worked with me and preached the doctrine of non-violence. I am proud of them.

Another question was put to them:—"You were preaching sedition and publishing inflammatory literature." Of course the inflammatory literature is before the Government. If it is seditious according to law, then why they are not put upon their trial? These are the kinds of charges that are brought against them.

My grievance is, either there is evidence before the Government which the Government believes is sufficient to prove their guilt in a court of law or, if the Government does not believe it, the Government has no right to detain them (hear, hear). If the Government has in its possession evidence which it believes to be true, let them be produced for trial. The Government dare not produce them for trial. I say there is no evidence against them.

There is another side of the question. It is with regard to the question of policy. It is a question which is more important than the question of guilt or innocence of these men. And that is the question to which I shall refer to before I have done. I ask the Government to seriously consider, can the application of these lawless laws, as I call them—these repressive orders, executive decrees—can it

possibly put an end to revolutionary movement? I do not deny that in Bengal there was revolutionary movement, and I say unfortunately for us, for those who belong to the Indian National Congress, this revolutionary movement exists and will exist as long as wisdom does not prevail in the Council Chamber of your administrators. I ask this question solemnly:—in the history of the world has revolutionary movement been checked at any time by repressive legislation? It has never been checked. It can never check revolutionary movement. It can never suppress it. I am told that when these internments took place the revolutionary movement was suppressed. It was not suppressed. If it was suppressed why has it raised its head again? It was not suppressed. It buried its head underground. Every time you apply these regulations, every time you send people to jail without trial, it creates disaffection. I will ask you to seriously consider—can revolutionary crimes cease if disaffection increases? The revolutionaries may be temporarily suppressed but only for the time. Remember, the man who throws the bomb is not the only terrorist. He is a terrorist undoubtedly. The man who shoots innocent fellow-citizens is a terrorist. He is a terrorist no doubt. But he is not the only terrorist. There are unconscious terrorists. These terrorists are those who practise upon the fear of the people. Let me quote this from an extract I made from an English newspaper a few years ago:—

"Every one who talks of the need of law and order while ignoring the still greater need for justice is a terrorist. The terrorist is a man in terror trying to strike terror in some body else. Thus any one of us is liable to become a terrorist on occasions of panic and excitement."

If the Government has any reason to suppose that revolutionary movement will increase in strength, then the only thing they have got to consider is how to satisfy the people of this country. It is admitted that these revolutionaries are patriots. It was stated by His Excellency the other day that these revolutionaries are patriots. They are out to secure the liberty of their country.

Change Of Heart—the Only Solution.

We are told that the Government will never be coerced. If by coercion is meant the application of physical force, I agree. But if that statement means that the Government is not to yield to the wishes of the people, I differ entirely (hear, hear). *If it is stated that Government is not to be coerced, may I not make this declaration on behalf of the people of this country that the people of this country will not be coerced either.* (Hear, hear). Therefore what is wanted is a change of heart. That is the only peaceful solution of the question. And I ask you seriously to consider this. I ask you to pass this resolution and I appeal to the Government to accept this resolution as a proof of that change of heart upon which and upon which alone depends the peaceful solution of this problem. (Hear, hear).

Just one word, and I have done. His Excellency—I beg your pardon—I mean the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan yesterday made use of an argument which sounds very much like intimidation. It was certainly not his intention, I admit. But what the Hon'ble Member said was this that the Government will never accept this. He was asking you not to accept this resolution and one of the reasons upon which he relied was that the Government would never accept our recommendation. Because the Government would not accept the resolution, you were told you should not pass it. That sounds like intimidation. Let me assure the Hon'ble Member that *this House will not be intimidated either, and that in spite of what he has said this House will pass the Resolution.*

After Mr. Das had sat down, a European gentleman rose and made the astounding statement that none of the internees or deportees ever seriously questioned the illegality of the action of the Government against them. This gratuitous observation met with a crushing retort from Babu Satyendra Chandra Mittra who was himself interned under the Defence of India Act. Mr. Sen Gupta was asked to reply to the debate but he preferred to waive his right and the resolution was put to the vote and declared lost.

A division was demanded and the result showed that 76 members voted for and 45 against it and it was received with ringing applause by the Swarajists.

The President declared the resolution carried. The resolution ran :—

"This Council recommends to the Government that the Government of India be approached for the immediate release of the persons belonging to Bengal who have been placed under personal restraint under Bengal Regulation III of 1818, and that, if necessary, they be tried according to law in an open court of Justice."

Of the three Ministers, Babu Surendra Nath Mullick was absent as on the two previous days. The two other Ministers, Moulvi Fazlul Huq and Mr. Ghuznavi were present but did not open their mouths but voted with the Government. The Swarajists, of course, voted solid for Mr. Sen Gupta's resolution. The Independents also followed suit and all of them voted for the motion. Besides the Moslem Swarajists there were a few other Independent Mahomedan members who also went to the right lobby along with the Swarajists and other Nationalists.

The Second Rssolution on Political Prisoners.

Another motion of Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta that :—

"This Council reccommends to the Government that all political prisoners of and belonging to Bengal namely :—

'(a) those convicted for offences committed with a political motive before the Royal Amnesty granted in the Royal Proclamation issued by His Gracious Majesty, the King-Emperor, on the 23rd of December, 1919 ;

'(b) those convicted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act (XIV of 1908), during 1921 and 1922 ; and

(c) those convicted for sedition, and those bound down and imprisoned under Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code for delivering seditious speeches during 1921, 1922, and 1923 be forthwith released."

was carried by a majority of 31 votes, 41 voting against and 72 for the resolution.

The Third Resolution on Repressive Laws.

Another resolution moved by Babu B. K. Bose on repressive laws ran thus :—

III. "This Council recommends to the Government to request the Government of India for the immediate repeal or withdrawal in regard to Bengal of the following laws ;

(1) the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1911 (X of 1911) ;

(2) the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 (XIV of 1908) ;

(3) Sections 15 and 15 A and other sections so far as they relate to Sections 15 and 15 A of the Police Act, 1861 (V of 1861) ; and

(4) Bengal Regulation III of 1818"

The motion was being discussed when the Council adjourned till the 28th January.

Interpellation on Reg. III. Prisoners

At question time Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA had asked : (a) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Political Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement giving the following information with reference to the persons arrested and detained in Bengal under Regulation III of 1818 :—

(i) the names of the persons arrested ;

Members of the Council

PRESIDENT :

The Hon'ble Mr. H. A. Casson, C.S.I.

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS & MINISTERS

The Hon'ble Sir John Maynard, Finance Member.
" S. B. Sardar Sundar Singh, Majithia, Rev. Member.
" K. B. Mian Fazl-i-Husain.
" R. B. Lt. Chaudhri Lal Chand.

OFFICIALS—NOMINATED

E. Tydeman, Director of Pub. Instruction.
Boyd, Mr. D. J., Home Secretary.
Coldstream, Mr. J., Legal Remembrancer and Secretary, Legislative Department.
Craik, Mr. H. D., Chief Secretary.
Forster, Lt. Col., Director of Public Health.
Gibson, Mr. A. J. Chief Conservator of Forests, Punjab.
Heard, Colonel R., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab.
Irving, Mr. Miles, Secretary, Finance Dept.
King, Mr. C. M., Financial Commissioner and Secretary, Revenue Dept.
Latifi, Mr. A., Secretary, Transferred Dept.
Sangster, Mr. W. P., Chief Engineer.
Scott, Mr. E. A., Director of Industries.
Tollinton, H. P., Financial Commissioner.

NON-OFFICIALS—NOMINATED

Ajab Khan, Honorary Captain.
Davidson, Lieut.-Col. D. M., (Retired).
Gopal Das Bhandari, Rai Bahadur, Sir, Kt.
Jawahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur, Sardar.
Maya Das, Mr. Ernest
Mehdi Shah, Khan Bahadur, Sayad.
Owen, Dr. C. A.

ELECTED

Abdul Aziz, Mian.
Abdul Qadir, Khan Bahadur, Shaikh.
Afzal Haq, Chaudhri.
Ali Akbar, Chaudhri.
Bakhtawar Singh, Sardar. Banke Rai, Lala.
Bhagat Ram Raizada. Bodh Raj, Lala.
Buta Singh, Sardar.
Chhotu Ram, Rai Sahib, Chaudhri.
Dhan Singh, Sardar.
Dhanpat Rai, Rai Bahadur, Lala.
Dhan Raj Bhasin, Captain.
Diwan Chand, Lala.
Duli Chand, Chaudhri.

Punjab Legislative Council

Jan.—March 1924

Faiz Muhammad, Shaikh.
Farman Ali Khan, Subedar-Major.
Fazl Ali, Khan Bahadur, Chaudhri.
Firoz Khan, Noon, Malik.
Firoz-ud-Din Khan, Rana.
Ganga Ram, Rai Sahib, Lala.
Ghulam Muhammad, Chaudhri.
Gokul Chand Narang.
Gray, Mr. V. F.
Gurbakhsh Singh, Sardar.
Haibat Khan, Daha, M.
Har Chand Singh, Sardar.
Husain Shah, Sayad. Jodh Singh, Sardar.
Karam Ilahi, Khan Bahadur, Chaudhri.
Kesar Singh, Chaudhri.
Khan Muhammad, Khan, Wagha, Malik.
Mangal Singh, Sardar.
Maqbool Mahmood, M. Mazhar Ali Azhar.
Mohan Lal, Lala.
Mohan Lal Bhatnagar, Lala.
Mohindar Singh Sardar.
Muhammad Abdullah Khan, Khan.
Muhammad Hussain, Sayad.
Muhd. Jamal Khan, Khan Bahadur, Sardar.
Muhammad Mehr Shah, Nawab Sayad.
Muhammad Raza Shah, Gilani, Makhdumzada.
Muhammad Saif Ullah Khan, Khan.
Muhammad Shafi Ali Khan, Chaudhri.
Muhammad Shah Nawaz, Mian.
Muhammad Sharif, Mian.
Capt. Mumtaz Muhammad, Khan, Tiwana.
Najib-ud-Din Khan, Chaudhri.
Nanak Chand, Pandit.
Narain Singh, Sardar.
Narendra Nath, Diwan Bahadur, Raja.
Narinjan Das, Diwan.
Nihal Chand, Sikri, Lala.
Nur Din, Chaudhri.
Partab Singh, Jamadar.
Pohap Singh, Rao. Ram Singh, Chaudhri.
Randhir Singh, Sardar, Kalaswala.
Ruchi Ram Sahni, Lala.
Saadullah Khan, Chaudhri.
Sahib Dad Khan, Chaudhri.
Sangat Singh, Sardar, Kulla.
Sewak Ram, Rai Bahadur, Lala.
Sahab-ud-Din, Chaudhri.
Shahadat Khan Rai. Sham Lala, Lala.
Sikandar Hayat Khan, Lieut. Sardar
Tara Singh, Sardar.

Chief Events

2	Jan	24	Council Opened by H. E. the Governor.
2	Jan	24	Supplementary Demands under Excise refused—Demand under Stamps, Forest, Registration & General Administration granted.
5	Jan	24	Demands under Administration of Justice and Jails and Convicts sanctioned.
25	Feb	24	Govt. Resolution to amend the Punjab Courts Act rejected.—Ch. Lal Chand's motion for election of members on Advisory Committee carried—Supplementary grants voted.
26	Feb	24	S. Jodh Singh's adjournment motion on the shooting affairs at Jaito ruled out of order.
1	Mar	24	BUDGET PRESENTED.
5	Mar	24	Mr. Mulid. Hossain's resolution on Agricultural indebtedness passed.—Ch. Afzal Huq's resolution on Arms Act modification passed—Mr. Bodhraj's resolution on Removal of Liquor Shops lost.
6	Mar	24	Official Bills referred to Select Committee.
10	Mar	24	Several motions for reduction under Land Revenue discussed & passed.
11	Mar	24	Demand under General Administration (Reserved) granted on Govt. accepting 25 per cent. reduction.—Mr. Jodh Singh's motion for reduction of two-fifths in the Staff of Commissioners passed.
13	Mar	24	Demand under General Administration (Transferred) and Justice granted.
15	Mar	24	Debate on Akali Prosecution—Demand under Jails granted after reduction—Demand under Police granted.
17	Mar	24	Demands under Scientific Departments and Education (European—Reserved) passed.
18	Mar	24	Demand under Education (Transferred) passed after all the motions for reduction were withdrawn or lost.
20	Mar	24	Demands under Medical and other Heads granted.
24	Mar	24	Mr. Irving's motion for a loan of Rs. 50 lakhs to the Bahawalpur Durbar and Sardar Majithia's motion for a grant of Rs. 50,000 to the Governor in Council passed.—COUNCIL PROROGUED.

सत्यमेव जयते

(ii) the dates on which each of these persons was arrested ;

(iii) the charges, if any, which were brought against each of these persons before arrest ; (iv) the allowances, if any, which have been granted to each of these persons ;

(v) the place of detention of each of these persons ; and

(vi) the present daily or monthly expenditure on each of these persons for food.

(b) Will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state :—

(i) whether the said persons were charged with definite offences ;

(ii) whether they were allowed sufficient opportunity to answer such charges in writing ; and (iii) whether these cases were placed before Judges ?

(c) will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state whether the persons or any of them were asked by the police if they were members of the Swarajya Party before arrest ?

The Hon'ble SIR HUGH STEPHENSON replied :—

(a) (i) and (ii) A statement is laid on the table.

(iii) Charges have been put to all the prisoners. In the public interest, however, Government do not consider it desirable to publish them.

(iv) and (v) Government do not consider it desirable to publish this information.

(vi) Rupee one and annas four.

(b) (i) Vide answer to (a) (iii). (ii) Yes.

(iii) With the exception of two of the prisoners who were arrested at the instance of the Government of India, the cases of all were placed before the Judges.

(c) The answer is in the negative.

Statement referred to in the reply to clauses (a) (i) and (ii) of the question showing the names, etc., of the State prisoners confined under Regulation III of 1818 :—

NAMES OF STATE PRISONERS AND DATES OF ARREST.

(1) Amrita Lal Sarkar—25th September, 1923.
(2) Rabindra Mohan Sen Gupta—25th September, 1923.
(3) Satish Chandra Pakrashi (Satish Bhattacharjya) ?—25th September, 1923.
(4) Manmohan Bhattacharjya—25th September, 1923.
(5) Upendra Nath Banerji—25th September, 1923.
(6) Kali Prasad Banerji—26th September, 1923.
(7) Jiban Lal Chatterji—2nd October, 1923.
(8) Bhupati Mazumdar—25th September, 1923.
(9) Ramesh Chandra Datta Chaudhuri—25th September, 1923.
(10) Monoranjan Gupta—25th September, 1923.
(11) Muzaffar Ahmed—17th May, 1923.
(12) Jyotish Chandra Ghosh—25th September, 1923.
(13) Atindra Mohan Roy Chaudhuri—6th October, 1923.
(14) Nalini Nath Gupta—20th December, 1923.
(15) Bhupendra Kumar Dutta—25th September, 1923.
(16) Amarendra Nath Chatterji—25th September, 1923.
(17) Jadu Gopal Mukherjee—25th September, 1923.

On the Council assembling on the 28th January the adjourned debate on Mr. B. K. Bose's Resolution was taken up. Mr. B. CHAKRAVARTY, the leader of the Nationalist party, first rose in support of the resolution and spoke as follows :—

I for one concede that the first duty of a civilized Government is the maintenance of law and order—there is no doubt about that. But at the same time I enter my emphatic protest against the statement that the expression 'law and order' should include repressive measures. If I may be permitted, I may read a passage from the great English Jurist, Blackstone : "To bereave a life by violence and confiscate his states without accusation and trial would be so gross and atrocious an act of despotism as must at once convey an alarm throughout the kingdom. But confinement of persons by secretly hurrying them to jail where their sufferings are unknown is a less public, less striking thing and therefore a more dangerous engine of an arbitrary Government." As I have the honour of addressing the members of the House, English gentlemen, I hope, will bear in mind what was said by their own great jurist. Now I come to more recent times. Members are aware that there were troubles at the time when Lord Morley was Secretary of State for

India and Lord Minto was the Viceroy. Members are aware also that some deportations took place then. I am told that one of the deportees is a pillar of strength to the present Government. However that may be in 1909 Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto as follows: "I won't follow you in deportations. You state your case with remarkable force, I admit. But then I comfort myself in my disquiet of differing from you by the reflection that perhaps the Spanish Viceroy in the Netherlands, the Austrian Viceroy in Vienna, the Bourbons in the Sicilies and Governors in the old American colonies used reasonings not wholly dissimilar and not much less forceful."

And I venture to think, however atrocious a measure might be, however it may infringe the liberties of the citizens, reasons have been found, and it has been in the mouth of every one from time immemorial, that for the sake of 'law and order' it is necessary to resort to repressive measures. When the greatest of the Bourbons Louis XIV had to defend his conduct, his answer was—"You speak of Government, you speak of administration, it is me" and the Bourbon defend d his conduct on the ground of law and order. However that may be, let us come to more recent times. The members of this House have heard the name of Dr. Masaryk who is now the respected President of the Republic of Czecho-Slavokia. When the Austrian Government was in power he was condemned to death in the name of law and order. He had to flee from his country and take shelter in England. The Siberian exiles were defended on the ground of law and order. Therefore when the expression 'law and order' is trotted out it does not in the slightest degree interfere with my point that it has been the cry from time immemorial of every irresponsible authority. Science has shown that even mineral matter or inorganic matter is capable of responding to external stimuli. But I have not yet found any irresponsible authority responding to the stimulus of public opinion (hear, hear). It seems to me that irresponsible government is synonymous with government incapable of appreciating the opinion of the people governed by them.

"Century Old Regulation Still Young"

The measures against which we are complaining so far as my resolution is concerned are three. In the first place let us take Bengal Regulation III of 1818. It is more than a century old. The members of this House are aware that conditions in India in 1818 were such that it was necessary to pass that regulation. It was intended for the purpose of preventing intriguers from foreign countries coming into this country to create difficulties, amongst others, in the Feudatory States. This hoary good old friend of ours, although more than hundred years old, seems to me as young as ever. Age does not seem to have affected its vitality. There was a solemn Committee appointed for the purpose of saying good-bye to this particular regulation. They said it was an archaic piece of legislation and ought not to be on the statute book. They further said, that they were not going to apply it except in the inflammable Frontier Provinces. That was the finding of the Committee. It was followed by a resolution of the Government of India accepting the recommendation of the Committee. But can there be any justification in the year of grace 1923, about 12 months after the publication of that report, for the recourse that had to be had to the use of that regulation for the purpose of hurrying into jail some 17 persons of His Gracious Majesty's subjects? How can we, who have to deal with the people of this country, justify this action after the most solemn declaration, not by the Local Government, but by the Central Government of India which has been referred to above?

The Hon'ble Sir ABDUR RAHIM said that these measures were preventive laws and necessary for the prevention of crime. The Criminal Procedure Code was full of measures for the purpose of prevention of Crime. These three measures were all measures of that kind. Not a single cogent argument had been advanced to show that they were unnessary. After referring to the report of the Repressive Laws Committee, Sir Abdur Rahim said that if they found the Bengal Regulation necessary here they were perfectly justified in applying it. The object of the Seditious Meetings Act was to prevent sedition and the Criminal Law Amendment Act aimed at suppressing unlawful associations. A law of this character was liable to be misused but was that a good ground for repealing such an Act? The passing of the Goonda Act showed

that the people wanted a more drastic measure than these laws. The difference between the Goonda Act and the Bengal Regulation was that the Goonda Act did not refer to the Bhadralog class. They could not say that there should be one law for the Bhadralog and another for the poorer classes.

Mr. Chakravarty.—We are all Goondas! (laughter).

Mr. C. R. Das in reply to the Govt. members said :—

I have to reply to certain observations made by Sir Abdur Rahim, otherwise I would not have thought it necessary to get up and speak at all. At the very outset I wish to make one thing perfectly clear. Sir Abdur Rahim in referring to some of us said that we gentlemen who want to have the statutes repealed would not take up the responsibility of Government; that statement is absolutely incorrect. We are, as you are all aware, prepared to take up the responsibility of the Government (hear, hear,) of this province and our only objection is that the Government is not made responsible to the people of this country (hear, hear), and the moment the Government is made responsible to the people of this country Sir Abdur Rahim will find every one of us ready to take up the responsibility of the Government. But what was offered to us is not the responsibility of the entire Government, but only part of it, and that part cannot be dissociated from the whole. It is a kind of responsibility which is not responsible to anybody. Certainly we refused to shoulder that kind of responsibility.

Necessity of Preventive Laws.

To make our position clear I shall proceed to deal with one or two arguments put forward by Sir Abdur Rahim. The Hon'ble Member was angry because Mr. Chakrabarti did not put forward facts. Sir Abdur Rahim said that these are preventive laws which are necessary for the maintenance of Law and Order. Therefore these laws must remain on the Statute Book. But the whole question is whether preventive laws have any safeguards. We are told in season and out of season that every civilized country some time or other have reasons for emergency legislation. But may I remind the House of one fact, that is also proved by history, viz, that there is hardly any civilized Government which is not responsible to the people? The whole difference is there. That is the point in a nutshell. If the Government of this country had been responsible to the people and if it had been thought necessary to enact repressive legislation for the time being, the people would have agreed to that because they knew that the moment these measures were misapplied and people were misgoverned on account of this enactment they would have the right to run that Government out. India to-day has not got that right. Therefore we have to be very careful in allowing these repressive legislations to be kept in the Statute. Members of the Government are after all human beings. They cannot help taking side on a particular question. They are human and there is this danger of applying the repressive statutes in putting down political freedom. It is from that point of view that we have the greatest objection to the continuance of these repressive laws on the Statute Book.

There is another argument put forward by Sir Abdur Rahim. He says that there are sections in the Criminal Procedure Code which contain preventive laws and that therefore this House ought not to get rid of preventive laws. I cannot understand that kind of argument.—There are preventive laws and preventive laws. There are many preventive laws in the Criminal Procedure Code which are considered necessary. But it does not follow from that that every legislation which is put forward as a preventive legislation must be kept up. I cannot understand that argument at all.

Unpopularity Of the Regulation.

Then the Hon'ble Sir Abdur Rahim went on to say with regard to Regulation III of 1818 that there was the Goonda Act and the people were very anxious for the Goonda Act. The Goonda Act is something like Regulation III of 1818 and therefore people are anxious to have the Regulation III of 1818 retained on the Statute Book! I must say I was struck with the perfect syllogism put forward by Sir Abdur Rahim. I do not know whether the Goonda Act is popular or not. But the kind of Goonda Act passed here last year is certainly very objectionable. I have not consulted the public with reference to that question but I would point out to Sir Abdur Rahim that Bengal Regulation III of 1818 is most unpopular. It is a fact. Ask any countryman of ours, ask anybody who is responsible to the people of this country, whom the people look

upon as their leader, ask any one of them and you will find that Bengal Regulation III of 1818 is not wanted by the people. Let me read to you a passage from what was said by the poet Rabindra Nath Tagore. He said: "The policy of secret condemnation and punishment hitherto pursued has led a very large number of my countrymen, including a great many of those punished who are innocent, into imprisonment. This savours more of vengeance than of precaution." That is why we object to the continuance of this regulation on the Statute Book.

Babu BIJOY KRISHNA BOSE in replying to the debate said that the Hon'ble Sir Hugh Stephenson wanted a guarantee from Messrs. Das and Chakravarty that if these laws were abrogated and if the prisoners were released there would be no murder and no dacoity. In reply to that he would ask the Hon'ble Mr. Stephenson and the Government to give them a guarantee that if the continuance of these preventive laws were allowed and if they went on in the way as they were going on now, the Government would be able to bring peace, law and order in the country (*hear, hear*). Change of heart was not one-sided. But would the Government give them the guarantee that there would be absolute peace by keeping these laws unrepealed and by keeping these men in jail without trial? He thought that the strongest argument for the repeal of the laws had been given by the Hon'ble Member himself when he said that the Seditious Meetings Act was never extended to Bengal, that the Criminal Law Amendment Act was a dead letter and that Section 15A of the Police Act was very rarely used. If so, then what was the harm in abrogating these laws? Sir Abdur Rahim had said that the Goonda Act was more drastic than the Bengal Regulation III of 1818. Then why did they not repeal the Regulation and apply the Goonda Act.?

After quoting some extracts from the 'Recollections of Lord Morley', the speaker said that repressive laws did not save Russia from the Duma. Responsible Government was sure to come and if the Government went on in that way that would not prevent another Duma in India.

After the Hon'ble Sir Hugh Stephenson had made a brief reply the resolution was put to vote and the President declared in favour of the 'Noes' when a division was demanded.

At this stage Mr. S. Suhrawardy said—"Mr. President, Sir, we understand some European members."—President—"Who is this 'we'?

As the heckling continued Mr. Suhrawardy remarked that he was quite willing to obey the chair but he refused to be coerced by the members in front of him. Mr. S. Suhrawardy said that he and some other members wanted ruling from the chair as to whether Major Suhrawardy, the Deputy Chairman, could vote on the resolution.

The President remarked that when a controversial matter was being discussed and the Deputy Speaker had occupied the chair, he should think seriously before he voted. He further said that the Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons never dreamt of voting.

The President here informed the House that he had received notices from several members that they had been inconvenienced by members while proceeding to the lobbies on the 25th instant. It was not in order for a member to canvas for votes after the division had been declared. The paths leading to the lobby must therefore be kept entirely clear.

Maulvi Nurul Huq and the President

When the members of the House were retiring to the divison lobby

Moulvi Nurul Huq Chowdhry drew the attention of the President to the fact that a member of the House (who it transpired was Moulvi Rajibuddin Tarafdar) was being forcibly taken to the "No" lobby. The President tried to snub him whereupon Moulvi Nurul Huq repeated his complaint. The President then lost his temper and said that if Moulvi Huq did not obey the chair he would have to be turned out. Nothing daunted the Moulvi retorted that if it was his ruling that he would be turned out, he was prepared to be turned out.

The Resolution Carried

Then the division was over, and the President announced the following result :

For the Resolution—63.

Against the Resolution—43.

There were loud cheers from the opposition benches and the President then adjourned the meeting.

The following list will indicate the manner in which the members voted :—

For the Motion

Maulvi Azimuddin Ahmad, Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad, Maulvi Zayebuddin Ahmad Maulvi Zanoor Ahmad, Maulvi Syed Sultan Ali, Mr. Altaf Ali, Babu Ramesh Ch. Bagchi, Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, Babu Satyakishore Banerjee, Babu Jatindranath Basu, Babu Saratchandra Basu, Babu Bejoy Krishna Bose, Mr. B. Chakravarty, Babu Jogendrachandra Chakravarty, Babu Sudarsan Chakravarty, Babu Umesh Ch. Chatterjee, Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, Maulvi Muhammad Nurul Haq Chaudhuri Maulvi Syed Abdur Rauf Choudhury, Mr. N. C. Chunder, Babu Mohinimohan Das, Mr. C. R. Das, Dr. J. M. Das Gupta, Babu Baradaprasad De, Maulvi Abdul Gaffur, Babu Khagendranath Ganguli, Shah Syed Emdadul Huq Maulvi Syedul Huq, Maulvi Wahed Hossain, Maulvi Mahabubal Huq, Maulvi Aftab Hossain Joardar, Maulvi Abdur Raseev Khan, Maulvi Amanat Khan, Maulvi Mahiuddin Khan, Maulvi Baser Mahomad, Babu Mahendranath Maiti, Babu Satyendrachandra Mitra, Babu Taraknath Mukherjee, Babu Hemchandra Naskar, Babu Monomohan Neogi, Maulvi Abdul Kader, Mr. Prasanna Dev Raikat, Babu Abinash Chandra Rai, Babu Nagendranarayan Rai, Babu Surendranath Rai, Dr. Kumud Sankar Rai, Kumar Shibshekareswar Rai, Babu Anilbaran Rai, Babu Manmathanath Rai, Dr. Bidhanchandra Rai, Mr. D. N. Rai, Mr. Kiranssankar Rai, Mr. Satcowripati Rai, Babu Sailajanath Rai Chaudhuri, Rai Bahadur Satyendranath Rai Chaudhuri, Babu Hemantakumar Sarkar, Babu Naliniranjan Sarkar, Mr. B. N. Sasmal, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. J. M. Sen Mr. Gupta, Dr. A. Suhrawardy, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and Maulvi Muhammad Yasin.

Against the Motion.

Mr. H. Barton, Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad Chainuddin, Mr. C. G. Cooper, Mr. J. Cottle, Mr. T. Crawford, Babu Charuchandra Das, Major General B. H. Deare, Mr. G. Dey, Hon. Mr. J. Donald, Mr. J. T. Donovan, Dr. T. O. D. Dunn, Mr. G. S Dutt, Mr. T. Emerson, Mr. J. Campbell Forester, The Hon. Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi, Sir George Godfrey, Mr P. N. Guha, Mr. N. R. Gupta, Khan Bahadur Kazir Zahirul Huq, Hon. Mr. A. Fazlul Huq, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Musarat Hossain, Mr. G. T. Huntingford, Maulvi Ekramul Huq, Mr. J. A. Jones, Mr. D. H. Lees, The Hon. Maharaja of Burdwan, Mr. A. Marr, Mr. McAlpin, Mr. A. N. Moberley, Dr. H. W. B. Moreno, Khajah M. A. Nasiruddin, Mr. J. T. Philip, Hon. Sir Abdur Rahim, Mr. G. F. Rose, Maulvi Allabuksh Sircar, Hon. Sir Hugh Stephenson, Mr. S. C. Stuart Williams, Mr. J. A. L. Swan, Maulvi Rajibuddin Tarafdar, Mr. W. L. Travers, Mr. Villiars and Mr. R. S. Wilson.

The Council was then adjourned till the 18th February.

Swarajist Activities

Following these great victories in the Council the Swaraj party made an extensive propaganda throughout Bengal so as to create an atmosphere favourable to them and antagonistic to Government. The following circular letter was issued to all leading public men of all the district and subdivisional towns of Bengal by Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and Hazi Abdur Raschid Khan, Secretaries, Bengal Swaraj Party:—

"Dear Sir,—You must have read in the Press that the Swarajya Party and the Nationalist Party by an overwhelming majority have carried the following three resolutions":—

[*Here follows the Text of the resolutions as passed.*]

"As you are a leading public man, we have been asked by our party to bring to your notice the necessity of convening public meetings supporting the three resolutions passed by the Council. We would also ask you to pass another resolution directing your representatives in the Council to oppose all Government measures with a view to put an end to this system of Government which is not responsible to the people (if the Government do not accept the resolutions).

"If any member of your district voted against any of the resolutions in the Council, will you also pass another resolution, the form of which is given below? The resolutions may take the following form:—

'"This meeting of the people of.....approves of the resolutions on the release of political prisoners and the repeal of repressive laws passed by the Bengal Legislative Council and calls upon the Government to give effect to the said resolution as voicing the opinion of the electorates of Bengal.'

'"This meeting of the electorate of.....disapproves of the conduct of Mr.....M.L.C., in voting against the resolution on the release of political prisoners and the repeal of repressive laws in the Bengal Council and calls upon him to resign his membership in as much as he does not enjoy the confidence of the electorate any more."

'"This meeting further urges on the representatives of the district in the Legislative Council to oppose all Government measures with a view to put an end to the present system of Government which is not at all responsible to the people if immediate effect be not given to the Resolutions passed by the people's representatives inside and outside the Council".

The Budget Session--Feb.-March 1924

The Council reassembled after the recess on the 18th February on which date it sat only for an hour. The only work was the presentation of the Budget estimate for 1924-25 by the Hon. Mr. J. Donald, the finance member. Attendance was thin. Proceedings opened with a few members taking their oath and then the Hon. the President made a long statement setting forth his reasons for disallowing the no-confidence motion on the Ministers.

The President said :—

"I received during the recess from a member of the Council a notice of the two following motions which was submitted under the provisions of Standing Order 72 (Sec. 102 of Pt. IV of the Bengal Legislative Council Rules and Standing Orders).

I. That a formal address be presented to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal submitting that His Excellency's present Ministers do not enjoy the confidence of the Council.

II. That a message be sent to His Excellency the Governor through the Hon'ble the President of the Bengal Legislative Council submitting that His Excellency's present Ministers do not enjoy the confidence of the Council.

I informed the Hon'ble Member in reply that in my opinion these two motions did not fall within the scope of the Standing Order in question and I disallowed them accordingly. At the same time I intimated to him that in view of a contrary ruling by the Hon'ble the President of the Madras Legislative Council I would take the opportunity to-day of stating to the House the reasons for my ruling.

There are only certain matters which may be discussed in the Council under the Act and rules framed under the Act, namely, motions in regard to Legislation and the Budget, voting on such matters as the salaries of Council Secretaries and other matters provided in the Act itself, and the discussion of subjects of general public interests and definite matters of urgent public importance which last can be raised only by recommendatory resolutions and by motions for adjournment respectively.

The section which is relied upon is a Standing Order. As such it cannot run counter to the rules framed under the Government of India Act. That Act (Sec 72D (5) lays down that rules may be framed under this Act for the discussion of any subject specified in the rules and rules so made cannot be amended by the Indian Legislature or by any Local Legislature (sec. 129A). Under rule 22 made under the Act (Sec. 71 (1) of Part IV of the Bengal Legislative Council Rules and Standing Orders) the Governor is empowered to disallow any resolution or any part of a resolution on the grounds therein stated. This power of disallowance by His Excellency is conferred by Statute and cannot therefore be abrogated or avoided by any Standing Order. The scope of Standing Order 72 cannot be extended to cover an address which deals with matters of a controversial character, for in that case, any matter of public controversy could be discussed by the Council under cover of a formal address or a message through the President without His Excellency being able to make use of his constitutional power under Rule 22.

No question is involved in the present case of observance of or departure from Parliamentary traditions. This Council discharges its functions under a written constitution and it is the primary duty of the President to administer and interpret the statutory rules upon which that constitution is based, and which, as I have already stated, cannot be altered or amended by the Indian Legislature or by any local Legislature. Subject to that primary obligation, it has always been my endeavour and it will continue to be my endeavour, to act in accordance with Parliamentary traditions.

Proper and adequate occasions are provided by the constitution for the attainment of the object of the member. These arise in various ways. It is always open to the Council to defeat any Bill which Ministers may introduce or any proposals or requests for money which they may bring forward. Likewise, it is in order to move a reduction or rejection of the vote for their salary which will form part of the demands for grants and will be taken up next month.

Another form of action is provided by a motion for adjournment of the House to call attention to any specific action taken by Ministers which can be held to constitute a definite matter of urgent public importance of recent occurrence. Lastly

when the Ministers have placed themselves within the control of the House by their action a resolution may be tabled and, if admitted, will be balloted for at the commencement of a session in the usual way in company with other resolutions of which notice has been given. Such a resolution must be in the form of a recommendation to the Government and not to His Excellency direct.

Council Debate in Bengali

A petition has also been received by me signed by 26 members of the Council praying that arrangements may be made for recording verbatim speeches delivered in the Council in Bengali and stating that, as they are not as fluent in English as in their own vernacular, they prefer to speak in Bengali in the Legislative Council. All the signatories to the petition took the oath in English and it is, therefore, a fair assumption that they are sufficiently acquainted with the English language to be able to understand the purport of that oath. I observe also among the signatories a few members who have delivered speeches during the present session in the most admirable and fluent English. The matter, however, stands upon a statutory basis. Rule 14 of the rules made under the Government of India Act and, therefore, a statutory rule of Parliament which is reproduced in Act II of the Bengal Legislative Council Manual, runs as follows :—"The business of the Council shall be transacted in English, but any member who is not fluent in English may address the Council in any recognised vernacular of the province, provided that the President may call on any member to speak in any language in which he is known to be proficient."

I shall always be willing as in the past to assist any member who is really unable to speak fluently in English, but in accordance with the discretion which Parliament has conferred upon me I shall continue to call upon members to speak in the English language when I know them to be proficient in that tongue. As matters stand, in view of the excellent knowledge of English possessed by almost all the members of the Council and the facilities already afforded to the two or three members who are not able to speak so fluently in English, I am not satisfied that sufficient grounds exist for the alteration of the existing practice.

THE BENGAL BUDGET 1924—25

The Hon. Mr. Donald then presented the Budget of which the following is a summary of the main items.—

	Budget Estimate 1923-24. Rs.	Revised Estimate 1923-24 Rs.	Budget Estimate 1924-25. Rs.
Opening balance ..	60,83,000	90,92,000	1,21,73,000
Receipts	10,20,18,000	10,22,01,000	10,32,28,000
Recoveries of Provincial loans	12,56,000	11,47,000	10,39,000
Loans from the Central Government ..	..	1,61,000	..
Famine Insurance Fund ..	1,75,000	1,75,000	1,90,000
TOTAL ..	10,95,32,000	11,27,76,000	11,66,30,000
Expenditure from Ordinary revenue ..	10,14,65,000	9,86,73,000	10,31,79,000
Repayment of loans taken from the Central Government ..	4,35,000	4,35,000	4,64,000
Payment of loans by Local Government ..	11,84,000	6,79,000	9,59,000
Expenditure out of loans grant ..	2,50,000	8,11,000	2,96,000
TOTAL ..	10,33,34,000	10,06,03,000	10,43,06,000
Closing balance ..	61,98,000	1,21,73,000	1,23,24,000

In presenting the Budget the Finance Member first made some observations on the general financial position since the reformed constitution came into being, and said in the course of his speech :—

The Year 1921-22

When Sir John Kerr presented the financial statement of the year 1921-22 in Council, he estimated an opening balance of Rs. 2,48,21,000 (after redemption of our provincial loans), receipts of Rs. 10,81,68,000 and an expenditure of Rs. 12,89,52,000; in other words, in the first year of the reforms, it was estimated that a sum of Rs. 2,08,00,000 would have to be drawn from the balances to carry on the administration. There was, however, a very substantial decrease in receipts due to the general dullness of trade and in part to a disturbed political situation, but against this, substantial measures of retrenchment were taken and the net result was a deficit of Rs. 1,70,58,000.

The Year 1922-23

In the following year, we secured some benefit by the agreement of the Central Government to waive for a period of three years the provincial contribution of Rs. 63 lakhs, but even then it was anticipated that the working of 1922-23 would result in a deficit of Rs. 1,20,00,000. As a consequence Government had resort to new taxation. Three Taxation Bills—two of them amending the Stamp and the Court-Fees Acts and a third imposing a tax on amusements and betting—were introduced in the Council and became law in 1922-23. It was anticipated that this new taxation would bring in Rs. 10,00,000, and thus wipe out the deficit of Rs. 1,20,00,000 and allow a surplus of Rs. 20,00,000. Basing our hopes on this additional income, supplementary estimates were presented to the Council for the utilisation of this surplus and a certain amount from the balances. But, later on in the year, it became evident that our anticipations from the new taxation would not be realised and retrenchment had to be given effect to. Savings were anticipated to the extent of Rs. 49,00,000; and when I presented the Budget last year I estimated that we should close the year 1922-23 with a deficit of Rs. 16-half lakhs.

Voting of Grants

Later on, on the 16th March 1923, before the voting of grants, I revised the estimate of receipts and placed the figure at Rs. 10 lakhs in excess of my original estimate, thus reducing the deficit to Rs. 6·69. But we were slightly out in our calculations and things turned out better in actuality. The stamp revenue just realised our expectations but we obtained Rs. three and one-fourth lakhs more from land revenue and a large increase in miscellaneous receipts, and in all, our actual income for the year was nearly Rs. 8-half lakhs over the revised estimate—so that even from the revenue side the anticipated deficit was wiped out and there was a surplus. But this was not all. As I explained to the Council last year, we had taken measures to enforce every possible economy in view of the anticipated fall in our revenues, and we anticipated as a result of this economy—all done on the initiative of Government before the Retrenchment Committee was appointed—that our expenditure would amount to Rs. 9,82,50,000 or about 41 lakhs of rupees below the sanctioned estimates. I am afraid, however, we did not give our officers sufficient credit for their efforts to meet our directions in the matter of economy. In practically every department, the expenditure fell short of our estimate and in the total we were out in our revised estimate of expenditure by as much as Rs. 23 lakhs—our expenditure was Rs. 9,59,64,000 as against an anticipated expenditure of Rs. 9,82,50,000, and an original budget estimate of Rs. 10,24,20,000. These figures related solely to the Revenue Account. In place of the anticipated deficit of 6-half lakhs, we thus had, on the 31st March, 1923, a surplus on the Revenue Account of Rs. 25,75,000. Taking everything into account, *i.e.*, including loan operations, we closed the year with a surplus of Rs. 23,41,000. Our closing balance was Rs. 90,92,000 or just about a lakh over the anticipations when the budget for 1922-23 was originally prepared. We had, in other words, practically retrenched as much as we had failed to realise in revenue.

This is a brief record of the first two years' working under the Reforms. We had Rs. 2,48,21 000 at our credit on the 1st April 1921—on the same day two years later we had Rs. 90,92,000, a figure which would have been much lower but for the remission of our provincial contribution in 1922-23. In 1921-22 expendi-

ture exceeded income by Rs. 1,70,58,000, in the following years, thanks to taxation, retrenchment and the relief from our payment to the Central Government, income exceeded expenditure, but we should still have had a deficit, had we not secured this temporary relief.

The Current Year

The budget provided for receipts amounting to Rs. 10,20,18,000, and an expenditure of Rs. 10,14,65,000. In the supplementary estimates of July and August last, there was added a sum of Rs. 10,05,000 to the expenditure total, bringing the total expenditure estimate to Rs. 10,24,70,000 and the margin between income and expenditure to a deficit of about Rs. 4-half lakhs. This represented really a drawal on our balances and did not affect the position as regards recurring receipts and charges.

As to **Receipts** they have on the whole been satisfactory. The *Stamp Revenue* has not altogether realised our expectations. I did not last year see the return to a normal condition of affairs in the economic world but with some indications of better trade and industry which had then appeared, I had hoped that some improvement would result. That improvement has materialised but not to the extent I anticipated, and instead of the expected Rs. 3,35,00,000 we must be content, I am afraid, with Rs. 3,20,00,000—a reduction of Rs. 15,00,000 in our estimate. The receipts from other sources have been, however, better and on the whole we have more than secured our estimate for the year. *Excise revenue* has been coming in well with the improvements in administration, and from this source we anticipate Rs. 2,10,00,000, as against the budget figure of Rs. 2,05,00,000. The amusement tax, which now appears under a separate head in the budget, "IX A.—Scheduled Taxes," will give us a few lakhs more than we estimated. With a few small variations under other heads and an adjustment as between Irrigation and Public Health, our revenues on the whole for the year will be about Rs. 2 and quarter lakhs above our original estimate.

Retrenchment and its Effects

Expenditure.—The economies effected in 1922-23 naturally had a bearing on the disbursement of the current year; and further retrenchments that have been made in consequence of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee have helped materially to reduce expenditure. Under several heads, the expenditure on the pay of officers is likely to fall far short of the estimate. With the new time-scales of pay, the adjustment of arrears and so forth it has been a difficult matter to get down to estimates with any accuracy. It has been largely a matter of guess-work, which we hope in future to put on a more accurate basis. There has also been a similar difficulty in estimating the expenditure on the pay of establishment. These facts account for the estimated drop in expenditure under 'General Administration of Justice and Education'. Retrenchment had a large say in the savings of about Rs. 2 lakhs each under 'Agriculture and Public Health', but nowhere has economy so manifested itself as under police, where expenditure is as much as about Rs. 12 lakhs below the estimate. Reductions of the force in accordance with the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee, an undue proportion of vacancies in the cadre, and measures of economy in allowances and contingencies, economy which seems to have been pressed to the detriment of the administration—all combined to reduce expenditure. I do not propose to go into all the details—they are set out in the explanations under the various heads—but the net result is a diminution of expenditure by about Rs. 38 lakhs as compared with the total of the original and supplementary estimates. The total expenditure we now estimate at Rs. 9,86,78,000 or Rs. 35 lakhs less than our revenue. This is expenditure on the revenue account solely. Bringing into account loan operations, in regard to which I may observe that with good agricultural conditions not more than Rs. 6,80,000 are likely to be required in the shape of loans as against the estimate of Rs. 11,84,000, the total working of the year as now estimated is an opening balance of Rs. 90,92,000, Receipts Rs. 10,36,84,000, Expenditure Rs. 10,06,03,000 and a closing balance of Rs. 1,21,72,000.

The Next Year: A Surplus Budget

With a considerable surplus in 1922-23, further large anticipated surplus in the current year and the measures of retrenchment that have been effected, this Council will perhaps conclude that the budget for 1924-25 must be a surplus one. And they might also be of the opinion that with the large amount at our credit in the

balances, there is surely a possibility of doing something in the way of development, and that Government, and particularly the Ministers, can now hardly plead that the financial position is such as to prevent any progress. If members have gathered such an impression from what I have already said, let me hasten to tell them that the budget for 1924-25 is not a deficit one and that we have made provision for expenditure which will consume a large amount from our balances. Let me proceed to the examination of the budget as I now present it.

I estimate our revenue for next year at Rs. 10,32,28,000 while the provision for expenditure is Rs. 10,31,79,000, i. e., our expenditure falls just short of our income. The margin is not great, but it is the result of our making provision for new schemes to the extent of Rs 35,89,000. As we have a large sum in our balances, we feel justified in embarking on new schemes—chiefly of a non-recurring character, (the reason for this I shall explain after) schemes which are urgent and important in administration and for development and progress. We have already ear-marked Rs. 88 lakhs of our balances for this purpose, to be spent in the next and following years, and the Rs. 36 lakhs in the budget represents the first instalment of this expenditure. It is the addition of this sum to the normal expenditure of administration which accounts for the fact that we are going to spend in 1924-25 practically all our income.

Receipts.

Before indicating the character and the schemes in contemplation, let me first refer briefly to the estimate of receipts for the year 1924-25. There are even better indications of improved trade than there were at this time last year, but it is even now premature to be too sanguine and I hesitate therefore to predict any great improvement in our stamp revenues. I may possibly be erring too much on the moderate side in fixing the receipts from this source at a lower figure than that which I had budgeted for the current year, but, under present conditions, I think an increase of Rs. 10 lakhs over the revised estimate is perhaps as much as can be justified, and the figure of Rs. 330 lakhs has therefore been adopted. Under Land Revenue, in the absence of floods and cyclones during the current year, we expect a return to more normal conditions in the collections from Government Estates, and with increased recoveries from settlement operations, the total Land Revenue receipts should increase. Excise should, under present conditions and with the improved means of administration, still further increase, and we anticipate a further increase of six lakhs under this head. The increase under these three heads, which are our main sources of income, account principally for our anticipation of a total increase of Rs. 10 lakhs in revenue next year over that of the current year.

Expenditure.

Turning to expenditure, we have budgeted for an estimate of Rs. 45,01,000 over the revised estimate for the current year. This includes provisions for ordinary development and for the completion of schemes already initiated, as well as for the new expenditure to which I have already referred. The details are set out in the explanation of the variations attached to the financial statement, but it will facilitate consideration of the budget if I refer briefly to the various new features and schemes and to the more important variations. In the explanations of the financial statement, these items are mixed up with minor details of deviations and modifications in the existing expenditure and they may be better understood if detached from these details. I will take up the various major heads in order, but as the head 'Civil Works' covers items which are the concern of all departments, I propose to mention under the departmental head that portion of the Civil Works Budget which appertains to the particular department, e. g, I shall refer to Police buildings not under Civil Works but under Police.

Revenue Department Expenditure.

Under 'Land Revenue' there is little variation calling for mention, except under Survey and Settlement. Here there is a considerable increase in expenditure which is fully explained in the financial statement. The only item of importance calling for mention is a provision of Rs. 2 lakhs for settlement operations in the Chitagong district. It is imperative that this work be started this next cold weather, so that a new settlement may be ready before the present settlement comes to an end. The Forest Department has suffered from want of funds in the past few

years and development, which is remunerative, has been greatly retarded. A few schemes of seemingly little importance in themselves and of no great cost, but of great value in the return they will afford, have been provided for. They are measures for the better working of the forests and timber extraction. The increased expenditure in 1924-25 should prove very remunerative and pay for itself in a very short time. We have provided under Registration money for record-room racks, etc., and under the Civil Works head for two Sub-Registrars' offices in the 24 Parganas district. The Irrigation charges include the clearance of the Soadighi, Ganga Khali and Joygopal Khals, provision for the Dum Dum Bridge and the Kaorapukur Khal and the Government share of the cost of the Bidyadhari river operations. The Bidyadhari is very largely a question for the Corporation of Calcutta, the drainage of which is affected by the deterioration of the river, but the interests of the neighbouring country and suburban municipalities are also of importance and for that reason Government has agreed to co-operate with the Corporation in the scheme and share in the expenditure. The dredging of the Lower Kumar River at the entrance of the Madaripur Bhil route has also been provided for, in addition to the necessary charges for the maintenance of irrigation, navigation and embankment works.

General Administration.

Coming to General Administration a perusal of the financial statement will show that only a small increase in expenditure over the revised estimate has been allowed. The increase in the provision for the Administration of Justice is due merely to normal causes, increments of pay, and provision for the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Act which comes into force on 1st July, 1924. The wants of the Judicial Department in the matter of buildings have not, however, been overlooked, and under Civil Works a provision of about Rs. 2 lakhs has been made for the expenditure in 1924-25 to acquire land for new Civil Court buildings at Serampore and to construct double munsifi at Chikandi and Gopalganj and a quadruple munsifi at Pirojpur.

Police.

As I have explained, there has been a considerable reduction in the expenditure on the Police during the current year due to economies consequent on retrenchment, to vacancies in the cadres left unfilled, and to an undue proportion of officers and men being on leave. We have had to provide for the usual increments of pay and for improved recruitment to fill vacancies, but we cannot contemplate so great a measure of economy as has been exercised in the matter of allowances and contingencies during the present year. There has been undue curtailment in this direction and the efficiency of the force has suffered in the absence of effective supervision. We have therefore had to allow for increased supervision charges under some of these heads. We have added, too, a provision of one lakh of rupees for the supply of iron cots and mosquito nets. These various items have increased the provision under this head, but the total provision is less than that which the Council passed for the current year.

The Civil Works budget further provides for the three new police schemes—the sanitary improvement of the police lines at Burdwan, the construction of a new section-house at Kalighat, in connection with the operations of the Calcutta Corporation in the neighbourhood of the Kalighat temple, and a new section-house at Bhowanipur to replace the buildings taken over by the Calcutta Improvement Trust in connection with their operations in that locality.

Port and Pilotage.

The Ports and Pilotage budget shows a large increase. This has followed on our acceptance of the recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee in favour of a system of pooling Government launches. All these launches, with the exception of the River Police and the Calcutta Port Police launches, have been taken under the administration of the Marine Department, and the provision for upkeep, repairs, etc., of those launches has been consolidated under the main head of Ports and Pilotage and excluded from the departmental budget under which they have hitherto appeared. The increased provision under this head is therefore accompanied by corresponding deductions under the departmental heads. This increase tends to economy and we hope that after a year or two this provision may be even less than that which we have made for 1924—25.

So far the heads with which I have been dealing, with the exception of Registration, appertain to the Reserved side of Government.

Transferred Department.

I now come to the Transferred side and I have no doubt Hon'ble Members will be keenly interested in knowing what provision we have made to meet the wants of what are often called the nation-building departments whose activities have been so far circumscribed by our financial difficulties.

Education.

The expenditure on Education has increased steadily. From Rs. 1,07,59,000 in 1920-21 it has risen to Rs. 1,24,21,000 in the current year. Next year the provision is Rs. 1,22,36,000. This is somewhat less than that of the current year and the decrease is the result of two factors—one, the non-repetition of the grant of Rs. 3 lakhs to the Calcutta University during the current year; the other retrenchment effected in Government secondary and primary schools. With these exceptions, the provision for 1924-25 is in almost every minor head in excess of that of the current year. From our surpluses we have made grants on the reserved side of the budget to St. Scholastica's School, to the La Martiniere School and the Dow Hill Girls' School, while under Civil Works we have provided for a new building for the Darjeeling High School, for minor works at the Victoria Boys' School and Dow Hill Girls' School at Kurseong, and a new boarding house attached to the school at Rangamati in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

On the Transferred side, we have made provision for a capital grant to the Diocesan College, for the duplication of classes in the Ashanullah School of Engineering, and for a playing field for the same school. Under the Civil Works head, money had been allotted for new Guru traning schools of an improved type—on the completion of which many of the existing unsatisfactory schools will be abolished—and for additional accommodation for the Rajshahi College. The scheme for the establishment of the David Hare Training College at Baliyganj will be proceeded with and the Muhammadan members of the Council will doubtless be glad to hear that in the coming year the establishment of the Muhammadan Arts College will be put in hand.

Medical shows increased expenditure. One of the main items of interest under this head is the Mymensingh Medical School, and we have made provision so that this school may be opened on the 1st July next. For the extension of medical relief to rural areas a sum of Rs, 1,15,000 has been included. This is a lakh over the sum which has been made available in the last two years for this purpose. In the Civil Works budget provision has been made for improvements in the Dacca Mitford Hospital and for the construction of nurses' quarters in the Presidency General Hospital.

Public Health.

Public Health has also shared in the distribution of the available resources. It is intended to make grants to the Berhampore, Midnapore and Suri municipalities to enable them to improve their water-supply, while a sum of Rs. 50,000—which will be recurring—has been allotted towards schemes for improvement in rural water supplies. A further item of a recurring character is that of Rs 25,000 for maternity and child-welfare work. A special provision of Rs. 25,000 has been made for vaccination work in view of the possibility of an outbreak of small-pox next cold weather and Rs. 33,090 has been budgeted for the sinking of tube wells. Half a lakh of rupees has been included for anti-malarial measures and a similar sum for an anti-kala-azar campaign and sixteen thousand rupees for anti-cholera work, while the provision for quinine grants to local bodies has been increased from Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 1,20,000.

The adoption of certain of the recommendations of the retrenchment Committee in regard to agriculture account for the reduced expenditure under this head, but there is provision under Civil Works for further development. Two new district farms, one at Mainaguri in the Jalpaiguri district and one at Dinajpur, and a veterinary hospital at Dacca, constitute the main schemes of the Agriculture Department for the next year.

In the Industries Department there are two new schemes: the erection of a small demonstration factory in the Serampur Weaving Institute, and the construction of a permanent building for the Survey School at Mainamati in the Tippera district.

Civil Works.

Under Civil Works, the only scheme peculiar to the Public Works Department is the construction of a bridge over the Balasun River on the Matigara Naxa-bari

Road. Since I addressed the Council last year, we have completed the removal of our Press from Writers' Building to Chetla, and the Press is now in full working order. If any member desire to see an up-to date Press of the finest type, he will be welcome by the Superintendent and shown round.

The matter which we now have under consideration is the shifting of the Book Depot to the Press. Meanwhile the Controller of Printing and Stationery, Government of India is overhauling the whole proceedure and system in the Stationery Office and we are awaiting developments before pushing on with our proposed scheme of separation. But even as it is, our Stationery and Printing budget shows a decrease in 1924-25 as compared with that of the current year.

By the move of our Press to Chetla, a lot of space has been set free for our offices in Writeres' Buildings and offices which have hitherto been occupying rented buildings, are now accommodated in Writers' Buildings. By this move we expect to save an annual charge of abont Rs. 75,000.

New Scheme

Such is a brief outline of the proposed new schemes and of some of the more noticeable variations in the budget as compared with the curent year. This new expenditure amounts, as I have said, to Rs. 35,89,000, and we have managed to include this in the budget without the necessity of drawing on our balances. By this new expenditure, we are committed, however, to drawing on our balances in the future, since many of the schemes will only be begun in the coming year and further expenditure will be necessary on them in future years. As I have already mentioned, we have embarked on a programme of new works estimated to cost Rs. 88 lakhs, so that about 50 lakhs or about half our surplus balances will be required for expenditure in later year. That we have been able to incur this expenditure without drawing on our balances next year is due to two causes: firstly, the improvement in our revenues; and, secondly, reduction in expenditure. I have already shown how our revenues are increasing. The excise revenue is increasing and we are securing, though gradually, the benefit of our new taxation. Leaving out of account loan and capital transactions, our revenue which was Rs. 8,94,81,000 in 1921-22, and Rs 9,85,39,000 in 1922-23, is estimated to be Rs. 10,22 01,000 in the current year and Rs. 10,32,28,000 in 1924-25. Of the difference between the figures of 1921-22 and 1924-25, Rs. 56 lakhs represents the increase in our stamp revenues and Rs. 52 lakhs the receipts from the Amusements Tax. It is not so easy to compare the progress of expenditure as the figures are complicated by adjustments as between capital and revenue. Thus there was a large expenditure in 1921-22 on dredgers which was subsequently adjusted to capital, while there was an adjustment as regards income-tax and there was of course the contribution to Central Revenues. In 1922-23, the expenditure amounted to Rs. 9,59,64,000 but this again included a large adjustment as between Capital and Revenue, by which the revenue expenditure received a large credit from the capital account. It will be seen, however, from a comparison of the revised estimates of the current year with those of 1922-23—leaving aside the irrigation heads in which these adjustments have been made—that there has been during the current year a general increase in expenditure. Education is a noticeable exception. This indicates to what extent retrenchment has been made. I do not propose to deal now with the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee. The decisions of Government on these recommendations were placed before the Council, and I propose to place in a few days before the Council an up-to-date statement of these decisions. It is difficult, however, to refer to any particular head and say how much represents actual retrenchment in the current or even in the coming year. The difficulty arises from the fact that retrenchments could not be given effect to all at once—in many cases it will take time to give full effect to the recommendations, particularly in the case of establishments.

On February 19th. the Council met to discuss non-official resolutions.

Dr. H. W. B. MORENO moved that the Calcutta Rent Amendment Bill 1924, to prolong the old Act, be referred to a Select Committee. This was intended to perpetuate the benefit which tenants enjoyed under the last Rent Act passed for 3 years which was shortly to expire. He remarked that it affected Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians alike. He understood that among his Swarajist and Nationalist friends the intention was that if the scope of the Bill was reduced so as to include only rents from Rs. 300 or Rs. 250 or 200 downwards, they would have no serious objection to the Bill.

Mr. H. Burton, Mr. C. Forester and others strongly supported the motion.

The Hon'ble Mr. FAZLUL HUQ sympathised with the difficulties of the tenants. The Government were aware that there had been sufficient activity on the part of landlords to build houses which would go a great deal towards the solution of the problem. Besides the Committee which had already reported, other Committees would be appointed to deal with the problem and in the end the problem would be solved. In the meantime the law of supply and demand should adjust itself. In the circumstances the Government did not think that the mere continuation of the existing Act on the lines suggested would very much serve the purpose in view. Therefore Government felt constrained to oppose the motion.

Babu Sailaja Nath Rai Chowdhury moved as an amendment to add five more names moved by Dr. Moreno for the Select Committee.

Dr. Moreno accepted the amendment which was carried.

The motion was declared carried against the Govt. A division was demanded, the result showing that 90 voted for and 25 against the motion.

Abolition of the post of D. P. I.

Babu J. N. BASU moved: "This Council recommends to the Government that the post of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, be not filled on the post becoming vacant by reason of Mr. Hornell's retirement or departure on leave."

Mr. Fazlul Haq, the Education Minister, in opposing the motion said that the post had already been filled up. Mr. N. C. Chunder, Dr. B. C. Roy and Moul. Nurul Huq supported the motion, while the European members opposed it. The motion on a division was declared carried, 70 voting for and 50 against, Govt. being again defeated.

The Meston Award.

Babu S. N. ROY moved that the proper authorities be approached with a view to the readjustment of the financial relations between the Central Government and this Government on a proper and equitable basis. He referred to the Hon. Mr. Doland's remarks in this connection in introducing the Budget, and said that since 1920 they had been fighting against the Meston award. The attempts of the Govt. of Bengal to see justice done to it had no doubt met with some consideration. That was, however, temporary. The result of the Meston award, as modified by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, had been that Bengal with an income of over 30 crores had got only about 10 crores to itself while a minor province like Behar had a good surplus to carry on

improvements in the Transferred Departments. It was, therefore, necessary that they should agitate till justice was done to Bengal.

Hon'. Mr. J. DONALD said that the attitude of Government towards this question was well-known. They had been fighting the Meston settlement ever since it came into being and they were going to fight it until justice is done to Bengal. It was only by temporary relief from their contribution that they had been able to keep their heads above water. Year after next they would have to pay their contribution of 63 lakhs and unless this settlement was revised they would not be able to progress. Even then the taxation they imposed three years ago would all be swallowed up in paying their contribution. It was never intended that their taxation should be merely to make up the difference between their revenue and expenditure. It was intended and hoped that this taxation should be for development and progress. He had under preparation a note on the subject and as soon as it was printed he would be able to put all members in possession of the history of this question. He had much pleasure in accepting the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Amendment of Devolution Rules

Dr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE moved that "early steps be taken to move the proper authorities to amend Rule 6 and Schedule II of the Devolution Rules so as to include, in the list of Provincial subjects for Transfer in Bengal, all subjects except Land Revenue Administration, European and Anglo-Indian Education and Local Fund Audit."

Dr. BANERJEE said that the essential feature of the administrative system which had been established by the Reforms Act was that the Government was divided into two halves and these two halves were responsible to two different sets of authorities, one half being responsible to the Governor-General in Council, the Secretary of State in Council, the British Parliament and ultimately to the British people, and the other half through the local legislature to the local electorate. It was this hybrid character of the constitution that was answerable for many defects and anomalies. One of the serious defects of diarchy was that there was no unity of purpose in the Executive and this defect led on to another anomaly, namely, want of harmony, for how could there be harmony in a system in which the two halves pulled in different directions and where there was conflict of aims and ideas and violent clash of principles? Diarchy or dualism was an artificial system, a system which was not to be found anywhere else in the world, a system unknown to history and it was this artificial character of the system which created a situation that was at once full of complexities and difficulties. Ministers in diarchy were in the very outset of their career placed on the horns of a dilemma. Were they to discharge their duties according to the dictates of their conscience and interest of the country or follow the lines of least resistance? If they chose the former alternative, that would conduce to neither welfare nor peace. If on the other hand they preferred the other alternative, they would fail in their stewardship and were liable to be dismissed by their masters at the earliest opportunity. The plight of the late Ministers was an example to the point.

Members of the Council.

PRESIDENT : The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah

MINISTERS : The Hon. Mr. A. M. Dehlavi.
The Hon. Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ghulam Hossein Hidayatallah.
The Hon. Mr. B. V. Jadhav :

Abdul Latif Haji Hajrat Khan
Abdulpurkar, Mr. Nagappa Aralappa
Addyman, Mr. Joe
Adwani, Mr. Durgdas Bhojraj
Ahmad, Moulvi Rafiuddin
Angadi, Mr. S. N.
Bedrekar, Khan Bahadur Ismail Saheb Madarsaheb
Bhopatkar, Mr. Laxman Balwant
Bhutto, Khan Bahadur Shah Nawaz Khan Ghulam Murtaza Khan
Bole, Mr. S. K.
Bullocke, Mr. A. Greville
Bunter, Mr. J. P.
Chatfield, Mr. G. E.
Chaudhari, Mr. Laxman Shivaram
Clayton, Mr. F.
Cooper, Khan Bahadur D. B.
Dabholkar, Mr. V. A.
Dadachanji, Dr. Kawasji Edulji
Dalal, Mr. A. R.
Dalvi, Mr. B. K.
Desai, Rao Saheb Dadubhai Purshottamdas
Dev, Mr. Shankar Shrikrishna.
Dixit, Mr. Mohanlath Kedarnath
Fernandes, Dr. Cosmas
Framji, Mr. K. S.
Grantham, Mr. Vincent Alpe
Gunjal, Mr. Narayan Ramji
Haji Abdullah Haroon
Haji Khamiso Gul Mahomed
Harrison, Mr. C. S. C.
Hatch, Mr. G. W.
Hepper, Sir Lawless, Kt.
Hudson, Mr. W. F.
Jatoi, Khan Saheb Haji Serai Imambaksh Ghulam Rasul
Jatoi, Khan Saheb Karimbaksh Ali Mardan Khan
Jayakar, Mr. Mukund Ramrao
Jog, Mr. Vishwanath Narayan
Joshi Mr. Purshottam Gopal

Bombay Legislative Council

Jan.—March 1924

Kalbhor, Mr. Gangajirao Mukundrao
Kambli, Mr. Shiddappa Totappa
Kanga Mr. J. B.
Karki, Mr. Manjunath Devarabhatt
Kay, Mr. J. A.
Kazi, Enaitullakhan Kazi Hidayatullakhan
Kokani, Mr. Gayasuddin Jiauddin
Kothari, Mr. Valchand Ramchand
Laghari, Mr. Haji Fazal Muhammad Khan
Laiji, Mr. Jafferbhoy Abdullabhai
Lalji Naranji, Mr.
Mahomed Ayub Shah Mahomed Khuhro, Mr.
Mansuri, Khan Saheb A. M.
Mavlankar, Mr. Gajanan Krishnarao
Baptista, Mr. Joseph
Mehta, Dr. Maganlal Motiram
Montgomerie, Mr. A.
Mountford, Mr. L. J.
Majumdar, Sardar Gangadharrao Narayanrao
Mukadam, Mr. Wamanrao Sitaram
Mukhi, Jethanand Pritamdas
Murphy, Mr. S. J.
Nanal, Mr. Bhasker Ramchandra
Narielwalla, Mr. Hiralal Harjivandas
Nariman, Mr. Khurshed
Navale, Mr. Namdeo Eknath
Nekaljay, Mr. R. S.
Nur Mahomed, Mr.
Owen, Mr. Albert Clifford
Pahaljani, Mr. Bhojsing Gurdinomal
Patel, Mr. Alibhai Esabhai
Patel, Mr. Dhanabhai Narsinghbhai
Patel, Mr. Gordhan Das I.
Pathan, Khan Bahadur Jan Mahomed Khan walad Khan Bahadur Shah Pasand Khan
Pathan, Mr. Abdulkadar *alias* Fakirmahomed Ibrahim Khan
Patil, Mr. Dongarsing Ramji.
Pir Rasulbaksh Shah walad Pir Mahbub Shah
Powar, Mr. Madhavrao Baburao
Pradhan, Mr. Govind Balwant
Pradhan, Mr. R. G.
Pratt, Mr. F. G.
Rahimtoola, Mr. Hoosenally M.
Saheba, Mr. Harilal Dalsukhram
Saptarishi, Mr. Chintaman Mohaniraj
Sardesai, Mr. Sangapa Ameengowda
Sayed, Mr. Ghulam Nabi Shah Manjali Shah
Sayed, Mr. Muhammad Kamilshah Kabul Muhammad Shah
Sayed Shahjade Saheb Haidar Saheb
Shankarrao Jayaramrao Zunjarrao, Mr.
Shinde, Mr. Ramchandra Dharmaji
Shivdasani, Mr. Hassamal

Pemán, Mr. Ramchandra Ganesh
Surve, Mr. A. N.
Surve, Mr Venkatrav Anandrav
Swaminarayan, Mr. Jethalal Chimanlal
Thakersay, Mr. Punjabhai
Thakor of Amod, Sardar Naharsinghji Ishwarsinghji.
Thakor of Kerwada, Sardar Bhasaheb *alias* Dulabava Raisinghji
Thomas Mr. G. A.
Velkar, Dr. Motiram Balkrishna.
Wadia, Mr. Kursetji Nowrossji.
Wiles, Mr. G.
Woods, Mr. E. E.

Chief Events

18	Feb	24	Council opened by H. E. the Governor.
19	Feb	24	BUDGET PRESENTED—Resolution congratulating the Labour Govt. in U. K. passed.
20	Feb	24	General discussion of the Budget opened.
23	Feb	24	Finance Committee elected—Court Fees Act Amend. Bill thrown out.
25	Feb	24	Govt. bills introduced.
26	Feb	24	Voting on Budget demands.
29	Feb	24	Mr. Narayanji proposed an adjournment motion protesting against Lord Olivier's strictures on the Council.
1	Mar	24	Motion to reduce grant *re.* European Education passed.—Mr. Narayanji's adjournment motion amounting to a vote of censure on the Secretary of State passed.
6	Mar	24	Grant for Bombay's share of cost of the Empire Exhibition thrown out.
11	Mar	24	Budget passed after various cuts.
12	Mar	24	Supplementary demands presented.—Motion for adjournment to consider the great Bombay Mill-strike was talked out.
13	Mar	24	Supplementary demands granted.
14	Mar	24	Bill to amend Bombay Public Conveyance Act passed.
19	Mar	24	Mr. Thakersay's recommendation for the immediate release of Moul. Hasrat Mohani accepted by Govt.
20	Mar	24	Mr. Nariman's resolution for the removal of ban on Mr. Horniman defeated—COUNCIL PROROGUED.

The Government of a province was one and indissoluble, the different parts being closely interrelated. Under the present system they had a division into water-tight compartments and the division was so illogical that one failed to understand the motive of this division. Neither the members of the Executive Council nor the Ministers found themselves strong enough to adopt a bold line of policy. In Bengal, it was stated, that an attempt had been made to work diarchy as a united system but with what measure of success they all knew. The fault lay in the system and the only way to remove it was to change it.

Another defect of the present constitution was that it hampered the growth of a sense of responsibility. The powers of the Legislative Councils had been circumscribed in various ways with the object of safeguarding the interest of the reserved subjects. There was even less scope for a sense of responsibility being developed in the Ministers. The position of the Ministers under the present circumstances was unenviable. They were neither of the people nor of the Government. They were to look both ways and as a result they were distrusted by the Government and looked upon with suspicion by the people.

Diarchy—Its Demoralising Effect.

The worst effect of the present system was that it ended to demoralise the public life of the country. It might happen that the Ministers who did not enjoy the confidence of the Council might seek to maintain themselves in office by the undue exercise of patronage by pampering to the prejudices of the reactionary element of the Council. Responsible Government under such circumstances became a Government by intrigue. In this connection Dr. Banerjee referred to the experiences of Mr. Madhusudhan Das in Bihar and Orissa, Mr. Chintamoni in the U. P. and Dr. Paranjpye in Bombay.

Proceeding Dr. Banerjea said that when the Reforms Scheme was in the Legislative anvil, it was condemned by the Congress but the Moderates pledged themselves to support it and in order to do it they broke away from the Congress. And what was the opinion of these gentlemen after three years of experience? The Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru condemned the system of diarchy as only productive of friction. The cry that diarchy was unworkable came not only from a particular quarter but from all quarters. The question was what would be the substitute. Some suggested return to the old order of things, and if he were given the choice of evils, he would prefer honest autocracy and pure and unalloyed bureaucracy to the present system.

But India had already started on the road to Swaraj and it was not possible for the Government to stem the tide of Indian nationalism. They must go forward. In other words diarchy must give place to a more advanced system. How was this to be done? By a revision of the Act of 1919. It was provided in the Act that the Devolution Rules could be altered by the Governor-General-in-Council with the consent of the Secretary of State. What he wanted was the amendment or amplification of the Schedule. He wanted the transference of all provincial subjects to the Ministers excepting the three mentioned in the Resolution.

Police—An Engine of Oppression

The most important subjects being Police, Administration of Justice, Prison and Prisoner, Control of Newspaper, Development of Industrial

matters etc. These subjects were intimately connected with the people. Indian public generally regarded the police as an instrument in the hands of the Government to oppress the people. This view might be right or wrong, but the feeling was there. It would be only when the department of police was made over to the Ministers that the distrust would cease and the antagonism between the police and people would disappear. If this resolution was accepted and given effect to, the Executive Council might be entirely dispensed with. The Government would no longer be divided into two halves and the Ministers would be less hampered in their work. They would feel the responsibility of their position and there would be little scope on the part of the Governor to exercise the power of certification. Without the Executive Councillors the Governor would become a real constitutional ruler.

The House then adjourned till the next day.

Next day, FEBRUARY 20TH, on the Council reassembling, the discussion on Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee's motion was resumed.

Babu AKHIL CHUNDER DUTT who wanted to move an amendment did not do so on second consideration. He said that although he supported the resolution he did not do so with much pleasure because it fell far short of the demand of the nation. Only the other day they passed a resolution in the Legislative Assembly which showed that they wanted Swaraj, absolute autonomy or complete responsible government. That resolution was supported by Swarajists, Independents, Nationalists and Moderates. This showed that the nation wanted a change of the constitution. This resolution proposed to proceed very slowly within the Act. There was, said the speaker, much difference in the demand formulated in the Assembly and that made by Dr. Banerjee. In the Assembly they wanted a change in the Act, but here they wanted a change in the Rule. He wanted to move an amendment, otherwise they would be misconstrued by others. He did not know why Dr. Banerjee selected 49 subjects and not 52. It was doubtful whether, under the existing Act, all the subjects could be transferred or not. As it was not free from doubt he supported Dr. Banerjee's resolution.

Continuing Mr. Dutt said that there had been confidence in the Ministers with a vengeance. So far as Government was concerned the Ministers had co-operated. It was only proper that some more departments should be given to the Ministers. If, on the other hand, the Government had no confidence in the Ministers, the way open to them was to support the vote of no-confidence. It was natural for Government to object to parting with powers. It was equally painful for the Indians to part with their powers.

Khan Bahadur M. MASHARRAF HOSSAIN, in opposing the motion, referred to some appointments given to the Hindus by the Hon. Sir Abdur Rahim. The Khan Bahadur then made some insipid remarks as to the resolution being inspired by personal and racial feeling.

The PRESIDENT remarked that he could not help feeling that the hon. member was reading out parts of his speech intended for another resolution!

Khan Bahadur Maulvi CHAINUDDIN could not very well praise the wisdom of Dr. Banerjee in moving the resolution. Diarchy could

neither be ended or mended without altering the Act or the rules made thereunder and that could only be done by the Secretary of State and the British Parliament.

Mr. A. C. BANERJEE in supporting the resolution remarked that it was their inalienable right to govern themselves in all departments.

Messrs. Debiprosad Khaitan, S. N. Roy, Nural Huq Chowdhury & Rai Harendra Nath Chowdhury then further supported the motion after which

Sir Hugh STEPHENSON on behalf of Govt. rose to oppose it. He made a long tirade on rules under the Reforms Act which Government had done their best to put into action but the Service men who had done so much for them had not got that trust in that Council which would enable them to face the change contemplated in the resolution! If given effect to, it would mean complete dislocation of the Govt. and, he asked, was the country united? Were they trained enough to shoulder self-government immediately? Would not there be a tyrannical oligarchy or autocracy? And so on.

The Voting

Eventually the motion was put to the vote and on a division declared carried, 71 voting for and 49 against it.

THE NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION.

Great interest was created in the Bengal Council on the 20th February when what was in effect a "No-Confidence" motion on the Ministers was discussed. It should be remembered that notice was given of such a resolution but it was ruled out of order by the President in his communique of the 18th (see p. 393). But the opposition did not leave it there and on the Council reassembling on the 20th.—

Kumar SHIBSEKHARESWAR ROY rose and said: I move for the adjournment of the business of the Council for the purpose of discussion of a definite matter of public importance, namely, the recent action of the Ministers as evinced by their disagreement with 76 members of the Council in the matter of the resolution passed by the Council in January 25, 1924, regarding the release of political prisoners detained under Regulation III of 1818.

The PRESIDENT observed that he had given his written consent to the motion for the adjournment of the House and His Excellency was pleased to give his consent to it. But they must have the consent of the House. The President then asked the members who were in favour of the motion to stand. After counting the number of those standing on one side of the House the President said that the requisite number of members having risen the motion was carried and he fixed 5 o'clock for the discussion of the motion.

The Ministerialists tried to exploit this affair by rousing Hindu-Muslim communal antagonism as in the Punjab. Shortly before the Council began its proceedings, a number of Mahomedan boys came in a procession at the Town Hall with placards containing warning to the Mahomedan members not to run the risk of falling in with the endeavours

of some of the Hindu members of the Council to break the Ministry composed of Mahomedan gentlemen. During the course of the proceedings a large number of leaflets containing a similar appeal was freely distributed amongst the Mahomedan members asking them "to save the Mahomedan Ministry and not to be wiled away by the camouflage and guise of their bitterest enemies." At the same time there was going on a vigorous canvassing in the lobby in which a Mahomedan gentleman said to be a high Govt. Official took a prominent part. Kumar Shibsekhareswar launched his motion in a more or less apparently tranquil atmosphere and a lively and interesting debate followed, in the House sitting on adjournment at 5 P.M., after Mr. Banerji's resolution had been disposed of, in which the Oppositionists had the greatest part to play. The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi, the first Minister to speak, questioned the fairness of such a resolution when they had not been yet given the chance of winning the confidence of the members but was met with a prompt retort from Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta. The Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan believed that underneath the resolution was the beginning of a programme of obstruction of everything, but this too was met by cries of "no no, absolutely false, etc." Then came the turn of the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq who showed a great deal of fight and was heckled at every sentence by Swarajists and Independents alike and had to sit before he could finish. The Hon'ble Minister boasted of his courage of conviction in opposing the resolutions regarding the release of political prisoners and repeal of repressive laws and was only greeted with cries of 'shame, shame' in return. He questioned the representative character of the Swarajists because he thought the Congress was not at their back and because he felt that Swarajists had abandoned Non-co-operation.

Kumar SHIB SHEKHARESWAR ROY said that it was positively painful to him when he felt called upon to condemn those for whom personally he cherished the warmest friendship and from whom, in view of their past achievements, their countrymen were expecting so much. And it was still more sad that the very first public performance of the honourable Ministers should have left them discredited before those in the Council whose confidence they were enjoined to have, and the fate of one of them at the recent polls (referring to Mr. S. N. Mallick, Minister, defeated at a bye-election) sufficiently declared the feelings of their countrymen. He then referred to the Royal Instrument of Instructions which required the Governor to encourage the habit of joint deliberation so that the knowledge of the Ministers as to the wishes of the people might be at the disposal of the Executive Councillors, and which further required that in considering the Ministers' advice due regard should be paid to their relations with the Legislative Council and to the wishes of the people as expressed by their representatives therein. By the attitude of the Government during the discussion on the release of Regulation III prisoners, it was clear that the Government had arrived at a distinct conclusion after a joint deliberation. In the circumstances they must either conclude that his Excellency's Ministers' advice had not been followed or that they had agreed *in toto* with the reserved half of the Government, and, in the latter event, had either failed in expressing or were wrong in expressing the wishes of the people. The last surmise was proved correct and became a certainty in the attitude of the two Ministers present who openly walked into the "Nay" lobby

with only five Indian elected members to keep them company, while the rest, namely 76 voted the other way.

In the circumstances, how could they with any or least semblance of reason, aspire to do their primary duty, namely, to express the wishes of the people? Continuing, the mover said that just as the ordinary members in the Council had no right to their individual conscience, but must enthrone the wishes of their electors in its stead, so the Ministers could not have any individual will but must bow down to the wishes of the majority of the members, and if they did not, the members could no longer have any confidence in them. To them the Ministers stood dismissed and discredited, stick though they might during his Excellency's pleasure, if to his Excellency it did not appear as a negation of all responsible Government.

The Hon. Mr. GHUZNAVI in the course of a lengthy speech said:—We have been entrusted with the administration of certain Transferred Subjects. We have scarcely have time to unfold our policy, much less to show by working out that policy whether we are able to discharge our duties to the satisfaction of the House when without a hearing, without a trial, it is proposed that a vote of censure should be passed on us. Or is it because suspicion lurks in the minds of my friend opposite that we do not share their views as regards the attainment of 'Swaraj'? Speaking for myself I can say that I yield to none in my desire to see my country occupy her rightful place in the Valhalla of Nations. The only difference is the methods we are pursuing to achieve that end. It seems to me at present that three methods are being employed to gain that object. There is evidently a section whose methods tend rather towards the disturbance of this country's tranquility than the restoration of this country's liberty. They are so microscopically small that we can leave them out of consideration. Then there is a section who are so impatient that they wish to reach the top of the roof by one long jump without caring to pause whether in that process they would run the risk of coming to grief. Lastly, there is a third section who are equally desirous of reaching the roof as fast as they can but are convinced that it can only be done safely and surely by going up the steps. The Hon. speaker was of the last section, and evidently he wanted to go slowly up the steps!

The Hon'ble Mr. FAZLUL HUQ then rose amidst the applause of the House and from the very beginning made a fighting speech denouncing his opponents at every turn. He congratulated the mover of the resolution for the notoriety that he had attained by the launching of such a resolution. He offered the mover his further congratulation because he found that in this case the promptings of patriotism had miraculously coincided with intense selfish interest (cries of order, order). He agreed with the mover that they should pause and consider the grave situation not because some Ministers or members had voted in a particular way but because there were indications on all sides of a huge conspiracy to stifle liberty of every kind (question, question). It was neither the time nor the occasion to dilate on that but God willing, although he might not remain a Minister, he would remain a member of the House and so long as he was there he would challenge any one of the other side to say to the contrary when he said—and he would prove it to the

hilt—that terrorism of the worst type was rampant. They vaunted of majority votes. But they all knew how that majority was obtained. Let there be a vote by ballot and he would resign the very moment if by vote by ballots it coincided with what had happened.

Mr. Das—We accept it. We accept the challenge.

Proceeding, the Hon'ble Minister said in all seriousness that if such a state of things were to continue in place of a white bureaucracy which they were out to turn out they would have an autocracy which would stifle away their liberty. Referring then to the position the Ministers took in connection with the resolutions regarding the repeal of the repressive laws and the release of political prisoners, the speaker said that after all that was a matter of expression of opinion. It was an expression of opinion that they held.

Mr. Bejoy Krishna Bose—Since when?

To which there was no reply. Continuing, the Hon'ble Minister said that they voted with the Government because they thought that the course they adopted was right (*cries of hear, hear*). They voted in that particular way because they had the boldness and the courage of their conviction (*cries of hear, hear*). They knew what it would cost them. (A voice—Rs. 64,000)!

They knew, continued Mr. Huq, that such a resolution was coming. They knew that their position would be threatened. He said he was exhibiting his candour all the time of which he need not be ashamed of. (*cries of shame, shame.*) They voted because they considered the case proved. According to the Evidence Act a thing is said to be proved when a man considered a thing to have existed—he would act in the supposition that it existed.

Mr. Das—May I point out that it is not a correct quotation. Has the Hon'ble Minister the right to quote a section of the Evidence Act incorrectly? He has left out the word "prudent."

Mr. Huq—It is 25 years that I have handled that Section.

Mr. A. C. Banerji—He is citing a section of the Evidence Act and giving illustration from his own opinion.

How often had not they heard, went on Mr. Huq, that unless a verdict was given in a particular way, that was characterized as a sham—that the judgment should be flouted, unless the decision was in a particular way. (Mr. Das—Beautiful)!

Another reason, continued the Hon'ble speaker, why he voted against those resolutions was that they were a part of an elaborate programme with which he did not agree. That was meant to be a signal for direct action. Since he did not agree with that programme he thought justified in withholding his assent and approval to it in the initial stage. He realised that there was a sinister background looming large behind.

Mr. Das—Is the Hon'ble Minister entitled to use that expression 'sinister'?

The President—The word "sinister background" is particularly a parliamentary expression.

Continuing, the speaker said the Swarajists said that they were in the right. The speaker would say that they the majority were in the right. The Swarajists were actually in a minority in entering the Council.

Mr. Das—Who says that? I rise to a point of order. Has the Hon'ble Minister the right to misquote facts?

The President—What are the facts?

Mr. Das—The fact is that we are in a majority.

The President—You must not expect me to discuss matters about election. I know nothing about it.

The Hon'ble Mr. Huq then continued. He was glad that the great 'leader of the Swaraj movement' had pointed out to him the question of votes and on that the speaker was willing to meet him. There were on the electoral rolls, said he, 1,44,754 votes, out of which the total number of votes polled was 35,754 which was only a fraction of the whole electorate.

Mr. Palwan —How much you scored ?

The President :—Order, order, the Minister must get a hearing. Resuming, Mr. Huq said, surely even in a law court a prisoner is heard.

A voice—Is the Minister a prisoner ?

The Hon'ble Minister continued that even in the "Satanic" Court of the "Satanic" Government, Gopinath Saha was given the liberty to be heard and to enter into his defence in a regular trial ! He said that the Swarajists did not represent the views of the Congress.

A Swarajist member—I have got newspapers to contradict him.

Mr. Huq said that they had at least ceased to become Non-co-operators. Babu Anil Baran Roy admitted the other day, he said, that they had suspended non-co-operation and therefore they had ceased to represent the people of this country. (*derisive cries of hear, hear.*)

The Voting

The heckling now became intense. At 7-17 P.M. it was moved that the question be now put. The President declared the motion lost but a division was demanded and taken with the result that 63 voted for and 64 against the motion.

The President : The motion is therefore lost. The period of two hours having lapsed the debate automatically closes.

The result was that by a stray majority of 1 vote the original motion, which was virtually one of "No-confidence" on the Ministers, was defeated. On an examination of the members who voted for and against the closure motion some interesting facts come out. Out of the 64 members who voted against the motion all the nominated officials and non-officials together with 4 members of the Executive Council making the full total of 27 were present and voted against the motion. Only 38 elected members voted against the motion ; of these 15 were Europeans, 17 were Mahomedans and 4 were Hindus. One elected European member was absent. So that a majority of the Indian elected members voted for the motion, the Swarajists and Independents voting solid for it.

Bengal Budget—General Discussion.

On **February 26th** the Council met for a general discussion on the Budget for the year 1924-25. The proceedings began in a very thin House which became thinner till after about two hours' discussion. Babu Hemanta Kumar Sarkar pointed out to the President that the proceedings could not go on any further as the members present hardly formed a quorum. The president counted the number and the members present were found to barely form the quorum and the discussion continued for a few minutes. But again when the members had re-assembled after the fifteen minutes' adjournment for *Namaj*, Babu Bejoykrishna Bose drew the President's attention to the extremely thin attendance and the President adjourned the Council for want of a quorum till 3 P.M. the next day. Most of the non-official Europeans, a few of the officials and some of the Nationalists were absent, and even of the members present very few took part in the discussion. In all about fourteen non-official members participated in the discussion, the officials remaining silent or indifferent all the while. All the speakers condemned the budget as defective and the Swarajists condemned it wholesale. Babu Sudarsan Chackerverty was the first to speak. Next rose Rai Bahadur S. N. Roy, followed by Mr. W. L. Travers who speaking on the Police grant deplored that the travelling allowances of officers had been cut down to such an extent that it interfered with the prevention of crimes! Despite the Finance Members ingenuity, observed Babu Barada Prasad Dey, in showing a surplus budget, closer scrutiny showed it to be a deficit one. Mr. Nurul Huq Choudhury characterised the revenue accruing from *Excise* as "blood money"; yet another condemned the expected increase in the revenue from *Stamp* and *Excise* as leading to the demoralization and decay of the people. But the chorus of complaint was that the Government did not find sufficient money for *medical aid, drinking water* and *primary* and *secondary education*. Mr. (now Sir) P. C. Mitter made a frank confession of how he was foiled in his attempt to improve matters educational while he was in office as the Education Minister. But what could the 'poor Minister' do, wailed he, without money? Without divulging official secrets he gave out that he tried his level best but the irresponsible Secretary of State and his local agent, the Finance Member, "stood in his way." He found not a rupee to spend on any urgent necessities of the Province. And if this state of things were to continue, the threat he held out was that there would "hardly be any co-operators left which could but lead to one result—obstruction, obstruction, obstruction." And if there be obstruction followed by revolution, who would be responsible, asked he. Certainly the responsibility would be of the Secretary of State. But amid peals of laughter in which the whole House joined, the ex-Minister refused with an emphatic 'No' the invitation of an audacious Swarajist to come over to their side. Mr. Nurul Huq Chowdhury following him wanted to know what the ex-Minister had done in regard to the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee which had provided for more cuts in the Education Department than in any other. This apparently non-plussed the ex-Minister. Babu Umesh Chandra Chatterjee, the grand old member from Bishnupur (Bankura), requested the members to refuse the budget wholesale as he was

opposed to any grant for the police or the army because they were not meant for the protection of the people but for their exploitation and for the protection of British trade and commerce. Continuing, Mr. P. C. Mitter said that finance was a reserved subject and he was afraid he could not congratulate the Hon. the Finance Member, more so to whom he was responsible, the Government of India and the Secretary of State. He proposed to prove the irresponsibility of the Secretary of State and the Government of India and their local agent, the Finance Member. It seemed to him that this irresponsibility ran not merely in this budget but in the budget of the last two years and it was time that this irresponsibility should cease now. The Finance Member and the Government of India should take a wider view of things than that of merely Rs. As. P. There must be statesmanship and if that failed there was no doubt that the Finance Member could not but expect exasperation from all sections of people of the province, seeing that according to his own figures during the last three years this province had increased its resources by 2½ crores of rupees, and yet, what was the position? Not a rupee to spend on the necessity of the province. To his own mind there was not real difference between the Transferred Department and the Reserved Department. He laid down one rule for expenditure, namely, public good.

Mr. Mitter then went on to quote figures to show the increase in revenue from the last three new taxations and other resources and said that yet they were threatened with an imposition of sixty-three lakhs. If that was so, the responsibility would be the responsibility of the Secretary of State, the Government of India and their local agent were the Finance Member. If they wanted to run the province smoothly, then the Finance Member should protest against it. He might have protested from inside the Government, but that would not do. The Finance Member should take the Council into his confidence in this matter. The Finance Member was no doubt responsible to the Secretary of State, but as a member of the Executive Government of Bengal he had a duty to the House and to the people of Bengal, if he did not pay more attention to the real needs of the people. Education was one of the most vital subjects of the country and whatever the politics of the different people might be, all sections of the community, co-operator or non-co-operator, demanded more money for education (*hear, hear*). There might be difference in the method also how the money would be utilised, but there was no difference in the object. Referring to the question of primary education, Mr. Mitter said that the present expenditure of the Govt. for primary education was a crying shame (*hear, hear*). When he was a member of the Govt. he protested against it but his voice was a cry in the wilderness (*cries of hear, and laughter from Swarajist benches*). On the question of secondary education and better pay of the poor teachers he tried his level best to improve the existing conditions, but the irresponsibility of the Secretary of State stood in the way and he could not succeed in doing much in this direction. There was no province in India, he might say, there was no country in the world, where in the question of secondary education people had shown more self-help than Bengal. In this direction the contribution of the Government per head was Rs. 4-12 whereas the contribution from private sources was Rs. 22-5. In this connection Mr. Mitter quoted figures to show that in other provinces the contribution of the respective Governments was higher than that of

Bengal. The bulk of the teachers in the schools of Bengal received salaries which varied between Rs. 22 and 24. One could not keep a decent *chaprasi* on that salary. How could they solve the problem of secondary education of a province if they paid graduate teachers at the rate of Rs. 24 a month? So long as the Finance Member was to look to Parliament for guidance, it was his duty to convey to Parliament that this kind of things would not do. If they (Government) went on in this way, hardly any co-operator would be left. Speaking for himself he would go on co-operating because he considered from the point of view of the interest of the country that it was more important to be on good terms with Great Britain, because he believed in Dominion form of Self-Government, and Dominion Self-Government required good will between Great Britain and India. But at the same time he would never spare criticising those who would act in an irresponsible manner, however high their position might be. If this state of things continued, it would lead to only one result, namely, obstruction (*hear, hear*). If there be obstruction followed by revolution the responsibility would be the responsibility of the Secretary of State.

Next day, February 27th., the adjourned discussion on the Bengal Budget was resumed. The attendance was again thin. But the Nationalists presented themselves in numbers larger than on the previous day, the non-official European block remaining almost empty. The House again had to adjourn for want of a quorum half an hour before the usual time. Of the fourteen speakers that took part in the day's discussion, more than a dozen represented the Swarajists and the Independents. The officials looked a little bit alert and even the Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan who felt sleepy in the early part of the proceedings tried to shake it off and look awake.

The proceedings had a dull beginning but no sooner had the first speaker Syed Sultan Ali, who was in possession of the House when the Council adjourned the last day, had finished his say the interest of the House, especially of the Swarajya members rose to the highest pitch when Professor (now simple Mr.) S. C. Mukerji, the Govt.-made representative of the Indian Christian community went out of his way and made some uncalled for remarks against the Nationalists. Some of his stupid remarks denouncing his countrymen gave occasion to considerable heckling and amusement, and amidst the derisive laughter of the House, he had to sit down. Babu Bejoy Krishna Bose following close congratulated himself on the advantage he had over Mr. Mukerji because (Mr. Bose) would not have to speak on the Budget with an expression of "continued fidelity" to the Government. "Not until the Budget was made the people's Budget," said Mr. Bose, "it was their clear duty to throw out the whole of it," and not even the "covert threats of the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan or the wild and passionate outbursts of the Ministers" swerve them a hair's breadth from obeying the mandate of the country. Joining in chorus, Rai Harendra Nath Chowdhury observed that no "hackneyed plea of maintaining law and order, no jejune arguments of efficiency" could absolve the Government from their supreme duty of making the nation live and thrive first. Perhaps the most powerful speech of the day was that of Babu Akhil Chandra Dutt. It seemed to him that probably the principle underlying the Budget was the maximum of good to the minimum of people. That was, he said, the story told by the Budget. But, he maintained, that was inevitable "whenever a stranger

plays in the roll of a guardian". But the great panacea of all these evils, he said with great emphasis, was Swaraj. Babu Satkaripati Roy however struck a different note to the many and various criticisms advanced against the Budget. He went straight into the root of the source of revenue and pointed out that about half the estimated total income came from sources the existence of which depended on the vice of the country, viz., *stamp duty* and *excise*, in other words, *litigation* and *wine*. And he asked in all seriousness : would they like to educate their children by intoxicating their fathers and by introducing quarrels among their fellow-countrymen? He could not but ask his countrymen to throw out the Budget altogether.

After a few more aimless speeches the Council adjourned half an hour before time for want of a quorum as before.

Next day, February 28th, the discussion was continued. The most effective speeches of the day were those of Babus Hemanta K. Sarkar, Nirmal Ch. Chunder and Nalini R. Sarkar, who denounced the foreign character of the administration in unmeasured terms amidst the applause of the House. Most of the prominent nationalist members, Dr. P. N. Pareujee, Kumar Shib Sekhareswara, Major Suhrawardy, Maharajkumar Nundy, Babu S. N. Roy, and the ex-Minister Nawab Nawab Ali Chowdhury spoke. The latter, in a weighty pronouncement, said that when he compared the amounts granted for some of the items of the Police Department with those of the Transferred Departments, he could not but feel a sort of astonishment as to how the Nation-building departments on which the welfare of the people mainly depended could be shown so much indifference. If this sort of thing continued, he said, it would only make it a point of paramount necessity of having a joint Financial Secretary to look after the interest of the Transferred Departments. There could be no surer way of making the Ministers unpopular than by limiting the scope of their usefulness by withholding money for schemes likely to benefit the masses. The whole of the agriculture development programme had been held up for want of funds and he must say that their work of years would go for nothing if funds were not found to proceed with the projects of the development programme.

On **February 29th**, the general discussion on the Budget came to a close. The most important speech on this day was of Mr. C. R. Das, the leader of the Opposition, who laid down a definite constructive programme in reply to a challenge of the Government that the Swarajists and Independents had no programme of their own.

Mr. C. R. DAS said in the course of his speech :—

Sir, It had been said that I am the high priest of destruction in Indian politics. I ask my critics to point out one single instance where there has been a real constructive work without some destruction somewhere. If I am destructive, it is because I want to construct. If I am a non-co-operator, I can assure my friends, it is because I believe in co-operation and I believe that no co-operation is possible in this country unless you start with non-co-operation (*hear, hear*). What kind of co-operation do you expect between masters and slaves? Is such a co-operation possible? My friend, Mr. P. C. Mitter has always been a stout champion of co-operation, but what did we hear from him the other day? He said that at the time when he was seeking co-operation his voice was not heard, he was 'crying in the wilderness'. Well, I do not know whether he realised this fact then or he has realised it now.

It is abundantly clear that if the Government really desires for the co-operation of the people they must respond to the demands of the people (*hear, hear, and applause*). We are not prepared to co-operate where our rights are disregarded and our finances are played with in the manner in which it has been done

for the last one hundred and sixty years. We are charged with mistrust in the Government. But my answer is, it is because the Government has always mistrusted the people. Was it not pointed out by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, as he then was, that the 'history of Anglo-Indian administration is strewn broadcast with fragments of broken pledges'? Since the Declaration of 1857—I refer to the Queen's Proclamation—down to the Reforms Act, for our part the history of Anglo-Indian administration has been the history of dead hopes and crushed aspirations. And yet we are asked to co-operate with the Government.

What about the Budget speech to which we listened the other day? We are told that there was a surplus—I am speaking from memory—of about one crore twenty-four or twenty-five lakhs from the new taxes. Dr. Roy pointed out that the Government is promise-bound to show that for the Transferred Department. He has pointed out promise after promise, promises of even His Excellency the Governor and of those who come under him. But those promises have been wholly disregarded. And the other day we were told that this money is not for the Transferred Department—it is reserved for something else.

A Constructive Suggestion

Sir, I will put a constructive suggestion before the Government for the last time. Now, out of this 1 crore 24 thousands—I cannot think of crores and lakhs (laughter)—out of this if you want to waste, waste two thirds of it and leave one third for the Transferred Department. Surely, this is a modest request. Do have it in this way. Borrow five crores at six per cent interest and arrange for a sinking fund with two and half per cent. I think I worked it out in this way. If you spend thirteen and half lakhs for a sinking fund and 13 lakhs to pay the interest, you will clear the whole debt in twenty years; and with the five crores what is there that you cannot do? Spend one crore for technical education in Bengal, spend one crore for primary education, spend thirty lakhs for special Mahomedan institutions (*hear, hear*). Spend thirty lakhs for those who are called the depressed classes—I do not believe that they are depressed classes—they are oppressed classes—oppressed by the Government and the higher classes alike (*cries of hear, hear and applause*). Spend one crore for the development of cottage industry. Spend one crore for weeding out Malaria and Kala-azar, spend forty lakhs for the development of agriculture. You can do this with five crores without any special efforts. You have to borrow this money at 6 per cent and spend one-third—a sum of money the whole of which you are promise-bound to pay towards the Transferred Department—and one-third to pay the interest and one third towards the sinking fund. And I am sure you can better the condition of the people of this Province. But will this be done? I for one hardly hope it will be done. I speak bitterly because we in Bengal feel that our case is a case of lost opportunity and broken promises and disregarded interests.

I make this constructive suggestion for the last time and I want to see how the Government deals with it. You are always referring to the Nation-building departments. I have often been told—"why, you have got Responsible Government, the Nation-building departments." But these so called Nation-building departments were instituted to be starved,—the Nation-building departments which are put forward as a pretence of Self-Government, the Nation-building departments which never at any time intended to be worked in the spirit of the Reforms Act. If you are sincere—are you sincere?—I make this constructive suggestion. Let us see how you deal with it.

The Government members then rose to reply. Messrs Ghuznavi and Fazl-ulHuq made lengthy speeches in support of their departments. Sir Hugh Stephenson spoke in great length supporting the Police budget and extolling the services of the Police and how beautifully they maintain 'law and order!'

The Hon'ble Sir ABDUR RAHIM criticised in strong terms the action of Mr. Das and the Swarajists. It had been said by Mr. C. R. Das, he complained, that it was not possible to place faith on Government promises and thus justified himself in rejecting the whole budget. Inspite of Mr. Das's sweeping denunciation of the Government, could he frankly say, whatever be the demerits of the administration, that India did not

owe a great debt to the British Administration? But for the British there would have been no peace in India. The British had protected India from internal aggression and external invasion which was an inestimable blessing and so on and so forth!

(At this stage Sir Abdur Rahim was considerably heckled by the Swarajists because of some unparliamentary expressions of his which were highly resented. The Swarajists in protest then withdrew from the Council, leaving a few Govt. members and their supporters to continue.)

The Hon'ble the MAHARAJADHIRAJ OF BURDWAN said that his seven years' experience in the Bengal Council had taught him this lesson that the academic discussion of the budget was getting more and more dreary in view of the fact that the same things were repeated every year. The Maharaja then explained certain items of expenditure in the department in his charge. It had been said that they were spending large sums of money for European education though the proportion of Europeans and Anglo-Indians was very small compared to the population of the Province. It was fallacious and unjust, said the Maharaja, to put the population test in this matter. Their case was special. The majority of these institutions which would be benefitted by the grant were founded and maintained by non-official Europeans and Government was supporting them because it thought it fair and just to do so. Continuing the Maharaja said that certain members had expressed a desire to throw out the budget as a whole. He hoped that in view of what Mr. Das called a constructive scheme they would reconsider it. But Messrs. C. R. Dass and Bejoy Krishna Bose thought that he (the Maharaja) had a natural tendency for intimidation (referring to his threatening speech on the 20 January—see page 400). He pointed out that if any body hated intimidation it was himself. He cherished no idea of intimidation or of assuming the role of a superior person. He had a right as a patriotic Indian to claim for India emancipation step by step and he had no doubt that every Indian and every honest and right-minded European would be willing to help them in it.

After Mr. Donald, the Finance Member, had replied the Council adjourned till the 12th March.

On March 12th the Council met for non-official resolutions. The attendance was full, especially because of a very peculiar and amusing resolution moved by Khan Bahadur Musharaff Hossain proposing 80% of Govt. posts to be reserved for Mahomedans. The resolution was believed to be inspired by the Ministerialists-cum-European clique who wanted to baffle the Swarajists and discredit them in the eyes of Moslems in general and to fan the flame of Hindu-Moslem dissensions. After question time,—

Khan Bahadur MUSHARAFF HOSSAIN moved that out of the total number of appointments referred to in the undermentioned table and to be made hereafter by the Government of Bengal, 80 per cent. be given to the Mahomedans of Bengal till the number of Mahomedan officials in each class in the employ of the Government of Bengal becomes 55 per cent of the whole:—(1) appointments carrying a maximum of Rs. 1,000 and over, (2) appointments carrying a pay between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000, (3) appointments carrying a pay between Rs. 40 and Rs. 100 and (5) appointments carrying a pay of less than Rs. 40.

A very heated and interesting debate followed in which the Minis-

terialists had ample opportunity of throwing mud at the Swarajist Hindu-Moslem Pact. Some of the Independents too gave vent to their opposition to the pact. For instance.—

Mr. DEVIPRASAD KHAITAN failed to appreciate what really impelled Khan Bahadur Musharaff Hossain to bring forward this matter for the decision by the Council at that stage. So far as the speaker had been able to understand, the Pact was made in order to keep the Swaraj party in a compact form to induce the Mahomedan members of that party not to go out of it (*cries of "Question, question"*). It might be questioned but that was the speaker's firm conviction. That was the basis, he thought, on which the Pact was made. His objection to that Pact was that such a Pact did no good to any party. It was not honest to make a bait like that. It would simply mean that if the Mahomedans were offered better bait by Government they would go over to their side. In that view of the matter he had always thought that such Pacts, whether they be formed inside a Party or inside the Council Chamber, would do no good to any person whomsoever. But so far as the appointment of Mahomedans to Government posts was concerned, they had his fullest sympathy (Hear, hear). He himself belonged to a minority party—a community which he considered to be an oppressed community.

The speaker was interrupted several times by the Swarajists who resented deprecation of the Hindu-Moslem Pact.

Next day, the 13th March, the discussion was resumed. Mr. Nurul Huq Chowdhury, Swarajist, made a humourous speech exposing the hidden hand that was behind the motion. Mr. Jones, the Editor of *The Statesman*, shed a lot of 'crocodile tears', as the Swarajists said, and showed great concern for the Moslems and his special pleading for them evoked the heartiest contempt from the Nationalists. After a few more speeches Mr. C. R. Das moved an amendment.

Mr. DAS in moving his amendment that the motion be adjourned *sine die*, said :—

It seems to me that there is some misapprehension somewhere. On the last occasion when the same resolution was about to be taken up, Khan Bahadur Musharaff Hossain spoke to me and asked me whether I would have any objection to take to any of the general words. I said certainly not. And an amendment was written out then and there and I was told by Babu Jatindra Nath Basu that he had taken it to the President and the President objected to it because a definite percentage was not mentioned.

For those who are ignorant of the Pact, may I read the fundamental proposition and preamble to it :—"It is resolved that in order to establish a real foundation of self-government in this Province it is necessary to bring about a Pact between the Hindus and Mohamedans of Bengal dealing with the rights of each community when the foundation of self-government is secured." The fundamental idea is to secure the foundation and in order that no misapprehension—no doubts—may arise as to whether it is going to be a Hindu Raj or a Moslem Raj, we lay down in this Pact the share of each community in the self-government which is to come. I think the idea is perfectly clear. As Swarajists we have always been opposed to the way in which the Government deals with our rights. I never for a moment say that the Government is pro-Mohamedan nor are they pro-Hindu. Neither are they anti-Mohamedan nor anti-Hindu. But they are either pro-Mohamedan or pro-Hindu whenever occasion requires it. (Hear, hear) and they do that part of the work with exquisite impartiality (continued cries of Hear, hear). And this is what has been sought to be done. I object to anything to be taken from the Government now either by the Hindus or by the Mohamedans. If we have any self-respect in us I will say this—we will sacrifice everything—we shall stand still until our rights are recognized. One Mohamedan friend of mine observed just a few minutes ago that the

rights of the Mohamedans are to be recognized by the Hindus. May I point out to him—neither the Hindus nor the Mohamedans enjoy anything which may be called a right in this country (Hear, hear). We have no rights. We want to secure our rights.

The Bait

Then, Sir, it has been said that I offered this bait to lure some people. May I point out to those who might have by chance followed my speeches in the newspapers that for the last five years I have been thinking of this great idea and have expressed it and have pointed it out to the country—almost in every province—that the only foundation for self-government is the federation of Hindus and Mohamedans (Hear, hear). And on this occasion the Swaraj members were elected before one word was said about this Pact (Hear, hear). They were all elected as Swaraj members. . . . . .

I will just read to you what Mr. Abdul Karim wrote. I think the Hon. Members know this gentlemen. He said: "It will be further seen that it was not Mr. C. R. Das who first moved in the matter with a view, as supposed, to court the support of the Mussalman members of the Bengal Legislative Council. On the contrary, the proposal in its inception came from the other party concerned and was developed into its final form after careful deliberations on both sides." Later on: "On my return to Calcutta I had an interview with Mr. C. R. Das at which Mr. Nasim Ali and Srijut Bijoy Krishan Bose were present. I was glad to find that Mr. Das inclined, unlike many of his short-sighted co-religionists, to take a long view of the situation. I called at Mr. Das's house with a draft of the proposed pact, drawn up in consultation with some of the leading Mussalmans. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Moulvis Nasim Ali, Wahed Hossain and others took part in the discussion which ensued and lasted for over two hours. As a result certain definite terms were agreed upon." Therefore I think this answers the somewhat foul charge brought against me, that I have had recourse to a pretence in order to get the Mohamedan members of this Council to my side. In the whole history of my political life I have never resorted to any pretence whatsoever. I believed in it and I believe in it as firmly as I believed in any article of my faith. I know that when you come to the arena of practical politics you are likely to be branded in that fashion. But I hope that in the fulness of time I shall stand vindicated before the country and I believe that my countrymen will then see that I have been striving for a great idea—the real federation between the communities which alone can be the basis of our greatness.

The Hon. Mr. FAZL-UL HUQ then spoke against the Bengal Pact and narrated what a 'member from Jessore' had told him, which evoked much sarcastic merriment. After members on behalf of Govt. had spoken opposing the amendment, it was put to vote and declared carried by 66 votes to 48, the Swarajists being in the overwhelming majority.

The original motion was thus postponed sine die.

On **March 14th** the Council met for non-official resolutions :—

Mr. J. CAMPBELL FORRESTER moved that action be taken under sub-section (2) of section 8 of the Bengal Amusements Tax Act of 1922 to exempt theatres, cinemas and other forms of entertainment, such as dances, exhibitions, etc., from the liability of the Entertainment Tax, restricting the operation of that tax to race-courses and betting transactions on race-courses. The resolution was negatived, 13 voting for and 43 against it. The Swarajists did not vote.

Major H. SUHRAWARDY moved that the proper authorities be approached to take the necessary steps to re-open the Port of Calcutta for Muslim pilgrims to Mecca and other holy places in the Hedjaz as soon as practicable. Govt. accepting the resolution, it was carried.

Mr. D. P. KHAITAN moved :—"This Council recommends to the Government that early steps be taken to give effect to a complete separation of judicial and executive functions in Bengal."

The resolution was in the end withdrawn by the mover on Govt. assuring the House that the matter was under consideration.

Mr. B. N. SASMAL moved that the proper authorities be moved for a change of Rule 5, Sub-rule 2 of the Bengal Electoral Rules so as to qualify for election to the Bengal Legislative Council persons against whom a conviction by a Criminal Court involving a sentence of transportation or imprisonment for more than six months was subsisting unless such conviction involved moral turpitude. Govt. did not oppose.

The resolution was put to vote and carried without any "Noes."

Mr. J. N. BOSE moved that the post of the Principal of the Bethune College, Calcutta, be filled by an Indian lady.

The Hon. Mr. FAZL-UL HUQ assured Mr. Bose that on the retirement of the present incumbent, an European lady, the post would be given to an Indian lady. In view of this assurance Mr. Bose asked the leave of the House to withdraw his resolution. A Swarajist member having objected to it, the resolution was put to vote and declared carried, 56 voting for and 20 against it.

The Rent Act

The Rent Act Amendment Bill was next taken up. Mr. G. S. Dutt presented the report of the Select Committee. Dr. Moreno moved for its consideration and then followed an animated debate after which the Bill was passed. It extended the life of the old Act for 3 years more, from April 1, 1924 to March 31, 1927.

Voting on the Budget

On the 18th March, the Council re-assembling, the Budget for the year 1924-25 came up for discussion. Government members made demands for various grants. In all 20 such motions stood in their names. Notices of motions refusing each demand for grant were overwhelming and the Swarajists and Independents were responsible for no less than 1069. Keenness for reducing grants seemed to be the feature of the notices of motions sent in by the Nationalists and other Independent members. The Police Budget figured most prominently in this respect and no less than 145 motions for reduction of grants had been tabled. Grants for general administration came as a good second and as many as 180 motions for reduction in this branch of the demands had been detailed. Last came Land Revenue which had been honoured with 11 motions for reduction.

The Nationalist Party had held a meeting the night before and resolved that the members of their Party, who were members of the Bengal Legislative Council, were authorised by the Party in view of the situation created by the Government to throw out the Budget in its entirety.

The Governor's Sudden Appearance.

As on every demand there was a motion for the refusal of the grant by the Swarajists and Nationalists, apprehension was felt at the fate of these motions and His Excellency THE GOVERNOR being informed of the situation suddenly came to the Council without notice and lectured to the House on the possible effects of refusal of demands, and the constitutional issues involved therein.

HIS EXCELLENCY said in the course of his speech :— There is a section of this Council which for reasons of policy desires to reject "in toto" the budget. I am anxious that when you vote you should be in no uncertainty as to what the consequence of your vote will be. I have come to state what will or what can happen if the Budget is rejected.

The first thing that would happen is that not only would the present Ministers have to resign, but no other Ministers could be appointed in their place because there would be no funds from which to pay their salaries.

I should then have to declare an emergency to have arisen in which it was not possible for me to appoint any Ministers, and by virtue of the Transferred Subjects Rules take charge myself of the Transferred Departments.

No expenditure can be incurred except on my authority. I have not come to tell you what I am going to do, but what I can do.

First, then, in regard to Reserved Subjects I have power to restore every single grant in the Budget which has been rejected. No interest therefore on the reserved side of Government need suffer by the rejection of the Budget.

With regard to the Transferred Subjects however I have no power to restore a single grant. Even though I may be temporarily in charge of the Transferred Departments, they do not thereby become Reserved Departments and my power of certifying does not apply to them. Whereas in the case of Reserved Subjects I have power to restore everything, in the case of Transferred Subjects I can "restore" nothing though I can "authorise" expenditure within very strict limits.

No loans, no grants-in-aid could be "authorised by me." Both the Universities at Calcutta and Dacca would be deprived of all Government assistance, and the Dacca University, being without any other source of revenue, would have to close down at once. Government aid to all local institutions would cease, 18 lakhs to local bodies for primary education would be withdrawn; 5 lakhs of loans to Municipalities and District Boards would cease; 19 lakhs to Municipalities and District Boards for Public Health and water-supply, and 3 lakhs of grants to hospitals and dispensaries would also be lost. Generally speaking, the nation-building departments would be completely starved and no Government assistance of any kind could be given in mofussil districts.

Education, Public Health, Medical, Agriculture and Industries would be deprived of all assistance from Government. They would be starved and crippled, and a serious injury would be inflicted not on the Government, which would remain unaffected, but upon the people whose interest you are here to represent.

It may be thought perhaps that Government would not dare to face such a situation. Let there be no illusions on this point—**my Government would not be embarassed by such a situation which was not of our creation, and from which we would in no way suffer while it lasted.**

After His Excellency had left the Council after creating the scene, the discussion of the demands for grants commenced. There was a lengthy and lively debate but none of the speakers referred to the merits of the demand made but considered the *pros* and *cons* of the situation that would be created in case the demand was refused. The Swarajists and Nationalists referred to the situation created by the Governor and explained their action in taking this drastic step as that was the only means left to them. Those who were opposed to creating a dead-lock thought this procedure to be dangerous and risky while some went even further and denounced the obstructionist policy of the Swarajists.

Land Revenue

The first demand made was by the Hon. the MAHARAJA BAHADUR of BURDWAN asking for a grant of Rs. 33,66,000 for expenditure under Land Revenue. There were 112 motions for the reduction of this grant which were all withdrawn in favour of the motion for the total refusal of the grant moved by—

Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA who said in the course of his speech:—

'I oppose this demand because I say that the Government have refused the demand in the Assembly. I ask this House to throw out this demand, because I say the Government have refused to listen to the public opinion of Bengal. I ask this House to throw out this

demand because I say that the Government have refused to release the political prisoners whom the House wanted to release. I ask this House to throw out this demand because I say the Legislature—this Council, has no control over the expenditure, nor has it any control over the Hon'ble Member who is asking for the demand. These are the grounds on which I ask this House to reject this demand.

'Before I sit down, may I appeal to the House in the language of our great leader Deshbandhu C. R. Dass:—

"Delhi has rallied. C. P. has done its duty. Will Bengal *fail*? The Councillors are to reply by their votes on the budget. How can the Nation's condemnation of the present system of government be clearly, emphatically and effectively expressed? It is by rejecting the demands for grants in their entirety. Here there is no question of the merits of this or that item. But the supreme question, the only question, the question of questions is—should Diarchy live a moment longer? Should the people's wishes be flouted as they are being flouted? Let Bengal's representatives in the Council reply."

Swarajists Walk Out.

And 'Bengal's representatives' replied. The debate dragged on till a great commotion arose at the fag end when the Swarajists and the Independents in a body walked out of the hall as a protest against what they called objectionable remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. Fazl-ul Huq. In vain did the President try to restore order and all his cries of 'order, order' were drowned by the cries of 'shame, shame' in return by the retiring members of the Nationalist Party. This seemed to be the signal and the whole of the Western block occupied by the Nationalists and the major portion of the Eastern block and the over-crowded galleries were emptied in no time leaving the President and the rest of the members, the few supporters and nominees of the Government, in a huff. The President asked the Hon'ble Minister to resume his speech which he did and finished in a single sentence. In the lobby, till sometime after the meeting was adjourned, the members indulged in indignant and angry protests. Some of the Government members were seen to approach the leaders of the Nationalists and tried to pacify them by apologies and excuses. The Hon'ble Mr. Huq himself approached Mr. Das and sought to be excused.

The trouble arose in this way. When at the very commencement of his speech Mr. Huq remarked that they should discuss the motion in an 'atmosphere free from passion and with calmness and sobriety', little did he think it was an atmosphere just the opposite that his remarks would create. And inspite of his 'best to restrain himself' the constant side-remarks and questionings of some of his oppositionists unnerved him. He was drawing a picture from imagination as to how, if a dead-lock was created, the Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors, the School masters and the peons would be without their salary and how that particular portion of the administration would be brought to a stand-still, when a member cried out 'what a pity!' This added fuel to the smouldering fire. But still Mr. Huq pleaded patience to which a still more audacious member retorted 'we have had enough of it'. Mr. Huq could hold himself no longer. "Is it good breeding to be laughing at me!" (derisive laughter and cries of *no, no*)—thundered Mr. Huq. "Is it good sense?" (cries of

no, no). "Is it good manners" (cries of no, no). This set the ball rolling and several members objected to the Minister's remarks and Mr. C. R. Das asked for the President's ruling and the ruling that he gave resulted in the withdrawal of the members—Swarajists and Independents together.

On March 19th, on the Council re-assembling Mr. Huq offered apology for his offensive remarks of the previous day, and he was followed by the President who then made up for previous lapses.

When the discussion on the demand for grant for expenditure under Land Revenue was resumed, the members spoke on the motion moved by Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta that the whole demand be refused. After a full dress debate lasting over six hours, the President put the motion to vote, and after keeping the House in anxious suspense for over 15 minutes, announced the result of the division amidst boisterous cheering of the Nationalists.

The motion for refusal was carried by 65 votes to 63.

Though it was a narrow majority of two votes, the Swarajists considered it to be their greatest victory. The House was almost full with only five absentees and all the three galleries were overcrowded. The announcement of the result created much excitement in the House, the Swarajists and the Nationalists cheered and clapped, while cries of "Bande Mataram" were heard from the public gallery.

Excise Grant Passed.—Stamps Rejected

The Hon. Mr. A. K. GUZNAVI moved that a sum of Rs. 11,97,000 be granted for expenditure under head "Excise."

There were about 23 resolutions for the reduction or the refusal of the different items of the demand which were withdrawn in favour of the resolution of Dr. Kumud Sankar Roy asking for the refusal of the whole demand. The motion was put to the vote and lost, 64 voting for and 65 against it.

The Hon. Mr. J. DONALD moved that a sum of Rs. 9,62,000 be granted for expenditure under head "Stamps." Maulvi Abdul Zabbar Pahlwan moved that the demand be refused.

The motion was carried by 64 to 63 votes. The Council then adjourned.

On March 20th, the Council re-assembling, no fewer than six demands for grants were considered. Five were disposed of while the last one was under discussion when the Council adjourned.

The five demands dealt with were in respect of (1) Forests, (2) Registration, (3) Scheduled Taxes, (4) Irrigation, Navigation, Embankments and other drainage works and (5) General Administration.

Of these the demands in connection with Forests, Scheduled Taxes, Irrigation, etc., and General Administration were refused, the voting being as follows :—Forests, 62 for and 66 against ; Scheduled Taxes, 62 for and 66 against ; Irrigation, etc., 64 for and 68 against ; General Administration, 63 for and 65 against. The only demand carried was that for Registration, 66 voting for and 62 against.

During the last two days no other motion excepting the total refusal of the demand was discussed, but when Sir HUGH STEPHENSON moved for a sum of Rs. 96,23,000 for expenditure under General Administration the Swarajists and Nationalists began to press for all the amendments that were on the agenda. On this demand there were 179 motions for reduction or refusal of which only seven were discussed.

While the motion for refusal of the whole grant under head 'Irrigation' was voted upon, it was found lost, 65 voting for and 67 voting against. But to the amusement of all and to the surprise of the Government members when the original motion was put to vote it was declared lost, 64 voting for and 65 against, resulting in the end in the defeat of the Government and in the refusal of the whole grant. The next motion for refusal of the whole demand under head "Construction of Irrigation" etc. was lost by the casting vote of the President, votes being 64 against 64. An amendment moved by Rai Harendra Nath Choudhuri for reducing the demand under this head by Rs. 1,35,000 was carried by 67 to 59 votes. But the original motion as amended was lost by 64 to 66 votes. Under head "General Administration", of the three amendments for reduction of demands for Hill and Dacca allowances, one was lost by 63 to 65 votes, another by the casting vote of the President and the last was carried, 67 voting for and 63 against.

Monday, **March 24th**, is a red-letter day in the annals of the reformed Bengal Council. On this day, the whole force of the Nationalist parties were directed against the Ministers, to break down, as they said, the sham of a Diarchy.

Ministers' Salary—Motion for Refusal.

On the re-assembling of the Council, after the interpellations, Maulvi SAYEDUL HUQ moved that the demand of Rs. 1,92,000 under 'General Administration, Ministers' pay,' be refused. A number of other cuts were moved on the same head by some of the Swarajists. Mr. Romes Bagchi moved for reduction of Rs. 1,91,997, Mr. Akhil Dutt for Rs. 1,56,000, and Mr. Nurul Huq for the whole salary. After a long debate the motion was put. It was carried by 63 votes to 62. The result was hailed with deafening applause by the Swarajist Party and cries of "Resign," "Resign".

Babu Romesh Chandra Bagchi next moved that the demand of Rs. 9,683,000 under the head "General Administration" as amended in Council be refused.

The Hon. Sir Hugh Stephenson had nothing to say to this further move in the path of obstruction. The resolution was carried by 65 votes to 64 votes.

Administration of Justice.

The Hon. Sir ABDUR RAHIM moved that a sum of Rs. 94,73,000 be granted under the head "Administration of Justice".

Maulvi Wahed Hossain moved that the demand for Rs. 35,940 for the preparation of paper books in the Appellate Side of the Hight Court be refused.

The motion was carried by 67 to 56 votes.

Dr. Kumud Sankar Roy moved that the whole demand of Rs. 94,73,000 under the head "Administration of Justice" as amended in Council be totally refused. The resolution was carried by 66 votes to 56.

On March 26th, an unfortunate incident somewhat marred the dignity of the proceedings of the Council in connection with some Mahomedan members saying their *Azan* prayers when the bell rang for division, with the result that three votes could not be recorded. The Swarajists asked the President to adjourn the division for a few minutes to enable the Mahomedan members in question to finish their prayers and take part in the voting. The President, however, declined to do so on the ground that when the division was called there could be no adjournment

of the House. To this ruling strong objection was taken by Mahomedans and Hindu Swarajists. Even the Hon. Mr. Fazl-ul Huq, Minister, thought that it was rather hard on members of the House who were already saying their prayers to be shut out from the privilege of voting. Subsequently the President, on a division being called for, requested the Swarajists to ascertain whether any member was in the prayer room before he proceeded to have the division taken.

Jails and Police Demands

Following the procedure adopted the previous day, the Swarajists by 52 votes against 47 refused the entire demand of Rs. 35,89,000 under the head "Jails and Convict Settlements".

The next demand dealt with Police expenditure for which Rs. 1,70,47,000 was asked for. Sir Hugh Stephenson in moving for it gave vent to his spleen in comparing the action of the Swarajists to the Berlin Nihilists and drew in the name of Mr. M. N. Roy, the Moscow Communist, with the sly hint that the Congress party was acting under his inspiration. There were no fewer than 145 motions for reduction or refusal in connection with this grant. Of these 52 were disposed of, the majority being withdrawn. Only 10 motions were moved, in two of which the Swarajists took no part in the voting and these two were lost, while another was negatived by the casting vote of the President and the other seven were carried.

Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Roy moved that the demand for Rs. 1,65,300 under the head 'Presidency Police—Calcutta Police—Pay of Inspectors' be reduced by Rs. 41,325. This was carried.

Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri moved that the demand of Rs. 2,62,320 for the pay of Sergeants under the head Presidency Police be reduced by Rs. 1,31,160. Sixty-one voted for while an equal number voted against. It was however negatived by the casting vote of the President.

Kumar Shib Sekhareswar Roy moved that the demand for Rs. 46,000 under the head of 'Presidency Police—Calcutta Police—for the purchase and maintenance of horses and their equipment' be refused.

Shah Syed Emdadul Huq moved that the demand of Rs. 1,09,000 under the head—'Presidency Police contract contigencies'—be reduced by Rs. 1,00,000. Both these motions were lost.

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee moved that the demand of Rs. 1,97,500 under 'Detailed account—Superintendence' be reduced by Rs. 1,00,000. Sir Hugh Stephenson opposed the motion which was carried, 61 voting for and 59 against it.

Shah Syed Emdadul next moved that the demand of Rs. 1,55,200 under the same head be refused. The motion was carried by 61 to 58.

Shah Syed Emdadul Huq moved: That the demand of Rs. 10,800 under the head 'District Executive Force—District Police—Assistant Superintendents' be refused. The motion was carried by 61 to 58 votes.

A similar motion for the reduction of the pay of Deputy Superintendents was carried by 60 to 50 votes.

Babu Akhil Chandra Dutta moved that the demand for Rs. 53,880 for pay of European constables be reduced by Rs. 26,940.

The motion was carried by 61 to 54 votes.

On March 26th, after two day's debate on the demand of Rs. 1,70,47,000 for expenditure under the head "Police," the discussion on motions for reductions and refusal came to a close. On this debate the Swarajists were not as successful as they expected and had more defeat than victories, and the last attempt to throw out the entire demand proved abortive.

The Council began by resuming the adjourned discussion on the police demand. There were 89 motions for reduction or refusal, of which only ten were moved and the others were withdrawn. On the first three motions for reduction the Swarajists were successful after which the scales were turned and the Government became successful in almost all the remaining motions except one. This motion referred to the refusal of a grant of Rs. 1,00,000 for iron cots and mosquito curtains for policemen. This motion was carried by 68 to 39 votes. As a result of the cuts made by the Swarajists the whole demand of Rs. 1,70,47,000 was reduced by Rs. 8,56,145.

Shortly before the Council adjourned the motion for the refusal of the entire demand came up for consideration. There was no discussion and no speeches were made. Babu Hemanta Kumar Sarkar simply moved the resolution and Sir Hugh Stephenson merely said he opposed the motion, which was put to the vote and declared to be lost. On a division being taken it was found that 60 voted for and 63 against it. Thirteen members were either absent or abstained from voting. The announcement of the result was received with loud and prolonged cheers from the Government benches. Later on some younger Swarajists joined in the demonstration saying: "Let us make fun out of it." Sir Hugh Stephenson next moved that the original motion as amended by the Council be granted and it was carried.

The Council then adjourned.

On March 27th, the proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council were comparatively dull. There was no demonstration, no passage-at-arms, no lively speeches.

Ports and Pilotage

In the first item the Swarajists were successful when they moved a resolution refusing the entire demand of Rs. 5,54,000 made by the Hon. Mr. J. Donald for expenditure under the head Ports and Pilotage.

A division was taken and the Government lost by one vote, 56 voting for the refusal of the demand and 55 for the demand.

Ministers' Position

Before the proceedings commenced, Maulvi Mahomed Nurul Huq Chaudhuri raised a constitutional point in the shape of a question enquiring into the present position of the Ministers created by the refusal of their pay. He also wanted to know whether the Ministers had resigned their posts. The President said it was not a matter for the Council but entirely a matter for his Excellency the Governor and he had no information to give.

Demands under Education

The Swarajists did not oppose the next demand of Rs. 21,000 made by the Hon. Maulvi A. K. Fazl-ul Huq for expenditure under the head Scientific Departments.

The Hon. Maulvi A. K. Fazl-ul Huq next moved that Rs. 1,15,95,000 be granted for expenditure under the head 'Education'. On this demand there were eighty-four resolutions for reduction or refusal. The first few resolutions in reference to the grant for European education were moved and speeches were made in an almost empty House but apparently no serious attempt was made to have those resolutions carried. On the first motion a division was called for with the result that it was defeated by 12 votes, and no division was demanded as regards the other resolutions. In all ten resolutions on the Education demand were moved and in one only the Swarajists succeeded in refusing a demand for Rs. 99,000 for "other grants" to non-Government primary schools for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Govt. could not explain what these "other grants" were, and there was much merriment in the House at their discomfiture.

On **March 28th.** the Budget discussion was resumed. There was practically no obstruction and three demands made by the Ministers were granted without a division.

The proceedings began with the discussion of the remaining 24 resolutions on the Education grant of which only one was moved and the others were withdrawn. The Swarajists succeeded in making a cut of Rs. 6,35,400 in the original demand of Rs. 1,15,95,000 and the demand as amended was carried without opposition, the motion for refusal of the whole grant being withdrawn. The reduction of Rs. 6,35,400 was moved by Mr. Manmohon Neogy under the head 'Inspection of Schools' for which Rs. 7,46,900 was demand. Mr. Huq admitted that the inspection work could be done at a considerable less cost. Mr. Neogy's motion was carried by 57 to 51 votes.

The Council next discussed the demand made by the Hon. Mr. Fazl-ul Huq of Rs. 47,18,000 for expenditure under the head "Medical." There were 67 resolutions on this demand of which only two were moved. In the first motion the Swarajists succeeded in making a reduction of Rs. 5,88,000 in the entire demand by a majority of 1 vote. In the second motion in which they asked for a reduction of one rupee, the policy of Government was criticised but in the end nobody voted for it.

The next demand made by the Hon. Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi was in respect of Public Health and a sum of Rs. 27,61,000 was granted without opposition, Swarajists taking no part.

The Agricultural grant for Rs. 17,10,000 was made by the Hon. Minister in charge of that department and the discussion on this demand was not concluded when the Council adjourned.

On **March 29th.** there was not much discussion when supplementary estimates of the Govt. of Bengal came up for the approval of the Council. The estimates were placed before the Council in the form of demands for grant. In all ten demands for grant were made, five of which amounting to Rs. 3,07,000 were refused by the Nationalists inflicting defeats on the Govt. and the remaining five amounting to Rs. 1,11,35,000 were granted without opposition.

The demands refused were in respect of the following heads:— Rs. 32,000 for stamps, Rs. 10,000 for the Governor's saloon, Rs. 30,000 for the Ballygunge police station, Rs. 73,000 for the British Empire Exhibition and Rs. 1,62,000 for excess expenditure in England.

The demands granted consisted of Rs. 60,000 for excess expenditure over the major head, Rs. 8,39,000 for Revenue expenditure, Rs. 29,000 for Irrigation, Embankment and Drainage works, Rs. 2,25,000 for the eradication of the Water Hyacinth and Rs. 1,65,000 for expenditure in connection with the Mymensingh partition works.

The only item on which there was some discussion was in respect of a demand for Rs. 10,000 for the construction of two broad-gauge saloons for His Excellency the Governor. Sir Hugh Stephenson pointed out that this sum was required for necessary alterations in the old saloons which were very uncomfortable. In opposing the demands Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt said he was surprised how His Excellency would accept this money from the unwilling people. He failed to understand why a saloon was necessary for the Governor of a province while the Prime Minister and Mr. Gandhi could travel third class. Babu Hemanta Kumar Sarkar observed that this demand showed the criminal disregard for properly utilising the public money and asked : could anybody blame those who liked to call this Government Satanic? This demand was refused by a majority of four votes, namely by 58 to 54.

Governor's Unconstitutional Action

On MARCH 31st a singular thing happened. The Governor invited all Government members and their supporters, some 50 in all, mainly to rally the Moslem members, at a conference in Government House where a closed-door consultation was held. What transpired in that conference is not known. Whether the Governor held forth promising rewards or threats, or whether plans were concocted to break up the Swarajist party by winning over its Moslem adherents, subsequent events clearly proved that the personal influence of the Governor was exerted to its full extent to save the Council from the Swarajist onslaught. The effect of this unconventional action of Lord Lytton was quickly seen.

Next day, APRIL 1st, amidst boisterous shouting from the opposite benches, the Swarajists and Nationalists left the House in the midst of a heated debate while the demand for a grant for expenditure under the head "Industries" was being discussed. After they had left, the rest of the demands for grants, ten in number, with 214 motions for reduction or refusal, were quickly passed, unopposed and without speeches, in about a quarter of an hour.

From the beginning of the discussion on this day the Swarajists and the Nationalists questioned the unconstitutional character of the procedure adopted by His Excellency the Governor in holding a conference to which only a certain section of the members of the Council were invited to discuss certain matters arising out of the refusal of some of the demands. This question was again and again raised in the course of the proceedings, and culminated in the refusal of the Swarajists and the Nationalists to take part in the discussion, the European and pro-Government Moslem members shouting at the top of their voice.

On the resumption of the debate on Agricultural grant, Mr. S. C. Mitter moved that a demand of 9 lakhs under that head be refused. Mr. (now Sir) P. C. Mitter, referred to an announcement made in the papers as regards the proposed dismissal of a large number of Govern-

ment servants in consequence of the refusal of some demands, and questioned the constitutional character of the proposal. In his opinion the constitution made ample safeguards against a contingency like that, and he said that His Excellency had power to take over those departments and bring in a supplementary budget. Here the President interrupted him but Mr. Mitter continued and said that if the Govt. dismissed men like that, he would vote against them. Mr. Fazl-ul Huq pointed out that it was an unauthorised statement in the newspapers and not a Government communique, and he said that the whole question was being considered by His Excellency, but he could not disclose what course of action the Governor would take. When the motion was put to vote Mr. Mitter and Mr. Khaitan who had all along been voting on the side of the Government voted with the Swarajists.

Swarajist Protest

The division on this motion resulted in a Government victory by three votes. Mr. Das examined the voting list and found some members of his party had voted with the Government and in the subsequent debate he announced in the House that the voting had been influenced by the previous night's conference at Government House.

Industries Grant.

The Hon. Mr. Gujnavi then moved for the Industries grant. Mr. Nurul Huq moved for a refusal, and then followed a long passage at arms with the President and the Swarajists as given below. Mr. Suhrawardy, Dr. Promotho Bannerji, Mr. A. C. Bannerji, and a number of other Swarajists and Nationalist members, on a point of order, interpellated the President as to whether they could refer to the action taken by his Excellency while "the spirit of constitutionalism was under discussion." Interrupting Mr. Nurul Huq the President said.—

You are now reflecting on the conduct of His Excellency. You are not entitled to do that.

M. Huq :—If His Excellency did not take part in party politics, I do not understand why His Excellency should ask a certain section of the House and discuss with them about the constitutional practice. I could have understood if instead of asking certain members—if the leader of my party was asked to go and have discussion with him and, on the other side, the leader or leaders of the other party were asked to go and have discussion with His Excellency—I could then have understood that His Excellency acted most contitutionally.

The President :—That is reflection, you must withdraw. We must treat His Excellency with respect in the Council.

Rai H. N. Choudhury :—Are we precluded from making such remark that such and such actions of His Excellency are unconstitutional ?

The President :—The rule is definite. Members while speaking must not reflect upon the conduct of His Excellency the Governor-General and Governors or a Court of Justice.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta :—Even if His Excellency acts against the constitution ?

The President :—That is not a matter for the Council.

Mr. C. R. Das :—Is there no distinction between the personal conduct and the constitutional conduct of the Governor ?—Is this House precluded from discussing questions as to whether certain steps taken by His Excellency are or are not within the limit of constitution ?

The President :—This is a point of very great difficulty indeed. But I find nothing in the rules which limits the question of conduct and I am afraid the rule is so general in its terms that it excludes any conduct of His Excellency.

Boisterous Shouts.

Mr. C. R. Das :—We must obey your ruling but, it seems, under these circumstances, it is useless going on because the whole point of view that we desire to present is that the voting of to-day has been influenced by last evening's conference.

(Loud and insistent cries of "No" from the European and Indian supporters of Government).

Mr. C. R. Das :—A thousand times Yes.

There was again prolonged cries of "No No" and shouting from the other side and there was much commotion in the House. At this stage Mr. Sen Gupta proclaimed : "We can shout the loudest of all" and the shouting continued.

Babu Akhil Chunder Dutt :—What is the meaning of this shouting. Mr. Das is in possession of the House. Can they shout ?

A Swarajist member :—Are they Jackals ?

Mr. C. R. Das :—This shouting indicates to my mind most clearly that the voting of to-day has been influenced by last night's conference.

Again there was confusing shouts of "no, no" from the opposite benches.

With Mr. C. R Das all the members of the Nationalist party then left the Chamber in a body while the European members kept on shouting at their loudest, the President unable to control them.

When order was restored the President put the resolution refusing the demand to vote and it was negatived by the combined strength of the Government officials, Europeans and a few elected and nominated members. The solitary voice of Mr. S. C. Bose (Burdwan), the only Nationalist member present, cried out "Aye".

The Rescued Demands.

The following demands for grant were then put without any speech and were hurriedly carried unopposed.

A demand of Rs. 4,05,000 under the head "Miscellaneous Department" moved by the Hon. Mr. J. Donald.

A demand of Rs. 83,34,000 under the head "Civil Works" moved by the Hon. Mr. Ghuznavi.

A demand of Rs. 50,000 under the head "Famine Relief and Insurance" moved by the Hon. Mr. J. Donald.

A demand of Rs. 43,63,000 under the head "Superannuation Allowance and Pensions," moved by the Hon. Mr. J. Donald.

A demand of Rs. 20,93,000 under the head "Stationary and Printing" moved by the Hon. Mr. J. Donald.

A demand of Rs. 3,52,000 under the head "Miscellaneous," moved by the Hon. Mr. J. Donald.

A demand of Rs. 12,000 under the head "Miscellaneous Adjustments" moved by Hon. Mr. J. Donald.

A demand of Rs. 20,000 under the head "Construction of Irrigation, Navigation and Drainage Works," moved by the Hon. Maharaja of Burdwan.

A demand of Rs. 8,73,000 under the head "Expenditure in England" moved by the Hon. Mr. Donald.

A demand of Rs. 9,59,000 under the head "Loans and Advances" moved by the Hon. Mr. J. Donald.

After all the demands had been granted, the President said :—

"The House stands prorogued until such date as will be notified hereafter."

The Council stood then prorogued.

Governor's Certification.

H. E. the Governor of Bengal finally certified the rejected budget grants by a communique issued on April 14th. It says:—

In the session which has just closed the Legislative Council rejected all the budget demands for "Reserved" subjects, with the exception of the demand for the Police Department and some miscellaneous items on the last day of the session. The rejected items fall into three categories:—

The first category includes the cases where a demand was rejected *in toto* not on its merits or out of any regard for economy or for the policy of the Department concerned, but in pursuit of a general policy of rejecting as much of the Budget as possible as a protest against the present form of constitution and the refusal of the Secretary of State to promise an early amendment of it. In this category must be placed the rejected demands for Land Revenue, Stamps, Forests, Scheduled Taxes, Irrigation, Administration of Justice, Jails, and Ports and Pilotage.

No one who voted for the rejection of these items can have contemplated dispensing with the departments involved and, as the merits of particular items in the grants were not discussed, His Excellency the Governor has no alternative but to restore the full amounts in each case. One exception only has been made to the certification of the amounts included in this category. Under the heading of "Navigation Embankment and Drainage Works" financed from ordinary revenues, was an item of Rs. 5,00,000 which represented the contribution that the Government had agreed to make to the Corporation of Calcutta towards the cost of the Bidyadhari spill reservoir. This contribution was promised on condition that the amount was voted by the Legislative Council. The condition not having been fulfilled the Government is unable to make this contribution.

Police Items Restored.

The second category contains particular items of a departmental demand which were also rejected as part of a general policy of obstruction. In this category must be placed three items in the police budget. Two of these were refused and the third cut down by more than a half in accordance with the general policy of opposing the whole budget or in the alternative of crippling the department by the refusal of essential supplies. They were:—(1) A sum of Rs. 1 lakh out of a total of Rs 1,97,500 for Superintendents, (2) a sum of Rs. 1,55,200 for the pay of Superintendents; (3) a sum of Rs. 10,800 for the pay of Assistant Superintendents.

These three items have been restored as, in the opinion of His Excellency, they are all necessary to maintain the strength and efficiency of the police force at the minimum standard necessary for the safety of the province.

Third Category.

The third category contains a few items which were rejected on grounds either of economy, retrenchment or policy. They were:—(1) A sum of Rs. 99,000 in the Department of Education (reserved) for certain European primary schools. The position created by this cut is being examined by the Director of Public Instruction and, pending the receipt of this report, His Excellency cannot say whether or not it will be necessary for him to restore this sum. The matter is complicated and involves some correspondence with the Accountant-General.

Government House.

(2) A sum of Rs. 30,000 under the head of "General Administration" in respect of the renewal of furniture and carpets in Government House. This item in the budget appears to have been misunderstood by the Legislative Council. A fixed percentage of seven half on the block value of furniture in Government house is allotted annually under orders of the Secretary of State for the upkeep of the furniture. Out of this seven half per cent., two half per cent. is spent annually on repairs and renewals. The remaining 5 per cent. is accumulated during the term of office of a Governor and is placed at the disposal of his successor in the form of a lump grant to be spent by him on renewals at any time during his term of office. This item of Rs. 30,000 represents the portion of this grant which it is proposed to spend this year. As there is no advantage but considerable inconvenience in postponing this expenditure to next year the amount has been restored.

Mosquito Nets

(3) A sum of Rs. 1,00,000 for the provision of cots and mosquito-nets for the

Bengal police. This item was inserted in the budget as a further instalment of a policy inaugurated in 1914 which was interrupted by the war, but reaffirmed last year, of gradually providing healthy sleeping accommodation for constables in mofussil thanas and protection against malaria epidemics. Iron cots are in the long run cheaper and far more sanitary than wooden bunks or bamboo cots. These improvements are required for the health and not, as was asserted in the debate, for the comfort of the police force. Nevertheless in view of the strong prejudice which this demand has created His Excellency does not intend to certify the amount.

(4) A sum of Rs. 24,000 for Deputy Superintendents in the Bengal Police. This item will not be restored.

(5) A sum of Rs. 41,325 out of a total of Rs. 1,65,300 for the pay of Inspectors in the Calcutta Police. The reduction was based on certain recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee which had been fully examined by Government and found to have arisen out of a misunderstanding of the facts. This sum has been restored.

European Constables

(6) A sum of Rs. 26,940 being half the provision of Rs. 53,880 for the pay of European constables in the District Executive Force; a sum of Rs. 2,37,000 out of the provision of Rs. 69,84,518 under the head District Executive Force; a sum of Rs. 57,000 out of a total provision of Rs. 1,37,600 for the District Intelligence Staff. These reductions would seriously impair the efficiency of the police force and the amounts have therefore been restored.

(7) A sum of Rs. 50,000 out of the provision of Rs. 1,45,000 for the Police Training School. The reduction here was based on the Retrenchment Committee's report. A sum of over Rs. 1,60,000 has already been retrenched from the expenses of police training in the province and this further reduction proposed was based largely on a miscalculation on the part of the Retrenchment Committee and cannot be given effect to without seriously affecting the usefulness of the Sardah Training School. The amount has therefore been restored.

School Inspectors

In the Budgets of the "Transferred" Departments all the demands were voted with the exception of two items in the Education and Medical Budgets. In the first case the demand of Rs. 7,46,900 under the head 31E—Education—General, Inspectors' salaries, was reduced by Rs. 6,35,400. This demand comprised the pay of the following officers:—11 inspectors and inspectresses, 17 assistant inspectors and inspectresses, 350 district and sub-inspectors and 27 other inspecting officers, and only Rs. 1,11,500 has now been provided by the Council for the payment of officers of the Inspection Department.

In the second case the whole of the demand of Rs. 5,88,000 under the head 32A Medical Establishment was reduced by a majority of one.

The effect of this vote was to refuse payment of all the members of the Government Medical Establishment whose salaries are votable, namely 13 civil surgeons, 6 civil assistant surgeons stationed in District Headquarters, 2 sub-assistant surgeons stationed at district headquarters, 24 civil assistant surgeons stationed at sub-divisional headquarters, 30 sub-assistant surgeons stationed at sub-divisional headquarters, 25 civil assistant surgeons forming leave reserve, 58 sub-assistant surgeons forming leave reserve, one compounder and one dresser, ministerial and menial staff, one personal assistant to the Surgeon-General, 23 clerks in the Surgeon-General's office, 15 menials attached to the Surgeon-General and his office, 59 clerks in civil surgeon's offices and 32 menials attached to civil surgeons and their office.

The first of these two reductions was probably dictated by a desire for economy and was no doubt based on a recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee. It may therefore be placed in the third category mentioned in connection with the rejection of demands for reserved subjects. The second reduction however appears to have been dictated rather by a general policy of rejecting the Budget and belongs therefore to the second of the categories above mentioned.

D. P. I. to Report

In dealing with the rejection of demands for transferred subjects, the Governor, as he explained to the Council of March 18, has no power to restore items that have been rejected even though he may disapprove of the action of the Council in rejecting them. In connection with transferred subjects the only power the Governor has to authorise expenditure is the general one conferred by proviso (B) of Section 72D (2) of the Government of India Act, and this power can only be exercised in cases of emergency. The rejection of the total demand for a Transferred Department would

create an emergency in which some expenditure would have to be authorised for carrying on the department, but the refusal of the Legislative Council to vote the salaries of certain officers whom they regarded as redundant and whose services they desire to dispense with does not create an emergency and His Excellency has no power to deprive the Council of responsibility placed upon it by Parliament.

Action is therefore being taken to carry out the decision of the Council. The Director of Public Instruction has been directed to re-examine the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee regarding the Inspectorate and to effect such reductions as will bring the total cost of this department within the limit imposed by the Legislative Council. In the meantime notices of discharge expiring on July 31, 1924, will be issued before the end of the current month to all the officers concerned in accordance with the usual practice in the case of reduction of establishment. When on receipt of the report of the Director, Public Instruction, the reconstitution of the Inspectorate has been determined, the notices given to the officers whom it is decided to retain will be cancelled.

As no provision was made by the Legislative Council for giving the notice to which officers are entitled under articles 436 and 352 (B) of the Civil Service Regulations, a supplementary demand will be submitted to the Legislative Council at its next session for the payment of salaries to these officers up to the expiry of the period of notice.

Medical Cadre.

With regard to the reduction in the Medical Budget, action is being taken on similar lines but the position is more complicated as in order to give effect to this vote it will be necessary to reduce the total cadre of civil surgeons, assistant surgeons and sub-assistant surgeons by the number for which provision was made in the rejected demand, and it is impossible at once to say which individuals should be selected in making such a reduction. The members of this cadre are employed in connexion with reserved subjects such as Jails, Administration of Justice and Police. The work of the Indian Medical Service officers whose salaries are non-votable would also be affected. In some respects therefore this vote of the Council may be found to have created an emergency in which His Excellency may be obliged to exercise the power conferred by proviso (B) of section 72 D (2) in respect of the salaries of certain officers.

The whole position is being carefully examined in consultation with the Surgeon-General and, in order to give effect as far as may prove to be necessary to the decision of the Council, notices of discharge will be given as in the case of the Education Inspectorate to the officers whose salaries are covered by the vote.

General Administration.

The rejection by the Council of the demand under the head of "General Administration" has to be dealt with separately, because though the demand was made by the Hon. Member in Charge of a Reserved department, it also included the cost of the secretariat of the Transferred department. In so far as the vote of the Council affected the Reserved subjects, it belongs to the first category above mentioned and the amount will be restored by His Excellency.

In the case of the secretariat of transferred departments an emergency has been created necessitating recourse to the power conferred by proviso (B) Section 72 D (2).

Section 45 A (1) (D) of the Government of India Act and the Rules made thereunder provide for the transfer of certain subjects to the administration of the Governor acting with Ministers. The Administration of such transferred subjects necessitates the appointment and payment of a civil secretariate. By the votes of the Legislative Council on March 24, 1924, the provision for the payment of this Secretariat was rejected, although by other votes provision was made for the continuance of the departments which it administers. Unless funds are provided for the continuance of this secretariat it would be impossible in any way to carry on the administration of the transferred subjects.

His Excellency has therefore authorised as a case of emergency the expenditure of Rs. 2,70,000 which is in his opinion necessary for the carrying on of the civil secretariat in those departments which administer transferred subjects.

Ministers' Salaries.

On March 24 the Legislative Council also rejected by one vote the demand for the payment of salaries to Ministers and the situation thus created remains to be dealt with. The Hon. Ministers do not regard this vote as equivalent to a vote of

censure on themselves necessitating their resignation, and His Excellency the Governor is of opinion that they are justified in not so regarding the matter seeing that the demand was for the pay of three Ministers, and, though only two Ministers were in office at the time, the rejection of the whole demand leaves no provision in the Budget for the payment of any Ministers, and, if it were to be regarded as a vote of censure on particular individuals, the censure would equally apply to a third Minister who had not yet been appointed, and further that on February 20 a motion which was equivalent to a vote of censure on the existing Ministers was moved in the same Council and lost.

His Excellency has accepted the view of the Ministers that the decision of the Council on March 24 did not necessarily represent the considered opinion of the Council either as regards the existing Ministers or as regard the appointment of Ministers in general. His Excellency has given the most careful attention to the constitutional position created by this vote of the Legislative Council and has taken legal advice as to his power of dealing with it. He has been advised that, in as much as the Government of India Act requires the Transferred Subjects to be administered by Ministers and provides that Ministers may be paid a salary, he would be justified in retaining the services of his existing Ministers or appointing others to administer the Transferred Subjects and in authorising the payment to them of any salary up to the statutory limit since, in the words of the Act, a smaller salary has not been provided by the vote of the Legislative Council of the Province.

At the same time the Ministers expressed their willingness if necessary to serve in an honorary capacity.

His Excellency is of opinion that, whether legal or not, it would be against the spirit of the constitution except as a purely temporary expedient, either for Ministers to serve in an honorary capacity, or for him to authorise the payment to them of salaries which have been refused by the vote of the Legislative Council. It is equally contrary to the spirit of the constitution for the Legislative Council to refuse the whole of the salaries with the object of preventing the appointment of Ministers which is clearly contemplated by the constitution.

His Excellency has therefore decided that the proper constitutional course would be to resubmit the matter for the consideration of the Legislative Council at its next session and this course was recommended by the Hon. Ministers themselves. His Excellency has discussed the matter fully with his Ministers in the light of legal opinions he has received and has pressed them to remain in office for the present. In order to maintain the constitution they have consented to continue in the discharge of their duties until at its next session the Legislative Council shall have had a further opportunity of voting their salaries. His Excellency will accordingly arrange that a supplementary demand for the payment of the salaries of Ministers for the current year shall be placed before the Legislative Council at its next session.

N. B.—It remains to be noted in this connection that the 'Ministers' Salaries' was sought to be demanded in the July session of the Council. How that ended in a fiasco resulting in innovations in the constitution, and how the Government was baulked by the Calcutta High Court, are matters which are reserved for the next issue of this Quarterly.

Punjab Legislative Council.

JANUARY SESSION 1924

The first meeting of the Punjab Legislative Council this year was held on Wednesday, the 2nd January at 11 a. m., the Hon. Mr. H. A. CASSON presiding. A large number of members attended, and the visitors' gallery was full. The Swarajist members were seated together and had a block to themselves. Their Gandhi caps and white khadder dress attracted a good deal of attention. The elected members were divided into the following groups :—

Swarajists	...	...	...	9
Hindu Swaraksha Sabha			...	5
,, Agriculturists	...	...	...	6
Muslim ,,	...	...	...	24
Khilafatists	...	...	...	3
Muslim Leaguers	...	...	...	7
Independents	...	...	...	6
S. G. P. C. men	...	...	...	11
		Total	...	71

The proceedings began with the taking of the oath of allegiance by the members, after which His Excellency the Governor addressed the Council. Some 25 Hindu and Sikh elected members at once walked out of the Council Chamber and remained outside so long as the Governor was there. This was done as a protest against the constitution of the Ministry.

Supplementary Grants.

After the Governor's address the Council met at 2 p. m. to discuss the supplementary demands for grants.

The Hon. CHAUDHRI LAL CHAND, Minister for Agriculture, moved for a supplementary grant in respect of Excise. The demand elicited a good deal of discussion. Prof. RUCHI RAM SAHNI objected that the members had not been given sufficient time to consider the demands. He also referred to the deficit of 4 crores that had accrued during recent years, and deprecated the grant of more money to excise officials by way of travelling allowance. He further urged that a compromise had been arrived at between the Government and the Council at the time of the last budget debate but the Government wanted to disregard that promise and now proposed to restore the sum that it had consented to forego. Raja Narindra Nath and Dr. Gokal Chand Narang and others spoke in the same strain. When the demand was put to vote after a long discussion, it was defeated by 38 votes to 34. The demand was thus refused *in toto*.

Four other demands for supplementary grants in respect of stamps, forest, registration and general administration were voted by the Council while another demand by the Finance Member in respect of administration of justice regarding fee for the special law officer for the prosecution of the case instituted against the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee was strongly opposed by the Sikh and some

Hindu members, and after a lengthy debate an amendment moved by Sardar Jodh Singh to reject the demand of Rs. 50,000 required for the fees of Mr. Petman, Special Law Officer appointed by the Government to prosecute the Akali Leaders' Case, was rejected by the Council by 41 to 34 votes.

On the 5TH JANUARY Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Kadir (ex-Judge of the High Court, and recently Counsel for Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the famous O'Dwyer—Nair case) was elected Deputy President of the Council, and then supplementary grant for Administration of Justice, which was under discussion when the Council rose on the 2nd Jan. was sanctioned after a division, 45 members voting for the motion and 33 against. All the official and Muslim members voted together.

Sir John MAYNARD next moved a suplementary grant under 'jails and convicts' and delivered a lecture to the members on the subject of grants, warning the Council not to put the Governor in an awkward position in respect of reserved departments of having to use his powers of certification. This speech was much resented.

Dr. G. C. NAURANG (Swarajist) in reply took the Finance Member severely to task. He pointed out that the remarks were uncalled for and the arguments lacking in force. Economy in one department should not mean extravagance in another. Referring to the threat that the Govt. would be compelled to use the powers of certification, Dr. Naurang declared if the demands were not wanted by the country, let the Government certify them. It is the people's voice that should be supreme and not the voice of the executive. After further discussion and the rejection of an amendment of Sardar Tara Singh in respect of Rs. 4,000 expenditure on under-trial prisoners in the Babbar Akali case, the original motion was put and carried. The Council after passing some further grants then adjourned till the Budget session in February.

THE BUDGET SESSION

On FEB. 25th the Council reassembled to discuss Govt. business. Sir John Maynard's motion for supplementary sum of Rs. 24,000 for fees for special Public Prosecutors evoked keen discussion and the debate on the motion was ultimately adjourned. Another Govt. resolution to amend the Punjab Courts Act 1918, so as to transfer from the High Court to the Court of District Judge jurisdiction in appeals from decrees or orders of a Subordinate Judge where the value of a suit ranges from Rs. 500 to Rs. 7,500, raised a storm of protest and the resolution being put to vote was rejected.

R. B. Chaudhri Lal Chand next moved for the election of members on the various Advisory Committees which was carried.

The House next proceeded to the consideration of Supplementary Grants all of which were voted without any reduction.

The first demand that elicited some discussion related to the item of Rs. 14,000 for travelling allowance of excise officers. The Council had rejected a similar demand for Rs. 16,000 in January and the present was another attempt of the Hon. Minister for Agriculture to get the money sanctioned. It was carried by 45 votes to 16.

Next came a demand of Rs. 24,000 for public prosecutors which had been reduced in January last by Rs. 50,000. The item relating

to punitive police was objected to by Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni in a speech which was several times interrupted by the President and the Finance Member. Mr. Sahni said he had personally held enquiries and found that the excesses of the punitive police were partly responsible for the Babbar Akali movement. The tax was levied on members of the Congress, the Akalis, and in some cases even on minors. The motion however was carried by 39 votes to 29.

On FEBRUARY 26th Sardar Jodh Singh made his adjournment motion regarding the affairs at Jaito resulting in the shooting of the Akalis on the 21st February, but the President ruled it out of order and made a long statement in support of his ruling. The main plea was the same as that taken up by the Home Member in the Assembly (see p. 151), namely, that the discussion would lead members to casting reflections on the administration of a Native State which no Indian legislature could do. Some 30 members, Swarajists, S. G. P. C. members and Khilafatists, rose in a body to protest. But the subject had to be dropped there. Pt. Nanak Chand's resolution to withdraw an Educational Circular was lost by 29 to 36 votes.

On FEBRUARY 28th Sh. Faiz Muhammad moved that the new University regulation introducing Education as a professional and theoretical subject in B.A. course be not approved. It was carried.

The Council then rejected a resolution of Lala Mohan Lal which recommended the Govt. of India not to allot any further Indian Forest Service officers to the Punjab for a period of at least 10 years.

On FEBRUARY 29th Dr. Gokul Chand Naurang moved that no money sanctioned by the Council be spent on any article not produced or manufactured in India. A lively debated followed. Government was willing to accept it subject to the proviso that the "quality was good and the price reasonable"—a qualification meant merely to circumvent the resolution which was consequently withdrawn by the mover in disgust.

On MARCH 1st Sir John Maynard, the Finance Member, presented the BUDGET for 1924-25 and asked the House to take note that the figures were based upon the assumption that it would not reject three taxation bills which he had to ask it to refer to a select committee next week. The Budget showed a total revenue receipts of Rs. 1,031 lakhs and Rs. 1,075 lakhs of revenue expenditure. There was a deficit of Rs. 44 lakhs of which Rs. 25 lakhs was accounted for by a sinking fund. The Finance Member pointed out that the Government of India, their bankers, had expressed willingness to finance the very moderate deficit during 1924-25. In the year succeeding their equilibrium must be attained, if not by one method then by another, for the province will be lost to meet its liabilities without the help of the Government of India. Compared with the Budget of 1923-24 the present budget however was distinctly a more favourable statement of the financial position of the province. Whereas last year there was a deficit of revenue account of Rs. 62,8-,000 the deficit was now reduced to Rs. 44 lakhs, which was the result of the increase of Rs. 27,66,000 in revenue and of only Rs. 8,49,000 in expenditure. The new taxation bills were the same as those rejected by the Council in the previous year.

On 3RD MARCH the Council met to consider the Money Bills. The first of these proposed change in the Court Fees Act so that for purposes of Court fees land in dispute in civil cases will be valued at twenty times the land revenue payable thereon instead of ten times as was the practice heretofore. This was referred to a Select Committee.

On 5TH MARCH the Council took up non-official business. After interpellations, which mostly related to communal matters, discussion on S. Mohammad Hussain's resolution regarding Agricultural indebtedness was continued. The resolution was moved on 29th Feb. and ran as follows :—

This Council recommends to the Government that a committee of three be appointed to tour the villages in the South-Western Punjab to examine the claims of money-lenders against cultivators when the parties agree to this course and to arrive at sums which they are actually able to pay within a reasonable time, such committee to consist of (a) a Judge with insolvency powers, (b) a representative of cultivators, and (c) a representative of bankers.

The motion was pressed to a division and carried by 35 votes to 22.

Chaudhri AFZAL HUQ next moved the following resolution :

This Council recommends to the Government to recommend to the Government of India that they may take early steps to exempt the SWORD from the operation in the Punjab of the ARMS ACT with regard to all the restrictions contained therein.

The resolution was after discussion put to the House and declared carried. Government members remaining neutral.

Mir MAQBUL MAHMUD moved the following resolution :—

This Council recommends to the Government the appointment of a committee with non-official majority to advise what steps the Government may reasonably take to improve the present economic and social conditions of the agriculturists of this province.

The resolution was, however, by leave of the Council withdrawn.

Chaudhuri DULI CHAND next moved the following resolution :—

This Council recommends to the Government that the rate of GRANT TO AIDED SCHOOLS per pupil reckoned on the average attendance be as follows :—

	Anglo-Vernacular.		Vernacular.	
	Agricultural	Non-Agricultural	Agricultural	Non-Agricultural
A.—In the Lower Primary Department ...	4	2	4	2
B.—In the Upper Primary Department ...	8	4	8	4
C.—In the Middle Department ...	20	10	12	6
D.—In the Higher Department ...	32	16	...	...

The present rules, he said, made no distinction between Agriculturists and non-Agriculturists. The speaker wanted to provide an incentive for increasing the number of pupils from agricultural classes. The resolution was, however, by leave withdrawn, after Sir George Anderson, the Director of Public Instruction, had pointed out that the figures relating to the number of agriculturist and non-agriculturist students were not available, and that in the absence of those figures he could not say exactly how much additional expenditure the proposal would entail.

Lala BODH RAJ then moved the following resolution :—

This Council recommends to the Government to eliminate sources of danger to the moral tone of society by (a) removing beyond the Municipal boundaries all LIQUOR SHOPS already located in the various towns ; (b) removing to the headquarters of the Tahsil and to locate in or near the tahsil compound all liquor shops already located in the various villages.

The resolution was lost by 35 votes to 15.

On 6TH MARCH a special meeting was held to dispose of Government business.

The Hon'ble Sir John Maynard introduced the Punjab Stamp (Amendment) Bill. The operative clause of the Bill runs as follows :—

"In Schedule 1-A to the Indian Stamp (Punjab Amendment) Act, 1922, in article 23, before the word 'Exemptions' the following proviso shall be inserted, namely :—

Provided that a conveyance of immovable property situated within a Municipality or Cantonment shall be chargeable with a stamp duty at double the rate hereinbefore provided."

He also moved to refer the bill to a Select Committee. He observed that Govt. expected an increase of 5 lakhs in the revenue by the proposed bill without any extra expenditure whatever. The motion was put to the House and carried.

The Hon'ble Sir John Maynard next introduced the Punjab Motor Vehicles Taxation Bill, and that it be referred to a Select Committee which was done.

Mr. MILES next moved the following resolution which was carried :—

"That this Council recommends to Government to raise during the year 1924-25 a loan of Rs. 1,50,00,000 for the purpose of providing funds for the construction of Irrigation Works—Capital Expenditure—and other productive projects approved by the Council."

The Council then resumed discussion of the motion moved on Monday, 25th February, 1924 :—

That a supplementary sum be granted to the Governor in Council to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending the 31st of May 1924 in respect of Administration of Justice.

Sardar Jodh Singh referred to the Akali Leaders' case, and said that large sums of money were being wasted on it. After Sir John Maynard, Sayid Mohd. Hussain and Sir Gopal Das had spoken, the motion was put to the House and carried by 29 votes to 15. The Council then adjourned until 2 p. m., for the ordinary meeting.

Budget Discussion.

The Council reassembled at 2 p. m. for the general discussion of the Budget for 1924-25.

S. Mohd. Hussain opposed the levy of additional taxes. All the new taxes proposed were opposed to all the canons of civilised taxation. He urged for retrenchment. Mr. Magbul Mahmud also urged retrenchment and suggested various means to improve the finance of the province. Mr. Shah Newaz complained of various beneficent schemes, such as education, being neglected and starved, and wanted a more thoroughgoing retrenchment. Sirdar Jodh Singh along with the previous speakers criticised the Government for not having taken a strong attitude in the matter of the Provincial contribution. He next attacked the repressive policy of the Government on the Sikhs which was costing a lot. A further strong criticism of Government was delivered by Prof. Ruchiram. The Government members then replied.

On 7TH MARCH the Council met to consider the Government's demands for grants.

The Hon'ble Mr. MAJITHIA moved that a sum not exceeding Rs. 44,07,000 be granted under head : Land Revenue. There were more than 90 motions for reduction of this demand of which about a third

were disposed of on this day, and the rest came up for consideration on the 10th when the Council re-assembled. As a result of the day's discussion cuts to the extent of more than 2 lakhs were made, the largest item being Rs. 1,70,240 which related to the settlements of 8 districts. The balance was mostly made of reductions in travelling allowances.

Sardar JODH SINGH moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 13,000 with respect to the item of Rs. 32,030—Temporary Establishment. After some discussion the motion was carried by 34 votes to 29.

Sardar JODH SINGH then moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 2,159 with respect to the items of Rs. 8,636—Travelling Allowance (5 A.—Land Revenue.) He said that the proposal was to make a cut of 25 °/. in all items of travelling, and suggested that the whole question be discussed and decided once for all. On Sardar Sunder S. Majithia agreeing to it, discussion then proceeded on the question of travelling allowance as a whole, which amounted under all heads together to about 44 lakhs. Ch. Sahabuddin said that his experience was that T. A. in the Punjab was much higher than in the case of officials of the Govt. of India, sometimes double the latter. After a long debate the motion was carried without a division.

Several other minor motions for reduction were then carried.

Land Settlements

Chaudhri AFZAL HUQ moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 1,70,240 with respect to the item of Rs. 1,78,100—Survey and Settlement—Other Head-quarters Establishment. He said that Zamindars were all opposed to fresh settlements and they wanted land to be permanently settled as in Bengal. After a long discussion the motion for reduction was carried by 41 votes to 22.

On MARCH 10TH the discussion on Budget grants was continued. The motions for reduction of the Land Revenue grant, which had been left over from the previous day, occupied a good deal of time. After that the grants under the heads Excise, Stamps, Forests, Registration, Irrigation and Interests on Ordinary Debt were voted. Barring a few exceptions, the cuts made in the demands were again in respect of travelling allowances; and the debate centred round the question of the reduction of enormous travelling allowances given freely to various officials. Practically throughout the whole day motions for reduction of other items in the grants were in most cases either not moved at all or withdrawn after a desultory discussion.

Settlements Again

S. Mohd HUSAIN moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 4,52,900 with respect to the item of Rs. 4,52,900—Survey and Settlement Parties. After the Financial Commissioner had made a lengthy speech opposing this and other motions for reduction, some of which were never moved, the motion was carried by 39 to 24 votes.

General Administration

On MARCH 11th. the Council next proceeded to discuss the demand for Rs. 84,140,00 in respect of General Administration (Reserved).

There were as many as 166 motions for reduction of this grant on the agenda paper, of which 112 only could be disposed of before

the Council adjourned. Most of these demanded a reduction of 25 per cent in the items relating to travelling allowances. But after some motions of this nature had been dealt with, Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni again suggested that a good deal of the time of the Council would be saved if Government accepted an all-round cut of 25 *per cent* in the items relating to travelling allowance, contingencies, *etc.*

Government after some discussion agreed to a tentative reduction of 25 *per cent* in all items relating to travelling allowances, reserving to itself the right of asking for supplementary grants in the event of the reduced grants not being sufficient when the new rates, which would be fixed by a committee to be specially appointed for the purpose and then placed before the standing Committee of the Council, would come into force. Certain Mussalman rural members headed by K. B. Chaudhri Sahabudin and Mr. Mir Maqbool Mahmud promised to support Government in that contingency, while Dr. Gokul Chand Narang and Sardar Jodh Singh pointed out that they could hold out no such promise but would consider the proposals of the Finance Committee on their merits. After this there was no discussion on the motions relating to reduction in travelling allowances, and they were simply put to the Council and carried.

The other contested motions for reduction were, with one solitary exception, either not moved at all or withdrawn after a perfunctory discussion or rejected by the Council. These included the motions for reduction in hill journey and hill allowances, contingencies, temporary establishments, the staff of the Secretariat, and so forth.

Commissioners

The one contested motion which was carried inspite of Government opposition related to the staff of Commissioners.

Sardar JODH SINGH moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 56,199 with respect to the item of Rs.2 ,33,200—Total Commissioners. He said the Retrenchment Committee had recommended that the number of posts of Commissioners be reduced from 5 to 3 but that reform had not yet been carried out. He had therefore moved for reduction of two-fifths in the staff of Commissioners. The motion was pressed to a division and carried by 40 votes to 22.

Secret Press Propaganda

Of the motions that were rejected by the Council, the following amendment of Sardar Jodh Singh elicited a lively debate :—

'That the grant be reduced by Rs. 2,500 with respect to the item of Rs. 2,500—Composition of Articles for Press.'

Sardar Jodh Singh strongly criticised the secret propaganda carried on by Government through articles which were written at the instance of Government on payment, but were published anonymously or as representing the views of independent men. The Chief Secretary said that twice or thrice the amount budgeted was required for secret press propaganda by the Government and he was not ashamed to admit that that was an incidence of administration. Malik Firoz Khan and Mr. Maqbool Ahmed supported him, as also a large number of other Moslem members. The motion of Sardar Jodh Singh was finally defeated by 24 votes to 41.

On 13TH. MARCH there was a lively discussion on the budget grants, especially with regard to the item : special Public Prosecutors for conducting the Akali prosecutions. A large number of questions were asked on the subject to which Govt. gave cryptic replies. Discussion on the grant for general administration was then continued. After a few more cuts were rejected, the demand as already reduced was passed.

Mian Fazl-i-Hussain next moved that a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,33,000 be granted in respect of General Administration—Transferred.

There were four motions for reduction of this demand on the agenda one of which stood in the name of R. B. Lala Sewak Ram and demanded that the total pay of Ministers be reduced from Rs. 1,20,000 to Rs. 96,000. None of the motions was, however, moved ; and the demand was carried without any discussion or reduction.

Administration of Justice.

The Hon'ble Sir John Maynard moved that a sum not exceeding Rs. 41,71,000 be granted in respect of Administration of Justice.

The motions for reduction in the items relating to travelling allowance aggregating to Rs. 7,875 were put from the chair and carried.

Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 9,000 with respect to the item of Rs. 9,000—Assistant Legal Remembrancer—English Law officers.

After the Legal Remembrancer had referred to the recent increase in the work of the Legal Remembrancer's office, the motion was withdrawn.

Special Public Prosecutors.

Lala Bodh Raj next moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 1,00,000 with respect to the item of Rs. 1,55,000 for special public prosecutors. He said he was opposed to the appointment of special public prosecutors for special cases on principle. Instead of engaging ten special public prosecutors on heavy salaries the Government could have got the work done through the senior public prosecutors already in service and employed officiating public prosecutors at Rs. 500 a month in their place. There was a heated debate on this head.

Chaudhry Ali Akbar, opposing the motion, said dacoits spent large sums of money to secure the services of able lawyers and there was no reason why objection should be taken to Government doing the same ! Sardar Tara Singh said the Finance Member had admitted in his budget speech that there was a marked decrease in crime in the province. There was, therefore, no justification for employing such a costly special prosecuting agency in criminal trials. The fees paid to special public prosecutors were too large and unnecessary. He also complained of the favouritism in the choice of special prosecutors and said local lawyers should be engaged as far as possible.

The Hon'ble Sir John Maynard admitted that crime was less last year than in the preceding one, but it was all the same heavy and a large number of special cases had arisen, in which there was an enormous number of witnesses, and in some cases an enormous number of accused persons, and the hearings which were likely to go on for a long period from day to day. The speaker illustrated his point by referring to the forged notes cases, and said that judging from the large number of false notes circulated, hundreds or thousands of persons must have been plundered. Some money must be spent to bring the guilt home to the accused. He denied that the Special Public Prosecutors were being unnecessarily paid large sums by way of salaries ; and said that one of them got only Rs 500 a month, while several got Rs. 1,000 or less. The Government was doing all it could to economise.

Mian Muhammad Shah Nawaz, supporting the motion, referred to the Akali case. He urged that the general impression among the public was that the Government

was bent on crushing the S. G. P. C. organisation. The sum that was being spent on the prosecution of the Akali leaders was exorbitant.

Sardar Bakhtawar Singh complained that while in the Babar Akali case, where the accused were guilty of murder, arson and other brutal acts of terrorism, only Rs. 2,100 a month was being spent on the prosecuting Counsel, in the Akali Leaders' case, where the accused persons had always been preaching non-violence, several times that amount was being spent on the prosecution.

Sardar Jodh Singh further supporting the motion said that the matter had come up before the House several times, and on every occasion the mention of dacoities and murders was made to mislead the members. The fact, however, remained that the lion's share of the grant would be swallowed up by the Akali cases, and only much smaller sums were to be spent on the prosecution of dacoits. The Government ought not to create the impression that it was more anxious to get the Akali Leaders convicted than even the most dangerous dacoits and murderers. The Akali case began on the 13th October, and the investigation in it was still going on, so that it was not possible to say when the proceedings would be brought to a close. If a prosecution witness broke down in cross-examination there was further investigation and two more witnesses were forthcoming to take his place. The case could, therefore, be indefinitely lengthened out. This was by no means in the interest of the accused, who had said in the open court that they were prepared to remain in jail until the investigation was completed. The Government could appease the Sikhs only by passing satisfactory legislation. It was idle to say that the Sikh members should suggest what amendments they wanted in the existing Act. How could they do so, when the S. G. P. C. had been declared to be an unlawful association. Concluding, he observed: "If the Government insist on imprisoning us, why should it also place a heavy economic burden on us and increase taxation?"

The motion was then put to the House and lost by 21 votes to 41.

The Akali Leader's Case

Sardar Tara Singh moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 55,00 with respect to the item of Rs. 55,000—Special Public Prosecutors' Fees.

The motion was put to the House and lost by 19 to 39 votes.

Rai Bahadur Lala Sewak Ram next moved that the grant be reduced by Re. 1. Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh said the conduct of the Akali leaders' case was not only condemnable from the point of view of economy but also to be condemned on principle. The Government had several times measured its strength against the Sikhs, but it had always failed.

At this stage, the President intervened and asked the speaker to stick to the motion under discussion.

Continuing, the Hon'ble Member observed that the Government had not properly tackled the Sikh situation. The Sikhs wanted control over their Gurdwaras and shrines.

The President again asked the member to stick to the motion.

Continuing, the speaker said the Punjab had now before it the statement of Lord Olivier.

The President, at this stage, ordered the member to discontinue his speech.

Dr. Gokal Chand Narang supporting the motion said that the only question with which they were concerned was whether it was wise or unwise to grant the amount demanded for the year 1923-24. The case had been going on for about 5 months or so, and had been costing about Rs. 20,000 a month. One of the counsel for the prosecution was being paid Rs. 600 per day. Another counsel, said the speaker, was being paid Rs. 2000 a month. It needed no explanation on the part of the speaker to show that the gentlemen who were being tried in the Akali

leaders' case were the cream of the Sikh community. Not one of the accused persons was suspected of being guilty of violence. The only charge on which they had been prosecuted was that they had done certain things which led to breaches of the peace here and there. The speaker was not concerned with the merits of any individual case, the accused might be guilty or innocent, but their trial had created a feeling, not only among the Sikhs but also amongst others, that Government was not acting wisely, and was not making the proper use of public money in prosecuting the accused, all of whom were held in the highest esteem by the Sikhs. The possible gain that the Government could derive from securing the conviction of the accused would not be commensurate with the injury that it would do to itself by persisting with the case. There should be mutual trust and good-will between the people and the Government. The Government should not by its conduct give rise to the suspicion that it was vindictive, or that it did not want to allow religious freedom. No useful object would be gained by proceeding with the case. If one set of members of the S. G. P. C. was arrested, another took its place; and as a humble student of Sikh history, the speaker could say that the Sikhs could not be repressed by such prosecutions or persecutions. And then, said the speaker, had the Government taken only an ordinary interest in the case there would perhaps not have been the same feeling of bitterness as actually prevailed. The Government had thought it necessary to engage the best or the costliest counsel for the prosecution. Concluding, the speaker advised the Government to drop the case.

Malik Firoz Khan Noon, opposing the motion, observed that had the movement of Sikhs been of a purely religious character, nobody would have supported the policy of Government to suppress it; but if there was a reasonable suspicion that the real motive of the Sikh movement was political which was detrimental to the interests of their sister communities, the policy of Government could not be held to be wrong. If the Sikh community or Sikh members of the House could offer a solution to ease the situation and make the continuance of the prosecutions which were most unwelcome to Government unnecessary, the country and the Government would be much beholden to them. The Sikhs could not expect the sympathy of the House if under the cloak of religious reform they transgressed the political rights of their sister communities.

The Council at this stage adjourned.

On 15th MARCH, the Council met and continued the last debate.

SARDAR JODH SINGH said that the S. G. P. C. was the representative body of the Sikhs in the matter of Gurdwara reform and its members had been elected by their free vote. The hold that it had on the Sikhs was amply proved by the recent Council elections, inasmuch as from 80 to 90 per cent., of the Sikh votes had been cast for the nominees of the S G. P. C. In prosecuting the office-holders of that Committee, therefore, the Government was seeking to repress the desire for Gurdwara reform in the minds of the whole community. The maintenance of law and order was meant for promoting peace and contentment. Was that object achieved by the Akali trial, asked the speaker? Referring to the remarks of Mr. Firoz Khan the speaker assured the House that the S. G. P. C. was nothing but a religious body, a fact which had been admitted by the Education Minister when he introduced his Ordinance in the Council in 1921. The speaker was prepared to put a clause in the Bill that not a pie of the Gurdwara

money would be spent on political propaganda. As to their bringing forward a non-official Bill, there were two obstacles in their way. In the first place, no Bill would be acceptable to the Sikhs which did not transfer the control of the Gurdwaras to the S. G. P. C., and so long as it was an unlawful association they could not bring it in. The second difficulty was that they did not want merely to pass a Bill, but also to remove the prevailing antagonism between the Sikhs and the Government. Thousands of Sikhs were in jails on account of the movement, and unless they were released another agitation would arise to secure their release. The Government took pride in styling itself as the people's Government. Let it prove that claim by bowing to the wishes of the Sikhs in the matter of religious reform. The Sikhs were not after taking other people's rights.

Prof. RUCHI RAM SAHNI, supporting the motion, said a great mistake had been made in instituting those cases, especially the cases against Akali leaders. It was not merely that so much public money was being wasted, it was much worse. The magnitude of the feeling of suspicion and distrust was not fully realised. Day after day evidence was being led by the prosecution and later on similar evidence would be produced by the defence, which raked up old memories. Some of those incidents, said the speaker, might well have remained buried in the lumber, a heap of forgotten memories. The amount of unrest and discontent which the case had created was increasing. When that very morning the Government was negotiating over the present affair with the same body which the Government had declared to be unlawful, the people laughed in their sleeves and said the real object of instituting those cases was simply to put down the Akali movement. The Akali movement had taken its rise from certain serious defects in the law of the land in regard to rescuing places of worship from the hands of corrupt and debauched Mahants and priests. For seven years after being awakened to the need of purifying their Gurdwaras, the Akalis had recourse to courts of law; but they found that the relief was too slow in coming. It was under those circumstances that they resorted to passive resistance. What Government should have done and what it did not do was that they should have removed those defects of the law. It would not do to say that at the back of the minds of the Akali leaders was some political object. If a movement becomes political by resorting to 'Satyagraha,' then in that sense the Akali movement was political but in no other. Concluding, he observed that the money which was being spent on the case was being spent to the disadvantage of the Government as well as of the people. The interests of both were identical, and the sooner the cases were withdrawn the better would it be. The only remedy of the present situation lay in reconciliation.

After a few more speeches the Home Member rose to reply.

Sir JOHN MAYNARD said the question had narrowed itself down to this—whether it was right or politic to continue the prosecution or not; and he would, therefore, limit himself to that question. The natural and normal course was to finish what had been begun, unless there were very good reasons for altering the course and a good and tangible alternative was put forward. It was for those who suggested the dropping of the prosecution to suggest the alternative. Many members who had supported the motion simply wanted that the prosecutions should be dropped and the Government should accept a policy of general releases. When such a course was urged, it was natural to see to what results such a policy had led in the past.

The Council had received the announcement of the Birdwood Committee with satisfaction and welcomed the prospect of a termination of the trouble with the Sikh community. But experience did not justify that hope. Bands of armed Akalis began to traverse the Central Punjab and to indulge in lawless extravagance. They entered railway carriages and travelled without tickets. Their behaviour showed that they had completely lost their heads, and because they had been treated with leniency they believed they had completely triumphed and could do what they pleased. So much about the actual experience as to results of a policy of releases. There was another course which had been suggested by some hon'ble members, a course which the Govt. had favoured for long time past and which it still favoured, viz., suitable amendment of the laws. It was wrong to to say that Government had made no attempt in that direction. The speaker's own record of draft Bills showed that eight such attempts had been made. But more then once the Sikh members, to meet whose wishes the drafts had been made, altered their minds after the whole thing was complete. Finally, it was thought that it was

better to pass something which might appeal to reasonable Sikhs outside the Council; and for that reason a Bill was ultimately passed by the Council. But almost immediately afterwards, discussion was re-opened with the leaders and Government asked them to give an outline of the Bill which they themselves would like to be put before the Council. The leaders, however, declined to put forward any suggestions except on conditions which seemed to be altogether unreasonable.

S. Gurbaksh Singh:—Because the Government went on arresting people in breach of former agreements.

Continuing, the Hon'ble Member observed that if any amending legislation was to be undertaken because the Sikhs had not accepted the proposals hitherto put before them, it was evident that they must come forward and say what they precisely wanted. The Government had not ceased to persuade the Sikhs to act in that manner. It had been said that unless Government promised beforehand to release certain persons or to do certain other things, which were the conditions to be dictated to Government for the occasion, no Sikh would be prepared to bring forward a Bill. Was it not obvious, asked the speaker, that if the sole object was to achieve certain religious liberty, and if a Gurdwara Bill was the means of doing so, then those Sikhs whose sole desire was the attainment of religious liberty should without any regard to other considerations be prepared to produce a Bill so that it might be known precisely what was required. Concluding, the speaker observed that the Government had made many efforts, which had been infructuous; but it had not lost its patience or hope.

Sardar TARA SINGH supporting the motion said, under the constitutions of the S. G. P. C. its funds could not be spent on any but religious purposes. Nor had the Committee had anything that could be described as political. It was simply a case of giving the dog a bad name in order to hang it that the Committee was described as political. It was not sufficient, said the speaker, to do justice; but it was also necessary to satisfy the parties that justice was being done. Was that the case in regard to the Akali trial? Obstructions were placed in the way of counsel for the defence seeing their clients or taking instructions from them. On the one hand, large sums were being spent on the prosecution; and on the other, obstructions were put in the way of the defence. That did not show the *bona fides* of Government.

The motion for reduction was then put to the House and declared lost by 24 votes to 31, those voting against being mostly official and nominated members.

After a few motions for reducing the items relating to Travelling Allowance by 25 per cent. had been put from the Chair, the demand as reduced was put to the Council and carried.

Jails.

The Hon'ble Sir John Maynard moved that a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,44,000 be granted in respect of Jails and Convict Settlement.

Vote of Censure.

After the motions for reduction of travelling allowances had been put from the chair and carried, Maulvi Mazhar Ali Azhar moved that the total grant be further reduced by Re. 1.

In a lengthy speech he referred feelingly to the hardships and indignities to which prisoners were subjected in Indian jails and to the corruptions that prevailed in the department. The feeling of self-respect among the prisoners was not only not awakened or developed but absolutely deadened by the treatment that they got in goal. The dress which they had to wear was degrading, and no shoes were provided even in summer and the rainy weather. They had to sleep throughout the year inside their cells. As to food it was badly cooked and composed of bad stuffs. Sometimes the same vegetable was given for the whole season, and the same *dal* for weeks and months together. Gram and other inferior grain were mixed with the wheat used for bread. Even the diet that was allowed by the rules did not reach the prisoners in fact, and there was speculation at every stage. After giving a vivid description of prison life, the Hon'ble Member pointed out that

the recommendations of the Jails Committee had not been carried out in the matter of providing lights, books and facilities for religious observances to the prisoners. Nor were there any arrangements for educating the prisoners, inspite of the fact that the Indian Jails Committee had recommended that education should be made compulsory for all prisoners up to the age of 25. As to the tasks to which the prisoners were put, they were most degrading and dehumanising.

Chaudhri DULI CHAND opposed the motion, and said if the views of the previous speaker were to be accepted he would advise the agriculturists to go and live in the jails as life there would become much pleasanter than in the villages. Did the mover, he asked, want to turn jails into guest houses? The speaker deeply deplored the tendency to make jail life more easy and comfortable, as that led to increase in crime.

Chaudhri AFZAL HAQ, supporting the motion, related what he had himself seen of life in jail during his stay there, and said if they wanted to see hell upon earth they should go to an Indian jail. He also referred to the distinction between European and Indian prisoners, and said the European *badmashes* were given comforts in jail which were denied even to Mahatma Gandhi. He also complained against not allowing the political prisoners access to newspapers and periodicals.

OTHER SPEAKERS.

Sardar Gurbaksh Singh and R. B. Lala Sewak Ram further supported the motion. The latter pointed to the corruption that was rampant in the jails and complained that such persons were appointed unofficial visitors as were either illiterate or were honorary magistrates seeking higher powers, or zaildars and others who had not the independence and courage to say the right thing.

Raizada BHAGAT RAM denied that suitable persons had not been appointed unofficial visitors. There was no doubt a great need for improvement in the rules; but as far as he knew there was not so much complaint about food and clothing as about the lowering of self-respect. He could not say from his experience of 4 years as an unofficial visitors of the Jullundur Jail that any attempt had been made to improve the self-respect of the prisoners or to make them better men than when they entered the prison. The corruption of the jail staff was also an open secret. It might be urged that it was so in the other departments as well; but the jails stood on a different footing. The prisoners were in the hands of the jailor for all 24 hours, and he could abuse his powers to extort bribes. Concluding, the member suggested that the powers of the jailor should be curtailed, so that in the matter of taking disciplinary action, he should act with the unofficial visitors.

The motion was then put to the vote and carried by 26 votes to 23.

The grant as reduced was then voted.

Police.

Sit John Maynard moved that a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,04,000 be granted in respect of Police.

Chaudhuri Afzal Haq moved that the grant be reduced by Re. 1. He said there was no one in the House who could be satisfied with the working of the police department; the corruption and oppression of the police was a matter of universal complaint. Ninety five *per cent.* of the police officials took bribes in cash and the remaining 5 *per cent.* took it in the shape of grass, fodder *etc.* The police officers who went to make investigation into a case committed 2 or 3 more offences like bribery, assault, etc. About 198 men of the police were punished and discharged every year for serious offences. The corruption was so high that the income of sub-inspector was not less than that of the Minister. He very feelingly described the torture and oppression to which police officials resorted during investigation of cases. The motion was then put to the House and carried.

The demand was then put to the House, and on being pressed to a

division there was a tie, 26 voting for and 26 against the motion. It was then carried by the casting vote of the President.

On 17th MARCH discussion on budget grants was continued.

Chaudhry Lal Chand moved that a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,800 be granted in respect of Scientific Departments. The motion was carried.

Sir John Maynard moved that a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,77,000 be granted in respect of Education (European—Reserved). The motion was carried after a reduction of Rs. 325 in respect of Travelling Allowance.

Education (Transferred).

Mian Fazl-i Hussain moved that a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,00,16,000 be granted in respect of Education (Transferred).

Travelling Allowance.

One peculiar feature of the discussion on this demand was that the motions for the reduction of the items of travelling allowance comprised in this demand were defeated, the Hon'ble Minister pointing out that the railway allowance had already been reduced by 20 per cent. and that he would carry out any reductions carried out in other departments. While Hindu and Sikh members were not for treating this department differentially, the Muslim members generally supported the Minister. The Council divided on a motion of this kind, and it was found that 23 members voted for the reduction and 41 against, Maulvi Mazhar Ali and Chaudhri Afzal Huq being the only two Mussalmans who voted for the reduction.

Intermediate Colleges.

Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 62,320 with respect to the item of Rs. 62,320—Opening of Intermediate Colleges at Lyallpur, Cambellpur and Guzrat—Government Arts Colleges. He wanted the money to be spent in free primary education. But if new colleges are to be opened, they should not be of the old type but of the new practical type which he proposed, teaching Agriculture, Commerce, Applied Chemistry, and so on.

The question soon became a matter of communal wrangle, Mahomedan members saying that the motion was intended to check the spread of education amongst Moslems, while Hindu members opposing the educational policy of the Minister. In the end Prof. Sahani withdrew his motion; it pained him very much, he said, to hear of all those communal jealousies which the debate had brought forth.

Next day, the 18th MARCH, the Education demand was further discussed. Dewan Narinjan Das moved that the grant be reduced by Re. 1 with respect to Rs. 39,100—Queen Mary's College. The motion was lost.

Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni next moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 1,23,000 with respect to the item of Rs. 1,23,000—Provincialisation of Board High Schools—Government Secondary Schools. In doing so the speaker said that he did not like the policy of the Education Minister in the matter of Local Bodies, and he wanted to give more power to Municipalities and District Boards, even if their constitution was defective, rather than take away whatever power they already possessed. Help the schools, he said, to grow in their own environment and under the fostering care of local men who know their needs. Help

Members of the Council

PRESIDENT :

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Khwaja Muhammad Nur

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS :

The Hon'ble H. McPherson
The Hon'ble S. Sinha

MINISTERS :

The Hon'ble Sir Saiyid Muhammad Fakhr-ud-din, Khan Bahadur.
The Hon'ble Babu Ganesh Datta Singh

NOMINATED-OFFICIALS :

Messrs. E. L. L. Hammond. H. K. Broscoe
,, J. R. Dain. A. L. Inglis
,, B. A. Collins. W. S. Bremner
,, H. Ll. I. Allanson. D. Weston
,, B. C. Sen. Mr. H. T. S. Forest
,, H. Lambert. W. B. Heycock

ELECTED :

Babu Shyam Narayan Sinha Sarma
Muhammad Yunus
Babu Chandipat Sahay
,, Rajandhari Sinha
,, Gur Sahay Lal
Maulvi Saiyid Muhammad Husain
Babu Gupteshvar Prashad Singh
,, Bishun Prashad
Babu Rameshvar Prashad Singh
Khan Bahadur Ashfaq Husain
Babu Dwarika Prashad Singh
,, Sarada Prashad Singh
,, Rajivaranjan Prashad Sinha
Saiyid Muhammad Athar Husain
Rai Bahadur Dwarika Nath
Maulavi Mati-ur Rahman
Rai Bah. Krishna Deva N. Mahtha
Babu Jaleshvar Prashad
,, Chandraketu Narayan Singh
Maulavi Saiyid Mubarak Ali
Babu Lakshmi Mohan Misra
,, Kedarnath Prashad Sah
Maulavi Muhammad Zahurul Haqq
Babu Shiva Bachan Sinha
Mahanth Darshan Dasji
Babu Radha Krishna
Maulavi Saiyid Mehdi Hasan
Mahanth Ishvar Gir
Babu Shiva Shankar Jha
,, Ram Nihora Singh
,, Ramasray Prashad Chaudhuri
Maulavi Said-ul Haqq
Babu Murlidhar Shroff

B. & O. Legislative Council

Jan.—March 1924

Abdul Wahab Khan
Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand Singh
Babu Rajendra Misra
,, Bhuvaneshvari Prashad Mandal
Babu Anant Prashad
Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Naim
Rai Bahadur Luchhmi Prashad Sinha
Rai Sahib Kharag Narayan
Maharaja Bahadur Chandra Mauleshvar Prashad Singh.
Shah Muhammad Yahya
Rai Bahadur Prithwi Chand Lal Chowdry
Saiyid Moin-ud-din Mirza
Maulavi Mir Faiyaz Ali
Babu Jogendra Narayan Singh
,, Rameshvar Lal Marwari
Maulavi Muhammad Umid Ali
Mr. Madhusudan Das
Maulavi Saiyid Tazamul Ali
Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo
Babu Birabar Narayan Chandra Dhir Narendra
,, Lakshmidhar Mahanti
,, Radharanjan Das
Chaudhuri Bhagabat Prashad Samantarai Mahapatra.
Babu Godavaris Misra
Jimut Bahan Sen
Maulavi Shaikh Muhammad Husain
Babu Nageshvar Bux Ray
Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray
Babu Krishna Ballabh Sahay
Thakurai Brahmeshvar Dayal Singh
Babu Bakshi Jagdam Prashad Lal
,, Nilkantha Chattarji
Dulu Manki. Mr. Sri Narayan Sahay
P. Kennedy. E. C. Dunby
J. H. Jennaway
Babu Narendra Nath Mukharji

NOMINATED NON-OFFICIALS :

Raja Bahadur Harihar Prashad Narayan Singh.
Khan Bahadur Nawabzada Saiyid Ashraf-ud-din Ahmad.
Babu Devaki Nandan Prashad Singh
Rai Bahadur Jyotish Chandra Bhattacharji
F. E. L. Morrison
Rev. Emanuel Sukhh
Babu Bishwa Nath Kar
Rev. E. H. Whitley
,, Prittam Luther Singh. Lala Baij Nath
Dhanjishah Meherjibhai Madan
Rev. S. K. Tarafdar
Sd. Sultan Ahmad

Chief Events

25	Jan	24	Council opened by H. E. the Governor.
12	Feb	24	Non-Official Resolutions. Resol. to publish Council Proceedings in vernacular passed.
13	Feb	24	Resolution on separation of Judicial & Executive Functions passed.
14	Feb	24	Supplementary Demands presented.
15	Feb	24	BUDGET PRESENTED.
18	Feb	24	Kumar Sinha's Resolution to devise measures for the prevention of floods passed.
19	Feb	24	Mr. Chatterjea's Resolution for the introduction of Charka in Schools passed.
22	Feb	24	Budget discussion—Mr. M. S. Das very strongly criticised the position of Ministers.
5	Mar	24	Mr. Chatterjea's motion for the release of all political prisoners passed——Mr. Mandal's motion to amend the Court Fees Act VII of 1870 defeated.
6	Mar	24	Voting on Budget grants—Demand under Land Revenue granted after reduction.
10	Mar	24	Demand under Excise granted in face of strong non-official opposition.
11	Mar	24	Demands under Stamp, Forest and Registration granted.
12	Mar	24	Demand under Irrigation granted.
13	Mar	24	Demand under General Administration granted after reduction —Demands under Justice and Jails & Convicts' Settlements granted.
17	Mar	24	Demands under Police and Several Minor heads granted
18	Mar	24	Govt. Statement regarding its Excise Policy—Budget demands granted—COUNCIL PROROGUED

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them with money if need be, but leave the control in the hands of local bodies. The motion was in the end defeated.

Religious Instruction.

Sardar Gurbaksh Singh moved that the grant be reduced by Re. 1 with respect to the item of Rs. 14,78,1000—Total Government Secondary Schools—Voted. He pointed out that his motion was not a vote of censure, but he wanted to draw attention to two grievances. The first was that sufficient care was not exercised in the selection of staff of Government schools: and the second was lack of provision for religious education in such schools. The Hon'ble Minister agreed with the views of the mover as far as the question of principles was concerned, but said that the practical difficulties could not be ignored.

The motion was by leave withdrawn.

Grant-in-Aid.

Sardar Gurbaksh Singh next moved that the grant be reduced by Re. 1 with respect to the item of Rs. 11,85,700—Total Direct Grants to Non-Government Secondary schools. He made a lengthy speech in support of his motion, and pointed out that it was not his intention to bring forward a vote of censure against the department. He simply wanted to point out that the policy which was going to be inaugurated in connection with the giving of grants-in-aid to private schools would be most prejudicial to the educational interests of the province. It was the recognised principle of education in all civilised countries that as far as possible education should be in the hands of non-official agencies. He drew their attention to the Circular of Nov. 6th, 1923, and about it he did not say that it had a hidden sinister object, but he strongly regretted the educational policy of the Minister who was sure some day to realise the impropriety of his actions. The Minister should not concern himself with communal education but the education of the whole province.

The motion on being put to vote was lost.

Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 1,300 with respect to the item of Rs. 1,300—Travelling Allowance of non-official members of Educational Conference.

He said he did not wish to press his motion, because the House was charged with communal electricity and it was not his desire to promote communal considerations. He begged for leave of the house to withdraw the motion which was done.

The total demand for Rs. 1,06,305 was then put to the House and carried.

Medical Department.

The same Minister next moved for the Medical grant of Rs. 35,55,000.

Captain Dhan Raj Bhasin moved that the grant be reduced by Rs. 950 with respect to the item Travelling Allowance. The motion was pressed to a division and lost by 22 votes to 36.

After some further discussion on Travelling allowance which was not reduced by 25% uniformly, as in other budget heads, the Council adjourned till the 20th.

On 20th MARCH the discussion on the budget grants was concluded. The Minister for Education agreeing to fall into line with the other departments, the items of travelling allowances in the demand relating to the Medical and Public Health departments were reduced by 25 per cent. All other motions for reduction were either not moved or withdrawn or rejected.

The demands under the Heads, Agriculture, Industries, Miscellaneous departments, Civil Works (reserved) and Civil Works (transferred) were carried *in toto*. The guillotine was then applied and the remaining ten demands were put from the Chair and carried without discussion. The Council then adjourned to Monday the 24th.

On 24th MARCH the Council met for the last day of the session. Mr. Miles IRVING moved the following resolution :—

This Council recommends to the Government that a loan not exceeding Rs. 50 lakhs at a rate of interest not less than that paid by the Punjab Government on its borrowings be made to the Bahawalpur Durbar for construction of the Durbar's portion of the Sutlej Valley Project, and that the Punjab Government should, if necessary, raise the sum required by means of increasing the Punjab Loan for 1924 from 1½ crores to 2 crores.

After a short debate the motion was put to the vote and carried.

Sardar MAJITHIA next moved that a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 50,000 be granted to the Governor in Council to defray the charges that will come in course of payment of the Commission appointed to dispose of election petitions.

The motion was carried after a slight discussion.

The President then read out the order of H. E. the Governor proroguing the Council.

The Council was accordingly prorogued to a date to be announced later.

Bombay Legislative Council

BUDGET SESSION 1924

His Excellency the Governor opened the Council on February 18th at 5 p.m. The Council met for the first time at 2 p.m. Above hundred members were present and were sworn in. The interval of time when member after member was being called to take oath, to shake hands with the President, then to sign the roll, saw members talking to each other, making acquaintances with unfamiliar ones and the Government members were trying to know what the Swarajyists proposed to do. The Hon. Mr. Hayward seated himself for a few minutes close to Mr. Jaykar, the Swarajist leader. Mr. Chatfield held a consultation with a Swarajyist member from Ahmedabad to know whether they would give up their obstruction if Government met them half-way. Every member wore the dress peculiar to his community and the head-gear varied with every head; the Swarajyists were clad in Khaddar in the simplest manner. Exactly at 5 p. m. entered in full state His Excellency the Governor and inaugurated the Council with a short speech. Within fifteen minutes the function was over and the Governor departed as suddenly and dramatically as he entered the Hall. All members expected that some reference would be made to Mahatma Gandhi's release and that some bold policy would be outlined. The last portion of the speech in which the Governor promised to give sympathy and consideration for every proposal made by a majority with the full support of the electorate was appreciated by all.

The House then proceeded to the day's business. Mr. Pahaljani was elected Deputy-President and the President nominated the panel of Chairmen: Messrs. Lalji Narayanji, Dadachanji, Rafiuddin Ahmed and Clayton. With the consent of the honourable members the appointment of the Finance Committee was postponed in accordance with Mr. J. K. Mehta's suggestion to do so, in view of the settlement of Swarajyists' policy towards the budget. For the Deputy-Presidentship, there were at first four candidates: Messrs. Pahaljani, Dadachanji, Pathan and Surve of Bombay. On the first ballot, Mr. Surve got one vote and the name was dropped. Mr. Pathan too withdrew. And the contest remained between Messrs. Pahaljani and Dadachanji. Tense excitement was created by the keen competition. The Swarajyists and Independents supported the former and Government and even some non-Brahmins backed the latter. Yet Mr. Pahaljani was elected with fifty-nine votes and the pro-Government candidate was thrown over. Had the Swarajyists nominated their candidate they could have got him elected. But they decided not to put up a candidate and hence they supported Mr. Pahaljani.

On FEBRUARY 19th the Council met to hear the Financial Statement and the Budget was presented. Exactly at 1 P.M. the Council began and the first hour was taken up by questions and answers. Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, Mr. R. G. Soman, Mr. P. G. Joshi, Mr. S. S. Deo, Mr. Dadubhai Desai, Mr. G. Pradhan took prominent part.

The Budget was then presented Its main characteristic was.—

Reserve balance at the close of 1922-23, Rs. 402 lakhs; anticipated balance for 1923-24, Rs. 25 lakhs; and a closing balance of Rs. 427 lakhs; and the Budget for 1924-25 showing a closing balance of Rs. 438 lakhs. Of this sum 1,23 lakhs represented

Famine Insurance Funds ; 79 lakhs for payment of Provincial loan to Govt. of India, and the balance 236 lakhs was the working balance of the Presidency.

In giving a brief survey of the Revenue and Expenditure of the current year, the Finance member said :—

We had budgetted for the high figure of 575 lakhs LAND REVENUE, in addition to 47 lakhs under irrigation, a total of 622 lakhs. We now anticipate that we shall receive 499 lakhs plus 62 lakhs for irrigation or a total decrease of 61 lakhs. In our budgetted receipts of 575 lakhs, we made provision for collection of arrears of 76 lakhs out of total outstanding arrear of 102 lakhs. In the revised estimated receipts of 499 lakhs, we anticipate collection of arrears of 51 lakhs out of a total of 120 lakhs. We shall unfortunately remit 23-half lakhs out of arrears and 11-half lakhs out of the current demand of 4,64 lakhs for 1923-24, suspend 45-half lakhs out of arrears and 29 lakhs out of the current demand, and carry over to next year's account arears of 92 lakhs consisting of 75 lakhs suspensions and 17 lakhs other arrears.

Our STAMP REVENUE has again failed to come up to our expectations. We hoped to have 1,19 lakhs, and we now anticipate 1,80 lakhs. Of this revenue, approximately one-third is due to the increase in rates which was sanctioned by this House two years ago. Those increased rates have been levied and have aroused no protest or agitation in any quarter. The question of the renewal of the period of validity of the increased rates in regard to court fees will be placed before this House in this session.

EXCISE.—Since 1920-21 the consumption of country spirit has fallen by over 32 per cent from 28 lakhs of gallons in that year to 19 lakhs in 1922-23. In 1913-14 we levied a revenue on country spirit of Rs. 1,60 lakhs from 27 lakhs of proof gallon, an average of Rs. 6 per proof gallon. In 1922-23 we levied Rs. 2,92 lakhs from 19 lakhs of proof gallons, an average of Rs. 15 per gallon.

While these three heads represent some 12 crores, the balance of our revenue of 3 crores is obtained from minor resources.

Forests give us a gross revenue of 80 lakhs and a net surplus of some 30 lakhs.
Irrigation gives us a net product of some 59 lakhs.
Administration of Justice gives us 14 lakhs.
Rents of buildings and tolls on roads 15 lakhs.
Receipts in aid of Superannuation 13 lakhs.
Registration 13 lakhs.

These amount to nearly 2 crores ; and one crore is scattered about in small items.

The Hon. Mr. Cadell began reading the budget-speech of the Hon. Mr. Lawrence. It took full one hour and the general impression was that it was more a platform oration than an analysis of the budget. Mr. Hayward then moved the first bill of 1924 regarding greater protection and custody of children. Mr. Nur Muhamad opposing the consideration it was adjourned to the next official business-day after the budget. The Council then rose at 4 P.M. for the Garden Party held by the Governor for the new members. The Swarajyists in a body boycotted the function and so did even some Independents like Messrs. Pahaljani, Deo, Kirkee, and G. B. Pradhan.

One notable resolution, however, was passed on the day with regard to congratulations to the Labour Government moved by Mr. R. G. Pradhan which ran as follows :—

"That the Honourable the President of this Council be requested to communicate, on behalf of the Council, to the Right Honourable Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister, and Leader of the British Labour Party, a message of congratulations upon his own appointment to the highest office under the Crown and upon the accession for the first time of Labour Party to office."

Two amendments were proposed but ultimately withdrawn. Messrs. Jaykar, Hayward, Bole, Kambli, Dongarsing, and other members associated themselves on behalf of the groups they represented with the congratulatory resolution. It was passed unanimously.

On FEBRUARY 20th. the general discussion of the budget was undertaken. Nationalist members dissected the budget, the Development Department and the Sukkar Barrage, to tatters in the cruelest manner. Mr. Lalji Narayanji of the Merchants' Chamber went on for the first fifty minutes and criticised the budget in his pleasant way. The President had to cut his speech short owing to time and hence his criticism was mutilated. Mr. Dadubhai Desai used a butcher's knife on the budget and when he remarked that 'our Finance Member was too, too competent' he held the House spell-bound. Then rose Mr. J. K. Mehta, Deputy leader of the Swarajya Party, and with him mounted the temper of the House. He told the House that the budget bore upon it the stamp of having come out of a machine, that it was anything but a commercial balance-sheet, that the Swarajyists were there to mend or end the Reforms, and that they were going to throw the responsibility of non-co-operation on the Government by first extending the hand of co-operation. He quoted figures from Prof. Shah's book to prove that India was the poorest country in the world and that its administration was the costliest of all. As to Excise, he warned the Government that the Party to which he belonged were a party pledged to civil disobedience. He condemned the Development department and the Sukkar barrage as fraudulent speculative enterprises.

Mr. R. G. Pradhan of Nasik, too, cut the budget to pieces in his placid, ringing manner. How far does it promote the moral and material progress of the people? From that view point, he said that the budget was unsatisfactory, was not a people's budget, was at best a rich man's budget or a bureaucratic budget. Mr. Surve (Bombay) looked at the budget from the workman's eyes and had some strong words to say about the excise policy and the labourer's housing policy. Mr. G. B. Pradhan maintained that the budget was based on prodigality, while Mr. Govardhandas Patel held that the budget speech was so extravagantly hopeful that for him it read like the poetry of Shelley or Byron. "The cheapest and the most efficient government," this was the text of Mr. Nariman's speech and in his inimitably humorous and forceful manner he held up the 'gambling schemes' of the Government, as he called them, to severe ridicule. Mr. V. R. Kothari, always yearning for nation-building departments, said that they were witnessing the 'progressive realization' of the starvation of these departments. He observed that Government had 'cheated those sweet co-operators' of the last three years. When the education department was in the hands of the Hon. the President of the Council, he said, at least 1000 new school were opened and in the regime of the last Education Minister nothing had been accomplished. What was done in the so-called new era? Where is the report of the Technical Education Committee?

Prof. Swami Narayan made an angry speech and exclaimed that the financial situation of the presidency was exactly similar to that of France before the French Revolution. Mr. S. S. Deo had a strain of piety and extraordinary sincerity to his short speech. He laid stress on technical education and held that financial stringency was always reserved for the education department alone. He exposed how the Director of Information was concealed in the 'miscellaneous expenditure' of the Governor's household and showed how the officer was spreading mischievous information about

India among the Indian people. Mr. Bhopatkar said that the budget took no care of the villages which supplied the largest share of revenue. He instanced cases of Mulshi Peta and Bhatgar schemes to prove how the agriculturists were sacrificed to the luxury of the wealthy. An experiment should be made in a district for prohibition. The Council then adjourned.

On FEBRUARY 21 the fierce cut and thrust against Govt. was renewed by Mr. A. M. Mansuri of Ahmedabad. He looked at the budget from the point of view of spread of Mahomedan education and of Government's Excise policy. Mr. Durgadas Adwani, Swarajyist from Karachi City, succeeded him. In a masterly speech he said that the 'greatest good to the greatest number' should be the end of every budget and that was exactly where it failed. Sir Lawless Hepper then rose to defend the schemes of the Development Department.

Then some four or five non-Brahmin members took part. Mr. Dongarsing Patil, Mr. Kambli of Dharwar, Mr. Navale of Ahmednagar, Mr. Dalvi of Belgaum, Mr. Shinde of Nasik had had their say against the budget. They criticised the budget as disappointing, they pleaded for permanent land revenue settlement, they demanded prohibition, they fervently appealed for the progress of the masses. But when they came to touch education, they quieted down their high tone and spoke falteringly, fearing to offend their Minister.

Mr. C. M. Saptarshi of Ahmednagar with his smashing sledge-hammer oratory pointed out that the separation of the Executive and the Judicial functions was not carried out although two years have passed since the resolution of Mr. Chitale was accepted by the House. He maintained that the Government as a whole must first be nationalised. He suggested that in the Sukkar barrage some imperial hidden motive was working. Mr. P. G. Joshi exposed the bluff and bluster of the Finance member and Mr. Shivadasani made a strong case for cutting down the recurring expenditure of Government. The Hon. M. Dehlavi, Minister of Excise and forest, spoke last.

On FEBRUARY 22nd Dr. Welkar took up the threads of the budget discussion. The Hon. Mr. Hidayatullah, Minister for local Self-Government, in vain tried to prove that the nation-building departments were not starved. Mr. Kirkee of Kanara district, angry with the Government for the notorious forest grievances of his district, fired off against the Ministers for Excise and Forest, quoting Government themselves to explode the theory of the Forest department being a commercial department. He detailed all the grievances of agriculturists against the rigidity of the Forest department and closed his speech amidst the applause of all nationalist members. The Hon. Mr. Jadhav, the Minister for Education, uttered some platitudes about the present state of affairs in education ; he exhibited Government's concern to place education on a democratic basis and also maintained that the greatest need of the labourers and agriculturists was education.

Mr. Mukadam demolished the Government's 'tall talk of peace, justice and protection of the poor.' The Hon. Mr. Cawasji Jehangir attemped to justify the Development scheme. When the Hon. the President called upon the leader of the Swarajya Party, Mr. Jaykar, to speak the House at once became quiet. He said :

The time allowed to study the budget which was supplied to members only a week in advance was insufficient, and so too the time allowed for discussing it. Referring to the budget proper, he expressed his despair that out of 16 crores of total expenditure, the people through their representatives had a voice only in four crores. While it was possible for Government to dispose of in what way they liked 75 per cent. of the Presidency's money, the people's representatives should make constructive suggestions only as regards 25 per cent. That was a state of affairs to which nobody who valued his time and work would reconcile himself, even though it were a transitional period. He was aware that permanent Services should be rendered secure, no responsible member of the body to which he belonged would object to it. But the system under which 75 per cent. could be disposed of without being controlled by the people required overhauling. He illustrated the position with an analogy from domestic life where out of Rs. 500 income the wife was asked to spend Rs. 100 on household expenses, including the education of a dozen children etc., etc., and the husband was to retain for himself Rs. 400 for his hair oil and boot polish and similar necessities of life! He next referred to the development schemes and questioning the optimism of the Finance Member as to their cost and return, opined that such expensive schemes as the Back Bay reclamation had better be dropped. As for the money already spent he suggested that the land enclosed within the sea wall may be used for building houses not above the sea-level. He agreed with the theory of British Trusteeship but urged that their commitments should not go beyond a definite period, and as Sir M. Hayward, who was an ex-Judge would tell them, a trustee could not make commitments on behalf of the minor beyond 21 years.

And so on. Mr. Rafiuddin Ahmed preached a homily to the Swarajyists to take up responsibility themselves! The Hon. Mr. Cadell, Finance Member, then replied to the criticisms, and the general discussion of the budget was over after three long days.

On FEBRUARY 23 the Finance Committee was proposed to be elected. The Swarajyists and some of the Independents, including Messrs. Bhopatkar, Kothari, Dadubhai Desai, Deo and Lalji Narayanji, held that the powers of the Committee were nil and that, if it were made useful, it would serve its purpose. But when ultimately it came to actual elections the Swarajyists themselves did not stand but supported twelve Independent candidates on behalf of the Party.

The adjournment of the Hon. Mr. Hayward's bill to make further provision for the custody and protection of children had already been moved by Mr. Nur Mahomed on the.....Feb. and now the House took up that motion. Either on religious grounds or on the ground of the arbitrary powers sought to be vested in the Police, the bill was opposed by Messrs. Deo, Adwani, Nariman and the adjournment supported, but there was an equal opposition, 47 on each side, so that at last with the casting vote of the Hon. President the motion for postponement was carried. The Bill to amend the Court Fees moved by Hon. Mr. Cadell suffered the same fate. Member after member rose and protested on behalf of the ryots against the increase of the Court Fees and the Stamp duties. The division showed 35 votes for the bill and 57 against it.

On FEBRUARY 25 the Hon. Mr. Mehta brought forward his bill further to amend the Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879. Messrs. Dadubhai Desai, G. B. Pradhan, Adwani, C. M. Saptarshi, Kirkee, Deo, Gunjal, Surve (Ratnagiri), Pahaljani and Sivadasani led the opposition to the bill on the ground that it enunciated new fundamental principles which must be before the public for their opinion and criticism. Non-Brahmins headed by the Hon. Mr. Jadav supported the Government. So also some of the Mahomedan members. Thus, the first reading was passed and the bill referred to a Select Committee. The Swarajyists abstained from voting on this bill and also on the two bills which were proposed afterwards, viz., the bill further to amend the Karachi Port Trust Act, 1886 and the bill further to amend the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901.

The Hon. Mr. C. Jehangir moved the first which was intended to secure adequate representation of Indian commercial interests on the Board of Trustees for the Port of Karachi; four seats were thus proposed for Indians. The motion was put and carried and the Bill referred to a select committee.

The second bill sought first to remove sex-disqualification in Municipal francise, and secondly to provide for the election of a president. The motion was carried and the bill referred to a select committee.

Budget Demands.

On FEBRUARY 26th discussion of the budget demands for grants was begun. The head land revenue was first taken up. The Hon. Mr. Mehta moved for the grant of the combind demand of Rs. 6,38,600 under Land Revenue, Stamp, Scheduled Taxes, etc. In all there were 37 motions to reduce or omit budget grants for the department, but most of them being repeated cancelled one another. Most of the remaining were either withdrawn or rejected. Some life was put into the discussion when motions for reductions of the total demand was moved by Mr. Sivadasani. The first day of the demand for grants ended without the reduction of a single pie, excepting ofcourse the eighteen lakhs of the increased Court Fees. On the Court Fees Amendment bill the non-Brahmins voted with the Swarajyists against Government. But when Government marked the fact, the Hon. Mr. Jadhav held a meeting of his party and brought the members round. Govt. organised a separate party of their own, of the officials, the non-Brahmans and other elected or nominated European and Indian members.

FEBRUARY 27th. opened more auspiciously for the people's representatives. On this day the Nationalists made a cut of above Rs. 50,000/- in the Excise department in the pay of Supervisors, Inspectors and Deputy Commissioners. The Government did its best to avert the catastrophe. Much interest was created in the debate when the item for the omission of the steamer 'Jhelum' and the flat Multan was taken up. The Government benches moved heaven and earth to prove that it was a necessity in the interests of efficient administration, and the Nationalists exposed it as a luxury of the Sind Commissioner, as a jolly boat for joy-riding. Much laughter was created when in the course of the discussion, the ready-witted Mr. Nariman condemned the 'Jhelum' as an antiquated thing and recommended an aeroplane for the Commissioner ! The motion was, however, in the end thrown out.

The Hon. Mr. Dehlavi then moved that the combined demand of Rs. 10,318,000 under heads Excise, Forests, Registration and Agriculture be granted. After several minor cuts Mr. P. G. Joshi proposed his cut of a lakh of rupees from the provision for 114 chief inspectors. In the course of the discussion the Hon. Member for Excise pleaded for confidence being placed in him. The motion, however, was rejected. Mr. Bhopatkar brought forward his motion of effecting a cut of fourteen lakhs in the total demand for Excise. The mover pointedly replied to the debate and laid stress on the 'dehumanizing' policy of the Government in Excise affairs. Next day, when discussion was at this stage, a point of order was raised and the debate got immovably stuck, so that the President had to adjourn the House full one hour.

On FEBRUARY 29th. the house met in a very expectant mood to hear the decision of the previous day's question. The difficulty was got over by allowing the Hon. Member for Excise to amend his demand from Rs. 10,318,000 lakhs to Rs. 10,466,000. He agreed to make a cut of three lakhs in his four departments, if no further cuts were effected by the Council. The House agreed to withdraw all motions, but there were 160 motions and all of them could not be allowed to be withdrawn all at once. The President had to ask permission of the House for the mover to withdraw. The sing-song of 'No, Sir' and 'Yes, Sir' went on for sometime like a roll call in a class-room.

Adjournment for Lord Olivier's Statement

After question time Mr. Lalji Narayanji drew the attention of the House to some statements made by Lord Olivier in his speech on the 26th Feb. in the Lords which were deliberately insulting to the House. People suspected some wrong information to have been given by the Government to the Secretary of State. Mr. Hayward made it clear that no telegram of the sort was sent by the Government of Bombay. The President said that he would allow a motion for adjournment, if due notice were given.

After this Mr. P. G. Joshi moved his motion for the reduction of nine lakhs of rupees from the total demand for forests which stood at the figure of Rs. 44,61,000. Mr. Dadubhai Desai supported and Mr. Mountford endeavoured to explain Government's case. The Hon.

Mr. Jadhav, Prof. Swami Narayan, Mr. Gunjal and others also spoke on the motion. Mr. Kothari proved with facts and figures that to spend above 30 lakhs on Forests did not bring proportionate return and fully justified the big cut of 9 lakhs. Messrs. Movlankar and Surve of Ratnagiri made short pointed speeches. The motion was in the end rejected.

On Saturday the 1st MARCH the motion of adjournment notice of which was given on Friday came up for discussion. The Press and the visitors' gallery was full. No more reductions were proposed in the departments of the Hon. Mr. Dehalavi and the House then took up the department of Education. The Education Minister at once consented to cuts being made: one Rs. 3,000/ in connection with the Assistant Professorship of the Gujerath college and the other of Rs. 10,000/ in connection with the examination fees to be given to examiners in the Vernacular Final Examination. The third motion for reduction created some warmth in the debate as the item referred to Europeans and was in charge of the Home Member. Rs. 33,000/ were put in as a recurring expenditure for Provident fund for European teachers in aided European schools. This was an issue on which even a few non-Brahmins and Mahomedans joined. Messrs. A. Patel, G. B. Pradhan, Shivadasani, Dalvi, Pahaljani, Nariman participated in the debate. The motion for reduction was carried to a division and it was passed with 48 against 35 votes. The Hon. Mr. Hayward was in a rage and said that it was after all a reserved subject and the House had no rights there.

After the recess, the motion of adjournment was brought forward by Mr. Lalji Narayanji. He said that the reflections made by Lord Olivier in his speech in the House of Lords on the question of India about the obstructive tactics in the Bombay Council were utterly wrong and mischievous. Messrs. R. G. Pradhan, G. I. Patel, Shivadasani, Nur Mahomed, Pahaljani, Mansuri and many others condemned Lord Olivier's speech. Mr. Jaykar explained the policy of his Party in clear and emphatic words and maintained that it was as framed at Coconada and elsewhere and that, if it was now moderated a little, it was due to the minority in which the Swarajists were in the Bombay Council. The speech produced a marvellous effect on the House. The Hon. Messrs. Hayward, and Cowasji Jehangir attempted to explain away the sentences of Lord Olivier, but their commentary was useless and ultimately the adjournment was passed. The motion had a stunning effect on the Council, as the Bombay Council was the first to have accepted the motion which amounted to all intents and purposes to a vote of censure on the Secretary of State for India. The Government remained indifferent in voting perhaps because the Labour Secretary of State was condemned and not the Bombay Government! Mr. Hayward protested that the cablegram was not sent by the Bombay Government but people believed that a responsible officer like Lord Olivier could not have based his allegations on information supplied by irresponsible, unauthoritative persons.

On MARCH 4th the combined demand on Education, Scientific, Medical, Public Health and Industries, for Rs. 2,46,31,000 was moved by the Hon. Mr. Jadhav. Mr. Kothari's motion for the reduction of one rupee in the educational budget was meant as a vote of censure on the eductional policy of the Government. He said if sufficient and

satisfying assurances were coming from the Minister, he was prepared to withdraw it. To tickle the non-Brahmins all Government members insisted that the motion was nothing if not a condemnation of the Minister of Education because he was a non-brahmin. The Mahomedan joined the Nationalists and even Messrs. Rafiuddin Ahmed, Nur Mahomed had hard words to say against the educational policy, especially with respect to Mahomedan education. Mr. R. G. Pradhan, Mr. Bhopatkar, Mr. Shivadasani, Mr. Pahaljani, Mr. Dadubhai Desai rose to criticise the policy of the Government. Mr. Jaykar exposed Government's policy in connection with the appointment of an Australian to the principalship of the Elphinstone High School, the reform of the University Senate, text-books in primary schools and so on. In the end however the motion was rejected by 39 against 44 votes.

On MARCH 5th no substantial cut was made in the budget-demands for education and public health and medical departments except that of about Rs. 17,000 which the Minister readily accepted. But the discussion was more interesting than the decisions in the House. On all items which went up to division, the Non-Brahmins and the Mahomedans voted consistently in favour of Government, whether it be an additional grant to a European Hospital at Aden or what not. Divisions were taken twice and the strength of both the parties was unchanged. In the first the result was 35 and 46, and in the second 34 and 49. Govt. found that the thirty-five votes of the Nationalists could never be divided. Passages-at-arms between Govt. benches and the opposition began even from the beginning when questions were answered. The Government members were heckled about the Bhatghar dam, the European Head-Master of Elphinstone High School and other points. Messrs Deo, Swami Narayan, Joshi, Jaykar, Nariman all took part in the questions and supplementary questions.

Towards the close of the day the grant for Empire Exhibition of Rs. 43,000 was opposed by Mr. J. K Mehta in a forcible speech. The question of Indians in Kenya and the exploitation of India by the Empire were the two grounds on which he requested the House to overthrow the demand. Messrs. Lalji Narayanji, Dadubhai Desai strongly supported the motion, saying that even a Moderate like Sir Chimanlal Setalwad had condemned the Kenya decision and India's participation in the Exhibition.

On MARCH 6th the Empire Exhibition was again brought into discussion and the Nationalist had had a great triumph when they succeeded in overthrowing it. Prof. Swami Narayan, Messrs. Saptarshi, Sivadasani and others expressed the people's view on the Exhibition. Mr. Grantham spoke about the commercial advantages of the Exhibition but Mr. Jaykar completely exploded the plea and maintained in a forcible speech that the whole Empire was based on sham sentiment. The Hon. Mr. Hayward thought that the Council should not strike at the paltry sum, but Mr. Rafiuddin Ahmed promptly retorted: "why should Government then press for the paltry sum ?" The mover Mr. J. K. Mehta suitably replied and the motion was passed with 46 against 42 votes.

Next the motion to omit the total demand for the Industries department was moved by Mr. Lalji Narayanji. Mr. Hayward rose to a point of order and said that if a certain item was non-voted, others connected with it and subsidiary to it must also be so. The President set aside

a similar ruling of the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and boldly and clearly explained that that would have been right in a constitution in which full responsible government was working; but he opined that India was passing through a transitional stage in which the responsibility of the Government on the one hand, and that of the Council on the other, must flow in a conjoint manner; it was for the Government to justify any non-voted post they had created before the Council by coming to the House for all the establishment charges related to the non-voted post. After the ruling the omission was discussed and Messrs. Deo, Kothari and others spoke, quoting the opinions of Mr. Jadhav and Dr. Paranjpye in connection with the abolition of the Department of Industries. The Hon. Mr. Jadhav promised to abolish the post of the Director of Industries and also to make a cut of Rs. 23,000/ in the department. The total demand for the five Departments in Hon. Mr. Jadhav's charge of Rs. 2,42,91 thousand, after the total reduction of Rs. 3,40 thousand made both by the Council and by Government of their own accord, was again proposed for the vote of the Council. Messrs. Pahaljani, Jaykar and even some non-Brahmins insisted that not a pie should be cut in the Education department. However, the demand *en bloc* was granted with 61 against 23 votes. The departments in charge of the Hon. Mr. Hayward were then taken up by the Council. The total demand was for Rs. 2,65,63,000, "Justice—Jails and Police." The Hon. Mr. Hayward demanded a grant for the establishment of an additional High Court Judge. Mr. R. G. Pradhan opposed the demand, but the non-Brahmin vote turned the balance in Government's favour and the motion to omit the item was lost.

MARCH 7th was distinguished by a large number of cuts in the demands for the administration of Justice. Four District Courts were sought to be established in the districts of Kaira, Nababshah, Kolaba and East Khandesh. The first was strongly opposed by Prof. Swami Narayan, Messrs, Mukadam, Nanal and others and despite strong Govt pressure, the motion of Prof. Swami Narayan to drop the court was carried by 44 to 34 votes. This signal and unexpected defeat put up the back of the Home Member and he forthwith withdrew the other three proposals also. More than one lakh and twenty-five thousand rupees were thus saved. A few motions for reduction or omission amounting to about Rs. 10,000/ were accepted by Government in connection with Registrars to District courts and appointment of a Resident Magistrate in Sind. The Nationalist Party had proposed many more cuts and had they been carried an enormous reduction would have been made by the Council, but after the first division resulting in Government's defeat, the Hon. Mr. Jadhav used his influence to bring back the non-Brahmin votes to the side of Govt.

Two more incidents require notice. Mr. Nariman asked for leave to introduce a motion of adjournment to consider a matter of urgent public importance, viz., the conduct of certain officials in canvassing votes. Mr. Hayward took objection to leave being granted and thirty members not being prepared to do so, leave was declared not granted. Non-Brahmins sided with the Govt. and opposed the Nationalists. The second was the firing on the mill-strikers of Bombay on that day.

On MARCH 8th Mr. G. B. Pradhan proposed his motion to reduce

by three lakhs the total demand for Jails and Convict Settlements. Interesting speeches were delivered by Messrs. Shivadasani, Mavlankar, Gunjal, Swami Narayan and the treatment of political prisoners was severely criticised. In the division it was lost by 29 against 45 votes. Three big cuts amounting to more than one lakh concerning demands for conveyance allowance to Deputy Superintendents of Police and for special Mounted Police were successfully effected by the Nationalist Party, twice by clear majority and once by the casting vote of the President. One more cut of Rs. 11,000/ in connection with the provision of special Primary Schools for the children of Police was accepted by Govt. Still another cut of half a lakh from the lakh of rupees provided for additional police in Borsad Taluka was accepted by the Government. Mr. Shivadasani proposed that the whole item of detective police on railways should be omitted and an excellent case was made out by the mover, Messrs Jaykar, Pahaljani, Soman and others, but the non-Brahmins voted with Government and turned the scale against the nationalists.

On Monday the 10th MARCH Mr. Nariman's motion for reduction of the demand for 44 European Sergeants was first taken up. He complained that whereas educated and graduate Indian Sub-Inspectors started on Rs. 125/-, the European Sergeants who are uneducated and recruited from discharged army-men started on Rs. 200/- and quickly rose to Inspectors and higher posts. Mr. Kothari then put forth his proposal to reduce by thirty lakhs the total demand of the Police Department. Messrs. Kothari, Nariman, Dadubhai Desai, G. I. Patel strongly condemned the policy of Government. But in the end the proposal was lost.

The total demand under the heads Administration of Justice, Jails and Police minus the cuts, was then put and carried by a majority.

The Hon. Mr. C. Jehangir then presented the demand for Bombay Development Schemes for Rs. 2,54,69,000. Mr. Lalji Narayanji moved for a reduction of the whole demand by 2 crores.

For two hours the debate went on. Mr. Lalji tore the mask over the schemes of reclamation, housing etc. and criticised in a masterful manner the policy of Government. Prof. Swami Narayan, in his forceful way, condemned the Development policy; Mr. Jaykar suggested practical ways to stop this huge but useless expenditure; Messrs. Dadubhai Desai and G. I. Patel too added their voices to the chorus of condemnation and Mr. Nariman in his wonted humorous and pointed speech ridiculed the policy of the Government. Mr. Pahaljani was sedately harsh on the Development schemes. Sir Lawless Hepper, the Director of Development, took the Council through a volume of figures of expenditure which few could understand. He then imputed motives of 'vested interest' to the opposers which were highly resented, Mr. Nariman throwing back the retort that it was the "vested interest of fat salary" that prompted Sir Lawless to support the scheme. Mr Lalji Narayanji—

in reply to the debate, referred to the remarks of the Director of Development and said his (the latter's) attack was that of a man who had a weak case. But the member for Indian Merchants' Chamber did not want to shirk the responsibility. It was not a charge against him alone, but also against the constituency that he represented, the Indian Merchants' Chamber. That Chamber had done a public duty in opposing the scheme when the idea of it was conceived. The late Governor had made a public speech in which he said he would constitute an Advisory Committee

to assist the Development Department, but the Advisory Committee attended held but a few or no meetings. It was not fair to say that the Chamber's opposition was belated. He repudiated the charge that there were any vested interests behind his opposition. The Director of Development had not acquainted himself with the whole history of the company he had alluded to. The speaker had no interest whatever in it. The whole money was from England, the conception of it was in England. It had been conceived by an ex-member of the Government of Bombay, and now that a direct attack was made upon the speaker, he might as well give his name Sir Claude Hill. That ex-member had sent a recommendatory letter to him, but he had not put a single farthing in that concern. It was a serious matter as an officer of the Government had come forward and attacked a member of the House without adequate information. He was prepared to stand before the House if the House would try him. It was only because he happened to be a friend of Sir Claude Hill that at his request he (the speaker) consented to join the Board without any financial interest. He referred to the suburban scheme and strongly depreciated the Government's acquisition of land in competition with private agency. Government was no commercial body, and they were not justified in undertaking any commercial enterprise.

It was asked that if a private agency could succeed, why not the Government? Let the new Governor make an enquiry into the whole subject and find out whether with the salaries now paid to officers and with the present level of establishment charges they could expect to make profit. Let the Director or any Officer of the department prove whether the scheme was now a commercial proposition. Even the Associated Chamber of Commerce said that the Government should not compete with private agency. Was it fair for Government to take chance and risk the resource of the Presidency?

Finally Mr. L. Narainji contended that when there was the Public Works Department, there ought not to be a separate establishment for development works. He put in a strong plea for making over the Development Department to the Transferred half of the Government.

After the Development member had replied and offered a cut of Rs. 30 lakhs the amendment was put and defeated by 52 against 34.

Tuesday the 11th MARCH was the last day alloted to the discussion of the budget. After the Development demand was carried by a majority, the Hon. Mr. Jehangir presented the demand under Irrigation for Rs. 3,87,000 which was voted. The most remarkable achievement of the day was the omission of the provision of Rs. 10,000/ under the Director of Information. Like the Empire Exhibition this too was a point of honour with the Government as the Department was mischievous from the viewpoint of the people. Messrs. Deo, Kothari, Joshi and others proved the futility of the office; while the Govt. side attempted to defend the Director. But in the division the motion was carried by 44 to 42 votes. Mr. Hayward tried to have a second division, but the President ruled him out of order and the result was received with cheers on the popular side. It being past five in the evening, General Administration and other important departments went undiscussed and the total demands were granted simply with 'Ayes' or 'Noes' without any discussion. As a matter of fact General Administration is one of the departments where the pruning knife should have been applied. But as a policy it was kept the last in discussion.

On MARCH 12th the Council met to consider the supplementary estimates. At questiontime the Hon. Mr. Jadhav was severely heckled on the Sathe-Paranjpye scheme of pay to Primary teachers by Messrs. Patel, Jaykar, Joshi, Nariman, Mehta and others. Then leave was granted by the House to Mr. Addyman to move his motion of adjournment to

consider the situation arising out of the Mill-strike. A few non-controversial supplementary grants were made without discussion or division and at 4 the House proceeded to take up the adjournment motion. Mr. K. F. Nariman had also asked for leave to discuss the firing by the police upon the crowd and the situation created out of it and Mr. S. K. Bole (nominated) to discuss the serious strike situation. The application of Mr. Addyman being the first was put to the House. The Home Member formally objected suggesting that the leave and discussion be postponed pending the consideration of the report of the Enquiry Committee which had just been published. The House however gave permission. Mr. Wadia of the Bombay Mill-owners Association perhaps for the first time put in his appearance and explained the Mill-owners' position. Mr. Jaykar criticised the report of the Bonus Enquiry Committee and also proved how firing was uncalled for. Mr. Baptista opened his lips to make out a strong case for the labourers. Mr. Govardhandas Patel narrated his experience of the Ahmedabad strike. Mr. Bole who ought to have been the first in the field to move the motion stammered for a few minutes and started off with profuse thanks to H. E. the Governor for taking steps to end the strike without mentioning of course what definite steps he had taken. Two hours allowed by law for motion of adjournment were almost over; closure was demanded but not accepted by the President and finally the motion was talked out. The only effect was that the policy of the Govt. towards the strike, the firing on the previous Friday, were reviewed and the intention of the speakers was to a certain extent fulfilled.

MARCH 13th was a dry and dull day for the Council. Most of the supplementary grants were easily and without much discussion granted by the Council. Only the provision for part payment of a building grant to the Bishop's High School, Poona, of Rs, 50,030/- was successfully reduced to Rs. 25,000/-. Prof. Swami Narayan, Rafiuddin Ahmed, Nariman, Jaykar spoke against the grant. The Hon'ble Mr. Jadhav moved for Rs. 2·8 lakhs for the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute which was voted after Mr. Pahaljani's motion for a cut of 80,000 had been defeated. Then the Appropriation Report with the proceedings of the Public Accounts Committee for 1921-22 was laid before the Council. The occasion was well utilised by the Council, especially by Messrs. Lalji Narayanji, Pahaljani, Dadubhai Desai, Swami Narayan, Saptarshi to criticise the loan and the appropriation policy of the Council. Ultimately the report was adopted. The Hon. Mr. Hidayatullah then moved the first reading of the Bill to amend further the Bombay Town Planning Act 1915. Messrs. Deo, Choudhari, Jaykar opposed the first reading on the ground that the bill was altogether uncalled for. Thus, the first reading was rejected.

On MARCH 14th. the President read a message of thanks to the Council from the Secretary of the Prime Minister.

The Hon. Sir M. Hayward then moved the first reading of the Bill to amend the Bombay Public Conveyance Act giving greater powers of control to the police. The Bill was read a second and a third time and was passed.

The Hon. Mr. Hidayatullah moved the first reading of the bill to amend the Bombay Village Panchayat Act 1920, which was intended to

provide for the working of a panchayat during any vacancy therein. The bill was read a second and a third time and was passed.

This was a day of non-official resolutions and the House manifested an uncommon animation. Mr. Pahaljani then proposed his resolution about rescinding the orders passed by Government in connection with the fees and charges levied from indoor and out-door patients at dispensaries and hospitals, in a well-reasoned and convincing speech. Mr. Thomas, Secretary to Government, remarked that the fees were levied from an insignificant percentage of people, that no complaints against them were received from people, and that at any rate the medical department must be self-supporting. Mr. Govardhandas Patel of Ahmedabad, however, replied effectively citing from personal experience the harshness and the indifference of the medical authorities. Dr. Mehta of Surat narrated his experience; Mr. Rafiuddin Ahmed and Khan Saheb Mansuri opposed Government in the matter. After division the resolution was declared carried with 47 against 35 votes; all the non-Brahmans voting with the Nationalists.

The second resolution was about cancelling the three protected cotton divisions of Surat district and make it into one whole and was moved by Mr. Shivadasani. He pointed out that the division was unnatural, that it operated harshly on cultivators, the Cotton Committee had not recommended such a division, and that the vivisection conduced to the benefits of the mill-owners and Lancashire merchants. Mr. Dadubhai Desai supported him. In this too, the non-Brahmins co-operated with the Nationalists and a second time Government was defeated with 41 against 37 votes.

On MARCH 15th Mr. R. G. Pradhan moved:—

"This Council recommends to the Governor-in-Council that a mixed committee of officials and non-officials with a non-official majority be appointed to consider [the question of bringing the process of revising the land revenue assessments under closure regulation by statute, as recommended by the Joint Committee appointed to consider the Government of India Bill, 1919, and to report on the nature and form of the legislation that should be undertaken towards that end."

To this Mr. Dadubhai Desai proposed amendments, one to have an elected committee with non-official majority and the other to suspend land assessments. Mr. P. G. Joshi moved his rider to suspend new increased rates also. Mr. Saptarshi further suggested a time-limit of full one year for the Committee and Mr. Pahaljani combined all these scattered amendments into one big amendment. Almost the whole day was taken up by the discussion. Mr. R. G. Pradhan narrated the history of the land assessment. Hon. Mr. Mehta accepted the principle of Committee but pleaded not to force the other amendments. Ultimately Mr. Pahaljani's amendment was adopted by the House by 46 to 36 votes and it also was passed as the substantive proposition.

Mr. G. B. Pradhan then moved:—

"That this Council recommends to the Government that the scale of pay suggested by the Hon'ble Messrs. Sathe and Paranjpye for teachers in the primary schools in the report of the Committee appointed to advise Government in the matter of revision of their salaries, be brought into force immediately and that the teachers serving in the Island of Salsette, Kalyan and Bassein towns should get an allowance of 20 per cent. of their salaries owing to the dearness of living in those places.

At this stage the Council adjourned.

On MARCH 17th discussion was resumed on Mr. G. B. Pradhan's resolution moved on the 15th. about immediately bringing into

operation the Sathe-Paranjype scheme for Primary teachers and also about giving 20% local allowance to teachers in the island of Salsette and Kalayan and Bassein towns. Mr. Shivdasani proposed an amendment to omit the local allowance clause which Mr. G. B. Pradhan readily accepted, with the object of simplifying the issue to one clear-cut, definite point. Mr. Thomas made a bitter speech and paraded with effect long rows of figures and also brought forth the argument of supply and demand of teachers. Mr. Deo became angry with Mr. Thomas and challenged him to say whether he was prepared to apply the same principle to all other big officers of the Government. On behalf of the Nationalists Messrs Jaykar, Bhopatkar, Mavlankar, Swami Narayan and others made feeling appeals for the improvement of the lot of teachers. An amendment was proposed by Mr. A. N Surve with the object of shelving the question. It proposed to adjourn the consideration of the question and in the meantime to appoint a committee to consider the practicability etc. of the scheme. After the Hon. Mr. Jadhav had spoken against the motion, the amendment was passed by 42 to 40 votes and it was also accepted as the substantive proposition.

Mr. G. I. Patel then moved :—

"This Council recommends that adequate compensation be given to those persons or their relatives who have suffered injuries to life and property at the hands of dacoits within recent times in Borsad and Anand talukas."

Mr. H. D. Sahiba moved an amendment for the substitution of the words "the families of those informants" for "those persons (or their relatives)." The mover accepted the amendment.

The resolution as amended was carried.

Mr. V. R. Kothari next moved :—

This Council recommends to the Governor-in-Council that the revision survey settlement recently introduced in Sangola taluka be withdrawn.

On MARCH 18th Mr. Kothari's resolution about withdrawing Revision Survey Settlement in Sangola Taluka was taken up and it was further supported by Messrs. Dadubhai Desai, P. G. Joshi, Swami Narayan, Govardhan Das Patel. The Hon. Mr. Mehta, Revenue Member, endeavoured to defend Government's case, but Mr. Kothari suddenly silenced him by telling to his face that he knew nothing of the Taluka. The resolution was carried with 37 to 29 votes.

Mr. W. S. Mukdum did not move the resolution of which he had given notice recommending the withdrawal of the Government of Bombay from all participation in the Empire Exhibition, nor did Mr. Lalji Naranji who had also a similar motion, and both gave the reason that their purpose was served as the grant of the demand in that connection had already been thrown out by the Council.

Mr. V. A. Dabholkar moved :—

That this Council recommends to the Governor-in-Council that the salaries of the Presidency Magistrates, other than the Chief Presidency Magistrate, be fixed at Rs. 1,000-50-1,500.

He reminded the Council that they had recently voted for the increase of the salaries of the judges of the Small Causes Court, and said that the conditions of selection and the responsibilities of the duties of both the Small Cause Court Judges and Presidency Magistrates were the same. After some discussion the resolution was carried by 33 votes to 12 ; the Swarajyists taking no part in the voting.

Mr. A. M. Mansuri moved :—

This Council recommends to the Governor-in-Council that the Act No. XLII of 1923 (an Act to make provision for the better management of Wakf property and for ensuring the keeping and publication of proper accounts in respect of such properties) be made applicable to the Presidency of Bombay.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Rafiuddin Ahmed moved :—

This Council recommends to the Government that all bills, press notes, etc., which at present are translated and published in the Bombay Government Gazette in Mahrathi, Gujarati, Kanarese and Sindhi should also be translated and published in the Bombay Government Gazette in Urdu for the benefit of the Urdu speaking population of the Presidency.

Several Mahomedan members supported the motion which was carried.

The Thakor of Kerwada moved :

This Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council to appoint a committee of official and non-official members of this Council to enquire into the question whether the enhancement of the jama payable by the talukdars of Ahmedabad effected by the last revision which amounts to more than 100 per cent. has been just and equitable and if necessary to suggest ways and means for a more equitable settlement thereof.

On MARCH 19th the Council met in great animation over the anticipated debate on M. Hasrat Mohani and Mr. Horniman which was tabled for the day. The galleries were packed up.

The Thakor of Kerwada's resolution was supported by the Thakor of Amod, Messrs. Mavlankar, Swami Narayan, Saheba, Jaykar, and the Hon. Mr. Mehta promised the Committee if the Talukdars were also prepared to include in the terms of reference the relations between the Talukdars and the tenants. The resolution, however, was lost by one vote only.

Release of Hasrat Mohani

Mr. Poonjabhai Thakersey then moved his resolution about the immediate and unconditional release of Moulana Hasrat Mohani :—This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that Hazrat Mohani be released immediately and unconditionally. This being a communal question all the Mahomedans were uncommonly keen. But the Nationalists did not limit their view-point thus but looked upon the Moulana's release as a national question. Most of the Mahomedans entreated Government and begged of them to release him, and Messrs. Jaykar, Welkar, Baptista, Bhopatkar demanded his release as a matter of right and not as a favour. The Hon. Mr. Hayward's tone was surprisingly conciliatory and mild and in the end Government accepted the recommendation. An important point of order was raised by Mr. Hayward interrupting Mr. Baptista who was pronouncing on the judgment of the lower court of 2 years' imprisonment awarded to Mr. Mohani which the High Court reduced to 6 months only. Mr. Hayward wanted to shield the magistrate who, Mr. Baptista said, had awarded the heavier punishment on political grounds. The President over-ruled Mr. Hayward and upheld the right of the House for the fair comments of Mr. Baptista.

Ban on Horniman

Mr. Nariman then proposed his resolution for Mr. Horniman's return as follows :—This Council recommends to the Governor-in-Council to remove the ban against the entry of Mr. Benjamin Guy Horniman into India. Messrs. Govardhandas Patel, Mavlankar, Gunjal, Dongarsing Patil,

Jaykar spoke in support of it. The Hon. Mr. Hayward was wild with rage at the resolution and spoke for half an hour condemning Mr. Horniman, raking up his past and covering him with all abuse behind his back. The matter, he maintained, rested entirely with the Passport officers and that there was nothing political in Mr. Horniman's detention in England. Mr. Addyman on behalf of the European Community disowned him and said that there was not one member of his community who desired Mr. Horniman's return. Mr. Jayakar objected to the Home Member's vile attacks when Mr. Horniman was not there to reply. Other members took strong objection to such cowardly attacks. The debate continued till the next day, March 20th. The Government had by this time won over Mahomedan members, and especially the Home Member's conciliatory tone on the previous day's debate on Hasrat Mohani had done the trick. In vain did the Nationalists try to influence the Mahomedan and non-Brahmin section to vote with them. In the end the resolution was defeated by 37 against 43 votes. The thirty-seven votes contained all the Swarajists and all the Independents.

After recess the Council proceeded, at the request of Hon'ble Mr. Mehta, to the election of three representativas of the Council on the Advisory Committee for the B. B. and C. I Ry., the G. I. P. Ry. and the M. S. M. Ry. Two resolutions were then hurriedly passed and accepted by the Government.

Mr. M. K. Dixit moved "that this Council recommends to the Government that the remaining period of supersession of the Surat Municipality be remitted and that the Municipality be restored to the people of Surat forthwith."

The resolution was carried.

Mr. N. E. Navle, moved that "this Council recommends to the Governor-in-Council that a mixed committee of official and non-official members of this Council, with a non-official majority, be appointed to consider the most suitable method or methods of fixing the anna-valuation of crops."

The Hon. Mr. C. V. Mehta (Revenue Member) on behalf of the Government, accepted the resolution.

The resolution was carried.

The President then read the order of H. E. the Governor proroguing the Council.

Members of the Council.

PRESIDENT: The Hon'ble Mr. Michael Keane, C.I.E., I.C.S.

MINISTERS: The Hon'ble Rai Rajeshwar Bali,
The Hon'ble Lieut. Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Sa'id Khan.

Hon' Mr. S. P. O'Donnell. *Finance Member*
Hon' Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan, Khan Bahadur. *Home Member*
Mr. G. B. Lambert. Mr. E. A. H. Blunt.
Kunwar Jagdish Prasad. Babu Sangam Lal.
Mr. G. B. F. Muir. Mr. A. C. Verrieres.
Mr. C. E D. Peters. Mr. J. R. W. Bennett.
Mr. S. H. Fremantle. Mr. R. Burn.
Mr. W. S. Cassels. Mr. A. G. P. Pullan.
Mr. H. G. Billson. Mr. A. D. Ashdown.
Lieut.-Col. R. F. Baird. Mr. G. Clarke.
Mr. A H. Mackenzie. Mr. H. David.
Raja Muhammad E'Jaz Rasul Khan.
Raja Brij Narayan Bahadur, Rai.
Mr. H. C. Desanges. Babu Khem Chand.
Pandit Govind Sahai Sharma.
Babu Narayan Prasad Arora.
Babu Mohan Lal Saksena.
Babu Damodar Das. Thakur Moti Singh.
Rai Bahadur Lala Sita Ram.
Chaudhri Jaswant Singh.
Chaudhri Sheoraj Singh.
Pandit Nanak Chand. Lala Babu Lal.
Thakur Raj Kumar Singh.
Thakur Lakshmi Raj Singh.
Rai Bahadur Babu Ram Nath Bhargava.
Rai Sahib Munshi Amba Prasad.
Rai Bahadur Pandit Kharagjit Misra.
Raja Surya Pal Singh. Lala Dhakan Lal.
Babu Nemi Saran. Chaudhri Badan Singh.
Chaudhri Sardar Singh. Thakur Sadho Singh.
Pandit Brijnandan Prasad Misra.
Pandit Bhagwat Narayan Bhargava.
Pandit Jhanni Lal Pande.
Thakur Har Prasad Singh.
Thakur Keshava Chandra Singh, Chaudhri.
Lieut. Raja Durga Narayan Singh.
Lieut. Raja Hukm Taj Pratap Singh.
Rai Bahadur Pt. Balbhadra Prasad Tiwari.
Pandit Sri Krishna Dutt Paliwal.

U. P. Legislative Council

Jan.—March 1924

Babu Bhagwati Sahai Bedar.
Thakur Manjit Singh Rathor.
2nd-Lt. Chaudhri Balwant Singh.
Rai Jagdish Prasad Sahib.
Thakur Hanuman Singh. Dr. M. N. Ansari.
2nd-Lt. Sahibzada Ravi Pratap Narayan Singh, Rai Bahadur.
Raja Indrajit Pratap Bahadur Sahi.
Bhaya Hanumat Prasad Singh.
Pandit Baijnath Misra Mr. Mukandi Lal.
Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant.
Pandit Har Govind Pant. Mr. M. A. Saifi.
Babu Ram Chandra Sinha.
Raja Shankar Sahai Thakur Hukum Singh.
Dr. Jai Karan Nath Misra.
Kunwar Rajendra Singh. Babu Sita Ram.
Rai Bahadur Thakur Mashal Singh.
Kunwar Krishna Pratap Singh.
Babu Bindeshri Prasad.
Kunwar Surendra Pratap Sahi.
Rai Bahadur Babu Shankar Dayal.
Mr. Muhammad Zahur Ahmad.
Maul. Zahur-ud-din. Maul. Shahab-ud-din.
Rao Abdul Hameed Khan.
Lieut. Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan.
Khan Bahadur Kunwar Inayat Ali Khan.
" Chaudhuri Amir Hasan Khan.
Maulvi Obaidul Rahman Khan.
Babu Parsidn Narayan Anad.
Pandit Yajna Narayan, Upadhya.
Pandit Raja Ramji. Mr. Deep Narayan Roy.
Raja Sri Krishna Dutt Dube.
Dr. Zia-ud-din Ahmad, H. Hidayat Husain
Mr Masud-uz-Zaman. Nawabzada M. Yusuf
Khan Bahadur Shah Badre Alam.
Khan Bahadur Mr. Muhammad Ismail.
Maul. Abdul Hakim. Dr. Shafaat A. Khan.
Saiyed Muhammad Ashiq Husain.
Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasih-ud-Din.
Khan Bahadur Maul. Fazl-ur-Rahman Khan.
Khan Bahadur Hakim Mahbub Ali Khan.
Mr. Ashiq Husain Mirza.
Khan Sahib Munshi Siddiq Ahmad.
Qazi Habib Ashraf. K. Abdus Samad Ansari.
Lieut. Shaikh Shahid Husain.
Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Muhammad Rashid-ud-Din Ashraf.
Mr. St. George H. S Jackson.
Raja Mahendra Man Singh.
Raja Ragho Prasad N. Singh, Rai Bahadur.
Lala Mathura Prasad, Mehrotra.
Raja Shambhu Dayal. Dr. Ganesh Prasad.
Lieut. Shaikh Imtiaz Rasul Khan.
Thakur Jagannath Bakhsh Singh.
Sir Thomas Smith Kt. Mr. T. Gavin Jones
Rai Bahadur Babu Vikramajit Singh.

Chief Events—U. P.

9	Jan	24	Council opened by Governor.
23	Jan	24	Motion of 'No-confidence' on Ministers declared withdrawn.
29	Jan	24	Non-official Resolutions on the establishment of an University at Agra and District Advisory Councils passed.
31	Jan	24	Official Bills introduced and supplementary demands voted.
26	Feb	24	Budget Presented.
27	Feb	24	Non-official Resolutions discussed on this and the following day.
5	Mar	24	General discussion on the Budget on this and the following day.
7	Mar	24	Official bills and resolutions.
10	Mar	24	Demand under Administration of Justice granted.
11	Mar	24	Demands under Excise, Miscellaneous and Education sanctioned after reduction.
12	Mar	24	Demand under General Administration granted.
15	Mar	24	Demands under Police, Medical and Public Health voted.
17	Mar	24	Demand under Land Revenue voted after substantial reduction.
27	Mar	24	Out of three official Bills introduced two defeated and one passed.
2	Apr	24	Mr. Misra's Resolution urging Government to furnish the Council with informations as to the fate of the resolutions pased in the Council carried in face of strong Government opposition.
3	Apr	24	Resolution on Compulsory Primary Education passed.
4	Apr	24	Interpellations—Supplementary demands presented and voted—One non-official resolution for the establishment of an Ayurvedic and Unani College passed—Council Prorogued.

सत्यमेव जयते

U. P. Legislative Council

The first session of the new U. P. Council commenced on January 8th in the Council Hall at Lucknow when members took the oath of allegiance and occupied their seats. Next day, JANUARY 9th, the Council was formally opened by His Excellency the Governor, Sir William Marris, who made a short speech welcoming the members to the 2nd Reformed Council. He protested that the Reforms were no sham, that he realised its reality and held forth the hope that if the new members would carry along in a reasonable and constitutional manner there was nothing to prevent further progress. The path to self-Government, he said, lay along the constitutional track, and he claimed for the Services, to which he himself belonged, an honest attempt to be faithful to the Reforms and to the new order that it had brought forth!

The address being over His Excellency left the Chamber and the business of the Council then began. The first item on the agenda was the election of the deputy-President of the Council. Lala Sita Ram proposed Rai Bahadur Kharagjit Misra who was then unanimously elected. A panel of Chairman was then nominated by the President and members were then proposed and elected to the various committees of the House. The Finance Member then moved a resolution recording their deep sense of regret at the untimely death of the late Raja Permanand, an ex-Minister, which was passed by the House, all standing. The Council then adjourned till the 28th.

On JANUARY 28th the Council met with a fairly large attendance of members which was due to a "No-Confidence" motion being on the agenda. At question time Mr. Mukundilal, Swarajist, asked a question enquiring if Pt. Jagadamba Prosad Misra, a N-C-O prisoner in the Benares Jail, was made to drive an oil-mill being yoked to it like a bullock to which the Home Member, the Hon. Raja of Mahmudabad, replied in the affirmative. Asked if the Govt approved of this form of jail labour, the reply was in the affirmative. (This matter was raised in the House of Commons on 5th May but with no remedy).

The resolutions placed on the agenda were considered next and Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasihuddin of Badaun then moved the following resolution:

'That this Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council to represent to the Government of India that the term of the land revenue settlement including the existing term of the districts of the United Provinces should be extended at least to 50 years instead of 30 years as at present.'

In view of an assurance given by the Finance Member that the matter will be enquired into by a committee, the Khan Bahadur withdrew his motion with the leave of the Council.

The No-Confidence Motion

The next resolution on the agenda was that of Thakur Manjit Singh Rathor recommending to His Excellency the Governor that the present Ministers in charge of the Transferred Departments should vacate their office on the ground that they did not possess the confidence of the Council. When Thakur Manjit Singh was called upon to move his resolution

he said that since a similar resolution was placed for discussion at the next day's meeting he did not propose to move it that day.

The President thereupon declared that the resolution was withdrawn and as five succeeding resolutions were to the same effect, the business of the Council was much shortened.

Principles of Land Revenue Assessments

Rai Bahadur Thakur Mashal Singh then moved the following resolution:

'That this Council recommends to the Government to take immediate steps to put on the Statute Book the Bill laying down the principles of land revenue assessments and governing settlement procedure which has already been before the Settlement Committee appointed by the Government.'

The resolution was put to vote and carried.

The last item on the agenda was Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasihuddin's resolution pointing certain recommendations contained in the report of the Settlement Committee and recommending that they should be disregarded at the final decision of the settlement rules. On the Finance Member promising the fullest consideration the resolution was withdrawn by leave of the Council. The Council then adjourned.

On JANUARY 29th the No-confidence resolution was again on the the agenda. Of the questions asked one referred to the ill-treatment in jail of Srimati Parbati Devi which Govt. replied was under consideration. Interpellations being over the resolutions were considered next. The first resolution on the agenda was the one of Babu Ram Chandra Sinha embodying the vote of No-confidence in the present Ministers. The member in whose name the resolution stood was absent and it not being taken up by any other member, the President declared that the motion should be considered as withdrawn. The announcement was received with a sort of triumph by the Ministerialist benches displayed by thumping the tables. The immediate result of it was that the disappointed visitors began to move out in large numbers so much so that the speech which followed on the succeeding resolution was inaudible for some minutes on account of the noise caused by the visitors.

The next resolution on the agenda was of Thakur Jagannath Baksh Singh recommending the consideration of the report of the Settlement Committee, but the President said that the resolution was taken in its main part yesterday and so it could not be taken again.

University at Agra.

Next followed the discussion on the resolution of Dr. Zia-uddin Ahmed recommending to the Governor to take early steps to establish a University at Agra. The resolution involved a lengthy debate and there was hardly any speech against the resolution except that Mr. David moved an amendment to the effect that about 35 lakhs should be collected before undertaking the matter in hand: but Mr. David's amendment was disallowed by the President on an objection by Pandit Nanak Chand for want of timely notice. The resolution was put to the vote and declared carried amidst applause.

District Advisory Councils.

The resolution which involved some contest was that of Mr. Nanak Chand urging the establishment of district advisory councils whom the district officer should ordinarily be bound to consult in all important

matters with a view to bringing the district administration in closer touch with the people and to introduce better understanding between them. After an amendment by Moul. Fasih-ud-din, the resolution was carried.

The resolution of Rai Bahadur Sitaram that only experienced or trained I. C. S. joint magistrates should ordinarily be placed in the position of hearing civil appeals was also carried. The Hon. the Finance Member declared that he was prepared to accept it.

Music Schools.

The last resolution on the agenda was that of Pandit Brijnandan Prasad Misra of Pilibit recommending the establishment of a training school of music in some important towns. The mover said that if Government were willing to grant scholarships to persons who were eager to obtain training in music he would withdraw his motion and on the Hon. Minister of Education's assurance that he would allow all facilities if funds permitted the resolution was withdrawn.

The Council then adjourned at about 3-30 p. m. till the next day. The Swarajist members did not take part in the deliberations on any of the resolutions and one of them questioned during lunch time as to what was the use of their coming to the Council when they sat silent said, with reference to the attitude of the Government on the district advisory council resolution, that they would join in voting for the resolution and defeat the Government.

On JANUARY 30th after interpellations Rai Bahadur Sitaram intended to move an adjournment of the House in order to draw attention to the serious situation created by the demolition of some temples and Samadhis at the Alambagh railway station at Lucknow, but, he said, he was thankful to the Hon. the Finance Member for having accepted a private question from him and he put the following question with the permission of the President :—

'Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the public indignation caused by the demolition of temples and Samadhis by the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway authorities near the Alambagh railway station, Lucknow? If so, what action has Government taken to allay this feeling and to stop the desecration of sacred places? Is Government aware that Hindu sentiment in the matter will not be satisfied unless, among other things, the places demolished are fully restored at the cost of the railway authorities and a right of way granted to the worshippers?'

The Hon. Mr. O'Donnell replied that the attention of the Government had been drawn to the matter. The demolition had been stopped and would not proceed further. Moreover, he further said, the whole matter had been discussed with the railway authorities whose attitude had been very reasonable. He was glad to say that there was every prospect of their arriving at a settlement satisfactory to all.

Election of Committees.

The business of the Council was then resumed. The items on the agenda that followed included the election of members to the various committees. Thakur Manjeet Singh and Pt. Nanak Chand, Swarajists, at this time wanted the House to postpone these elections in order that the Swarajists may have time to consider whether they would stand for the elections or not. Their attitude would be decided on the reply that they got from the Govt. of India in the Assembly to the National Demand that they had

put forth. But the motions were defeated and the House proceeded with the elections.

The resolutions were considered next. After a lengthy debate the following resolution of Pandit Brijnandan Prasad Misra was declared carried :—

'That this Council recommends to the Government to remit the remaining term of imprisonment of such of the prisoners as are still in jail in connection with the forest fires due to incendiarism in Kumaun in 1921-22.'

Rai Bahadur Sitaram's resolution asking the Government to discontinue the practice of previously ascertaining the opinion of the trying magistrates when proceedings under section 110. Cr. P. C. were taken was also carried. The Council then adjourned.

JANUARY 31st was the official day and the agenda included motions to introduce Bills to amend the Agra Estates Act and the U. P. Board of Revenue Act and the consideration of demands for supplementary grants in the budget for the financial year 1923-24.

The President intimated to the House that the following notice had just been handed in by Pandit Brijnandan Prasad Misra :—'I desire to move the adjournment of the House for debating the urgent question of the application of section 144 Cr. P. C., to Bageswar fair in Almora on the 3rd January.' On enquiry from the President Mr. Misra said that the fair had already ended but the order still existed. The President thereupon ruled that the question certainly did not come under the head 'urgency' or 'importance' as the fair had already ended. The motion was not in order. It could, he remarked, be brought up for discussion by an ordinary resolution.

Supplementary

The supplementary demands for grants in the financial year 1923-24 were then considered. The first such demand considered was under the head 'Excise.'

Pandit Nanak Chand who moved for a 1 Re reduction withdrew his motion in view of the Minister's assurance and the demand was voted.

The next demand considered was for Rs. 10 under the head 'Irrigation Works' in connection with the turbine pumping scheme at Cawnpur which supplied water for the irrigation of the Memorial Gardens, Queen's Park, Circuit House and other Government buildings.

Pandit Nanak Chand moved for the omission of the demand to record his protest against the restriction of admission to the Memorial Garden, Cawnpore, on racial grounds. He would request the Hon. the Finance Member to request the authorites in charge of the Memorial Well Garden to remove these restrictions which were based on racial grounds and which reminded them very often of the past.

In view of the observations and the assurance of the Finance Member to reconsider the scheme, Pandit Nanak Chand withdrew his motion and the demand was voted.

There was also an amendment of Mr. Ashiq Hussain Mirza to reduce that demand by Rs. 5 but it was also withdrawn. The discussion resulted in some lively scenes and there was a debate on a demand under the head 'Public Health' required in connection with the water supply scheme for the Ardh Kumbh Mela at Allahabad.

Ardh Kumbh Affair.

Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh in moving that the demand in question be omitted referred to certain matters that took place on the occasion of the Kumbh Mela (see Vol. I p. 10) at Allahabad. On account of certain erroneous orders issued by the district officer, Allahabad, on the occasion of bathing there was great dissatisfaction and the order had created such a difficulty that unless wiser counsels had prevailed later on there might have been a disaster. The District officer did not take the leading men of the place into his confidence who had sufficient knowledge and information on the subject on occasions like that. 'When a man of the temperament and qualifications of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya could take exception, I think something must have been radically wrong. There were difficulties in the beginning for which the District officer would be held responsible and therefore an explanation was due to the Council.'

Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram said:—The question is, as is always the case generally in these matters, whether the people themselves do not understand their interests much better than the Government which sometimes is apt to play the grandmother to them. That is the only question before us. The district Magistrate of Allahabad, it appears, did convene a public meeting. He took several leading gentlemen into his confidence. They arrived at a certain understanding amongst themselves. Still, if what I gather from the papers is correct, that understanding was not given effect to because the district Magistrate thought that he understood the interests of the people better than perhaps Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and his friends. The question, Sir, that arises over and over again, and the only question is, how long will the Government continue to play the grandmother with us? If we are an obstinate people and if we think that we are going to lose our lives and our interests, why should the Government forcibly come in our way and play with our religious sentiments in that manner?

Dr. Ganesh Prasad, of all the non-officials, strongly opposed the motion and rediculed the idea of a Hindu bath in face of extreme danger. He justified the conduct of the District officer and deprecated the re-opening of the matter which had fortunately come to a close chiefly owing to the tact of the officer in question.

Thakur Jagannath Baksh Singh also supported the motion. Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh replying said. 'I do not intend to call for a division on a motion of this nature and I am very sorry for the remarks made by my old friend Dr. Ganesh Prasad. He deprecated the bringing in of a motion of this nature. As he is quite new to this Council, he perhaps does not know that all these motions have to be brought before the Council in order that the opinion of the Government might be obtained upon all matters of this nature, and I submit, Sir, that I did nothing wrong in bringing a motion of this nature before the House.

'My hon. friend Dr. Ganesh Prasad says that he is as good a Hindu as myself. Of course we all know that he is a good mathematician and has got a reputation for that, but it is news to one that he is as good a Hindu as myself from the Sanatan Dharmist point of view. Of course I may be excused for saying so. I know that the feelings of

the Hindus are very much agitated, and it is from that point of view that I brought this motion before this House.' He, however, withdrew the motion, and the whole demand was then voted.

There was also a demand under the head Agriculture relating to the Government factory at Chaubattia for manufacturing jam, and Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh moved that the demand be omitted. He had brought that motion in order to suggest that factories of that nature be discontinued and that no money be spent in future on such undertaking.

The motion was eventually withdrawn and the demand voted.

Financial Help to Industries.

In considering a demand under the head 'Industries', Dr. Ganesh Prasad moved for the reduction of the demand by one rupee. His object was to raise a discussion as he wanted to know whether the practice that was introduced by the Hon. Mr. Chintamani, the ex-Minister, of helping industrial concerns either by grants or by loans, found favour with the Government even now. It seemed to him that it was a very undesirable practice to help monetarily the industrial concerns. His motion was based on certain affairs connected with the Lucknow Sugar Works to which, he was informed, a loan of 6 lakhs was given by the late Minister.

The President informed the House that it was not the practice that during the discussion of supplementary estimates the whole policy dealing with every department should be raised. The motion was accordingly withdrawn.

Legislative Measures.

After the voting on some other supplementary demands, the Hon. the Finance Member introduced the Bill to amend the Agra Estates Act 1920. In explaining the object of the Bill, he said that at present the landholders in the province were entitled to settle their estates under the Agra Estates Act 1920 and the talukdars in Oudh enjoyed similar rights under the Estates Act 1869 and the Oudh Settled Estates Act 1917. The landholders in Oudh to whom the provisions of these two latter Acts did not apply enjoyed no such rights and the object of the measure was to confer on them the rights enjoyed by landholders in the Agra province under the Agra Estates Act 1920.

On the motion of Pandit Baijnath Misra the Bill was referred to a Select Committee.

The Bill to amend the Board of Revenue Act 1922 was then passed as amended. The Bill was intended to confer certain powers on the Board of Revenue.

The business of the Council having concluded, the Hon. the Finance member intimated to the House an outline of the programme of work of the next session in February.

The U. P. Budget.

On FEBRUARY 26th the Council met again for the Budget session. The Finance Member presented the budget for 1924-25. The main features of the Budget are given below :—

The revised estimate of revenue receipts amounting to Rs. 12,97,00,000 falls short of the revised estimate of expenditure, namely Rs. 13,05,00,000, by nearly Rs. 8,00,000.

The budget of 1923-24 as presented to the Council showed a surplus of nearly Rs. 14,00,000 and a closing balance of nearly Rs. 1,22,00,000. As actually passed by the Council, however, it showed a deficit of nearly Rs. 3,00,000. Reductions of demands mady by the Council reduced the total on the expenditure side from Rs. 13,29,00,000 to Rs. 13,15,00,000, but as a result of amendments made to taxation measures the estimated revenue fell from Rs. 13,43,00,000 to Rs. 13,12,00,000. The closing balance was accordingly reduced to Rs. 1,05,00,000. When the actual receipt and expenditure for the year 1922-23 were finally ascertained, it was found that the receipts in 1922-23 were Rs. 8,00,000 higher and disbursements Rs. 39,00,000 lower than had been established in the budget, and in consequence the opening balance of 1923-24 proved to be Rs. 1,41,00,000. There have been, however, variations between the budget and the revised estimate of 1923-24. Revenue has declined by Rs. 15.00,000 mainly under the heads of Stamps, Excise and Forests, and disbursements are less by Rs. 8,00,000. The result of these variations is that the closing balance is now estimated at Rs. 1,46,00,000 instead of Rs. 1,52,00,000.

The estimates for the budget for the year 1924-25 show that the revenue is expected to be Rs. 12,81,00,000 and the expenditure Rs. 12,69,00,000. In the event of the Budget estimates of revenue and expenditure for the year 1924-25 being fulfilled, Govt. hoped to have a surplus of Rs. 12,00,000 in the Revenue and Receipts account at the close of the financial year 1924-25.

Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.

After the presentation of the budget non-official business was taken up. A resolution recommending the immediate application of the Mussalman Waqf Act to the province was adopted by 45 votes against 8.

Another resolution recommending to Government to take immediate steps for the carrying out of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions, a resolution which was already passed by the Council, was accepted by Government and adopted without a division. The government member said that the government had always approved of the principle, but the difficulty was about finance and sanction of higher authorities, and as soon as these are available, the scheme long accepted in principle will be carried out in practice.

Retirements on Proportionate Pensions.

In reply to an interpellation, an important statement was laid on the table showing the number of Imperial Service officers who had applied for and actually did retire on proportionate pension from the province in the years 1921, 1922 and 1923. The statement showed that in the course of these three years altogether 13 members of the I. C. S. had applied

for retirement. Nine of them actually retired and one officer having signified his willingness to return to duty had been permitted to do so. Nineteen officers of the Indian Police Service had similarly applied for retirement, 7 had actually retired, 9 had signified their willingness to return to duty and of them 5 had been permitted to do so. Altogether 61 officers of the various Imperial Services applied for retirement on proportionate pension after the inauguration of the reforms, 30 of them actally retired, 11 had since then signified their willingness to return to duty and 7 had been permitted to do so.

On FEBRUARY 28th the Council discussed a resolution to the effect that the question of increase or decrease of canal rates should not be left with the Executive but must be brought under the purview of the Council, so that the non-official members might settle the matter by discussion. It was adopted without a division.

A Nationalist Party

About this time a Nationalist Party was formed in the Council made up of the Swarajists and Independents on the lines of the Nationalist Party in the Assembly. This was done with a view to face the budget which was coming up for discussion and voting within the next few days. Besides 31 Swarajists it was understood that several Independent members had already joined it. It appeared that this party would support the demands and recommendations of the Nationalist Party in the Assembly for reconsideration and amendment of the Government of India Act and would, in pursuance of their decision, refuse budget demands in such departments and under such heads as the party decided by three-fourths majority and made it a party question. The combination, however, did not prove to be effective, for it lacked the solidity of similar parties as formed in Bengal and in the Assembly. After a few trials during the voting on the Budget, it broke down, and the Budget had an altogether smooth-sailing progress in the Council.

Swarajist Threat of Indiscriminate Attack.

On MARCH 5th the Budget was discussed in the meeting of the United Provinces Council. It was apparent from the attitude of many non-official speakers that Government would have to face some difficulty in steering the Taxation Bills through the Council.

Three Swarajist members spoke giving an inkling of their plan that they would attack the budget indiscriminately and refuse demands whenever possible.

At the meeting of the United Provinces Legislative Council on March 8th the business on the agenda was the introduction and consideration of three Taxation Bills, extending the operation of the taxation measures passed last year. The Finance Member, however, postponed the introduction of the Bills in view of the conditional promise by Sir Basil Blackett of remitting the provincial contribution to the extent of Rs. 30 lakhs. In the event of this remission being granted, the taxation Bills, he said, would not be put before the Council at all.

The Council then adjourned till the 10th March for voting of grants.

On MARCH 10th demands for grants were considered under heads Administration of Justice, Excise, Miscellaneous and Education. There was a very large number of amendments for reduction of demands under these heads and merely one head, Administration of Justice, occupied practically the whole of the day. The Finance Member put forward a demand for Rs. 54,24,650 under that head. There were 34 amendments on paper, the majority requiring substantial reductions, and some only nominal with a view to elicit informations from the Govt.

Pt. Nanak Chand moved his amendments which stood first on the notice paper to the effect that the demand under the sub-head Allowances be reduced from Rs. 6,000 to 4.000. Mr. Blunt, Financial Secretary, however moved an amendment to the amendment that the demand be reduced by only Rs. 1,000 and not 2,000, which was carried.

Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram then moved an amendment that demand under Administration of Justice in High Court be reduced by Rs. 5,000. This cut was in respect of the post of the Registrar of the High Court which though not an I. C. S. post had all along been given to the I. C. S. men inspite of Indian protest. The present incumbent was going on leave and another junior I. C. S. man had been appointed. Inspite of the clear wishes expressed in the Council the post had not been given to an Indian. The motion was carried by a great majority, 52 voting for and 27 against it. A motion that the demand under Law Officers be reduced by Rs. 3,000 under salary of personal assistant to the Legal Remembrancer—the original annual estimate being Rs. 13,200—was accepted by Govt.

Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh moved that the item of Rs. 283,650 for fees to Government pleaders and occasional counsels in criminal cases be reduced by Rs. 15,000. His original motion as it stood on the notice paper claimed reduction of Rs. 83,650. It appeared to him that Rs. 35,000 was the amount for special counsels. His object was to ask the Government not to engage except in very exceptional cases special counsels on behalf of the prosecution. Referring to the Imperial Bank Fraud Case he protested against the Government paying for prosecution of that case when the prosecuting party, namely the Bank, could easily afford to pay. The Home Member said that he had kept that grant apart in view of possible political trials during the year.

The motion when put to vote was declared carried.

Thakur Jagannath Bux Singh then moved that the demand under Administration of Justice, Judicial Commissioner, be reduced by Rs. 10. His object was simply to lodge protest against the Economy Committee's verdict against the establishment of the Chief Court for Oudh. After discussion the motion was withdrawn. There also stood his another amendment under the same head for reduction by Re. 1, and it was a protest against the meagre representation of Rajputs in the judicial service. The motion was negatived.

Thakur Hanuman Singh moved an amendment for reduction of demand under sub-head Sessions and Subordinate Judges by Rs. 13,000. That demand related to increase of cadre of judicial officers and the amendment was strongly opposed by other members and was ultimately withdrawn. There were also amendments embodying nominal reductions to lodge protests against non-appointment of Christians as judicial officers in Oudh

and of Muslim judicial officers in the selection grade but they were also ultimately withdrawn. At the end there was a total reduction of Rs. 71,000 and the demand for Rs. 5,353,650 under Administration of Justice was then put to vote and declared carried, 63 voting for and 22 against it. The demand under head Excise was then considered and the Council had not finished its consideration when it rose for the day.

On MARCH 11th the demand under EXCISE was resumed.

In presenting the demand on the previous day the Nawab of Chattari, Minister of Agriculture and Industries, put forward a demand for Rs. 6,13,900 under Excise. He showed how they were proceeding to reduce the consumption of liquor and other drugs. The number of shops was gradually going down. From 10,510 in 1921-22 it came down to 7,352 in 1923-24. There was also an appreciable reduction in consumption. The figures cited showed that the fall in consumption was 52·8 per cent in the case of liquor, 25·1 per cent in opium, 14·8 per cent in Charas, 39·6 in Ganja and 39·6 in the case of Bhang.

The number of amendments for reduction under this head was only 23. There were several amendments for reduction in the posts of Assistant Excise Commissioners. Mr. Mohamed Aslam Saifi moved that the demand be reduced by Rs. 4,000 under Assistant Commissioners' salaries. Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh moved an amendment to Mr. Saifi's amendment for the substitution of Rs. 15,000 in place of Rs. 4,000. The Minister accepted the amendment of Mr. Saifi but opposed Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh's amendment. Reduction of Rs. 4,000 was accepted.

Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh moved a reduction of Rs. 2,000 under Travelling Allowances. The reduction was accepted by the Minister. There were several amendments for the reduction of the amount of rewards. Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh moved that the item of Rs. 43,600 for rewards be reduced by Rs. 20,000. Thakur Hanuman Singh moved an amendment for the substitution of Rs. 10,000 for Rs. 20,000 which was carried and accordingly Rs. 10,000 were reduced under that head.

Mr. Abdul Hakim moved a reduction of Rs. 18,000 under the head Salaries of Excise Inspectors. He desired a reduction of 15 Excise Inspectors. Ultimately a reduction of Rs. 14,000 was accepted.

Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram then moved a reduction of Rs. 100 under the general head Excise. His object was to invite the attention of the Minister to some points connected with the Excise policy. In the general discussion that followed the Swarajist members spoke violently against the Excise policy of Government and urged the House to throw out the whole demand. After a heated debate the motion was negatived.

There was thus a total reduction under this head of Rs. 30,000. The demand as reduced, namely, for Rs. 5,83,900, was then granted.

The next demand which the Council proceeded to consider was under the head 'Miscellaneous' and the Finance Member moved for a grant of Rs. 3,96,200. There were only 16 amendments for reduction. Two of them proceeded from the Finance Member himself. Several of them were either withdrawn or not moved. There was ultimately a reduction of Rs. 20,608 in all and the demand was voted.

The demand of Rs. 1,67,88,500 under the head Education was then considered. There were 44 amendments, some proposing substantial reductions of the demand.

Dr. Ganesh Prasad proposed a reduction of Rs. 2,25,000 from the grants to the Lucknow and Allahabad Universities. He proposed the reduction of the grant to the Allahabad University by Rs. 60,000, and to the Lucknow University by Rs. 1,65,000. His original motion as it stood on the notice paper was for a reduction of Rs. 32,500. His object in moving the amendment was to make both the Universities more popular than they are at present.

Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram moved a reduction of Rs. 1,00,000 of which Rs. 75,000 was to be reduced from Lucknow and Rs. 25,000 from the Allahabad University grants. Dr. Ziauddin thought that the Lucknow University had done great harm to other universities in the province. It had set up such a high standard of salaries that other universities could not follow. Ultimately all the amendments were negatived. Dr. Ganesh Prasad pressed for a division on his motion which resulted in 25 voting for and 57 against.

Regarding a motion of Mr. Nanak Chand for a reduction of Rs. 50,000, Mr. Blunt moved a reduction of Rs. 16,000 which was accepted under the net demand for the Roorkee College.

The President then put the demand for 1,67,72,500, after reducing Rs. 16,000, from the original demand, to the vote. It was voted.

On MARCH 12th demand under the head "General Administration" was considered. There were 26 amendments for reduction and the entire reduction ultimately accepted was for Rs. 41,322. The amendment which involved some lengthy discussion was one which proposed reduction of the demand under the Commissioners' Staff by Rs. 3,42,562. There was for some time past the question of abolition or reduction of Commissionerships before the Government. It was still unsettled, although a Committee appointed had recommended some reduction. It was as a mark of protest against the delay of the Government in coming to a decision on the subject that the amendment was moved. The Commissioners were considered as useless objects of administration and were characterized as mere post offices. Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram however moved that a reduction of Rs. 10,000 only be made. He said that they could not touch the Commissioners' salary item, this being non-votable. The motion was strongly supported by several other non-official members. A member's amendment for reduction of Re. 1 only to mark protest was acceptable to the Finance Member, but it was rejected. The reduction of Rs. 10,000 in spite of strong Government opposition was carried. After discussing some general questions the demand for Rs. 1,05,38,378 was voted.

On MARCH 13th reduction of Rs. 225,274 was secured under the head Public Works and the net demand of Rs. 6,593,826 was voted. There were no amendments for reduction of the demand under Civil Works (grant-in-aid) and demand for Rs. 4,65,500 was voted under head "Public Works" and other outlay not met from the revenue. A reduction of Rs. 261,454 was effected and demand for Rs. 1,486,120 was voted.

There were practically no contested discussions except that the amendment to reduce the grant of four lakhs to the Improvement Trusts in province by three lakhs aroused some lengthy debate. The Improvement Trusts were regarded as very extravagant institutions and it was pointed out that they were doing no work. The Minister of Local

Self-Government, however, accepted another amendment to reduce the grant by two lakhs and assured to give every considerations to economy and appoint a committee to enquire into the Trust affairs.

On MARCH 14th discussion on grants for the demand under Police was taken up and that too remained unfinished. There were no less than 50 motions for reduction or alterations standing against the demand but many of them were withdrawn. The total amount of reduction was Rs. 83,500.

The Home Member asked for the grant under Police for Rs. 1,53,06,161 and urged the House to be reasonable in considering the items of expenditure and not to be merely obstructionists.

Lala Mathura Prasad's motion for reducing the demand under Police Superintendence by Rs. 100 was put before the House and accepted. Thakoor Mashal Singh's motion for reduction of Rs. 2,900 from C. I. D. Travelling Allowances was also carried.

Lala Mathura Prasad moved that the demand under C. I. D. be reduced by Rs. 57,000. Pundit Brijnandan prasad moved an amendment substituting Rs. 57,000 by Rs 1,50,000. Dr. S. Ahmad Khan moved an amendment substituting the amount in the original motion by Rs. 20,000.

The amendment reducing the demand by Rs. 20,000 was then put to the House and declared carried. The following motions besides the above were also carried.—

Reduction by Rs. 20,000 of the demand of Rs. 10,28,200 regarding Salaries, Deputy Superintendents—District Executive Force (Mr. Hanuman Singh).

Reduction by Rs. 17,000 of the demand provided for house-rent and other allowances—District Executive Force (Thakur Mashal Singh).

Reduction by Rs. 15,000 of the demand for providing under-clerks and teachers of district police. (Thakur Mashal Singh).

Reduction by Rs. 5,000 of demand under District Executive Force Establishments. (Pundit Nanak Chand).

Reduction by Rs. 3,000 of demand under Supplies and Services regarding the purchase of remounts (Lieut. Raja Durga Narain Singh).

On MARCH 15th. demands for Rs. 15,218,361 under Police, Rs. 19,00,999 under Medical, Rs. 1,119,640 under Public Health and for Rs. 937,600 under Industries were voted.

On MARCH 17th the first demand considered was under head Land Revenue and the Finance Member moved for a grant of Rs. 86,01,200. There were in all 37 motions for reduction several of which covered the same points. Most of them were either not moved or withdrawn.

The discussion opened with a motion of Thakur Hanuman Singh touching the menial staff and proposing reduction under head Salaries of Mazul Servants, but on the Government member explaining, the mover withdrew his motion. The motion of Thakur Jagannath Bux Singh proposing a reduction of Rs. 100 under demand for cost of boundary pillars suggested that Government should also contribute towards the maintenance of boundary pillars. The motion was ultimately withdrawn.

A motion of Raja Durganarain Singh proposing reduction by Rs. 100 under Court of Wards Establishment aroused a pretty long debate with regard to the administration of Court of Wards Estates. A great stress was also laid on the necessity of the Court of Wards looking to the

Education of Wards with a view to qualify them so to rule that the tenants should be contented. The motion was ultimately withdrawn.

A motion of Thakur Hanuman Singh proposing a reduction of demand for Government estates by Rs. 25,000 also aroused some criticisms of management of Government estates The Finance Member appreciated the suggestion of the Economy Committee to make an examination of the expenditure of the estates in question, but pending that examination it was not possible for him to say which items of expenditure could be curtailed. He, however, admitted that there seemed to be room for economy and himself moved an amendment for reduction by Rs. 30,000 which was accordingly declared carried.

Survey and Settlements

A motion of Lt. Shaikh Shahid Husain broke up the monotony of the debate and created some flutter and vigorous opposition on Government benches. It was for omission of the entire demand of Rs. 6,62,850 under Survey and Settlements. There were several motions relating to the same matter and strong protests were made against the non-fulfilment of the long-felt need for permanent, or in the alternative long-term, settlements in the province. The Raja of Jehangirabad, Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan and other Talukdars supported the motion.

Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh moved an amendment for reduction of the demand in question by Rs. 5,28,000 only.

The motion of Lt. Shaikh Shahid Husain for omission of the item was put to vote and the President declared the "noes" carried. A division was called and the result was that 50 voted for and only 18 against, the motion was accordingly declared carried and the demand for Rs. 6,62,850 under Survey and Settlements was omitted.

There was a total reduction of Rs. 7,02,950 and the net demand for Rs. 78,98,250 was voted under head Land Revenue.

On MARCH 19th the Finance Member moved for a grant of Rs. 51,36,465 under head Irrigation Works. There were 12 motions for reduction, several of which were either not moved or withdrawn. There was practically no hard contest and after a total reduction of Rs. 1,01,226 the net demand for Rs. 50,35,239 was voted.

The next demand of Rs 33,07,045 was under head 'charges against Insurance Fund.' There were only three motions proposing nominal reduction and one of them raised the question of principle. Thakur Jagannath Bux Singh in proposing a reduction of Rs. 10 said that about three years back in his report it was clearly stated by the Financial Secretary that it was not proposed to finance loans to Agriculturists out of the Famine Insurance Fund except on the occasions of scarcity and famine. But in the present Budget he found that there is a sum of Rs 20,10,000 to be given to agriculturists. He did not know if there was any declaration of scarcity this year for which reason that amount was shown, nor did he know if there was any change in the former policy.

The next demand was under head Irrigation outlay and the Finance Member moved for a grant of Rs. 1,27,38,475. There were only 4 motions for reduction, 2 of which related to the Sarda canal and these aroused some heated discussion. Pt. Nanak Chand's main objection, in proposing a reduction of Rs. 10,000 was to

endorse the protest against the fact that the claims of a senior Indian officer were overlooked and a junior European engineer was put in charge of the Sarda Works. Thakur Mashal Singh thought that there were numerous complaints against the Sarda Canal affairs. He protested against appointing a gate keeper on Rs. 250 p. m. and other extravagances in connection with the Bareilly Workshop. When once he pointed out such instances of extravagance he was threatened by some European Engineers for being run down for defamation. Lala Mathura Prosad Mehrotra, in whose name also stood a similar motion proposing a reduction of Rs. 100 only, thought that there was no other department which spent so lavishly as the Irrigation Department. After a long debate the motion was negatived.

The entire demand was then voted and the Council adjourned on account of *Holi* till Monday, the 24th.

On MARCH 24th on the Council re-assembling after the *Holi* festival the President announced that the United Provinces Board of Revenue Amendment Act had received the Viceroy's assent.

Various motions for grants in the budget were then taken up for consideration under heads : Stamps, Registration, Subsidized Companies, Scientific Departments, Jails and Convict Settlements and Super-annuation Allowances and Pensions.

There were very few motions for reduction, most of which were not moved, as the members in whose names they stood were absent, and several of which were moved only to be withdrawn. Except the reduction of Rs. 3,481 from demand for charges for reformation of Criminal tribes under head "Jails and Convict Settlements" on the Home Member's own motion, no cuts were effected from any of the demands presented and they were voted in their entirety. Rs. 4,05,900 were voted under Stamp, Rs. 4,64,000 under Registration, Rs. 5000 under Subsidized Companies, Rs. 20,100 under Scientific Departments, Rs 51,31,800 under Superannuation Allowances and Pension and Rs. 32,03,019 after deduction of Rs. 3,481 under the head Jails and Convict Settlements.

The motion of Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram relating to general discussion on Jail Administration roused a pretty long debate and gave opportunity to the Swarajist members who had had also personal experience inside the jails to severely take the department to task. The mover's object was to endorse a protest. On several points there was, as it had been repeatedly pointed out, great discontent with regard to clothing and diet supplied to the prisoners. He strongly pressed the necessity of adding a little turmeric or *haldi* to pulse given to prisoners to give colour and to make it eatable. It would not cost much. It was also pointed out by a member the other day that a prisoner was forced to draw mill like cattle blind-folded ! In his opinion existence of such affairs was not honourable to the Government. Another thing pointed out by him was that in the interest of economy simple term prisoners should also be given some remissions of sentences as those undergoing rigorous imprisonment. He suggested formation of a small Committee to revise jail regulations.

It was strongly urged by several Swarajist members, that under the present system of jail administration the effect of imprisonment was neither reformatory nor deterrent. On the other hand imprisonment created those

undesirable habits which otherwise would not be found in prisoners. Jail administration was carried out to the utter humiliation of the people of this country. The Home Member, whose speech was subjected to constant interruptions by the Swarajist members, said he realized that the department needed reform according to change of times but it was not a day's work. He realized the importance of all the demands for reform and addressing the Swarajist members said that he felt in the same spirit as they did but there were various difficulties, the chief of which was of finance. The question of reform in the Jail Department was only treated as a secondary question. Departments like those of Education and Administration deserved the first consideration.

The demand was then put to vote and on being pressed to a division it was found that 40 voted for and only 14 against. The demand was accordingly voted.

On MARCH 26th the budget discussion closed. After election of members of the Council to serve on various Committees the remainder of demands for grants were considered. There were not many motions for reduction nor any controversial discussions and the entire business of the day was disposed of in about two hours' time. Reductions made from various demands amounted to Rs. 20,475 and the Lucknow University suffered a reduction of Rs. 1,50,000 on account of loan to that University was accepted by the Education Minister on a member's motion. There was also a motion of reduction by Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram to protest that efforts were not made to manufacture Turkish red dye for police pugrees in India. The Inspector General of Police, however, assured that he would give trial to Indian dyes and the motion was withdrawn. A motion also urged that it was a sacred duty of Government to preserve the ancient manuscripts. The Education Secretary assured that Government fully realized the importance of preserving valuable manuscripts.

A motion of Raja Suryapal Singh for omission of demand under British Empire Exhibition could not be moved as the Raja was not present. When the net demand under that head was put to vote, Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant expressed pity that the matter underlying Raja Suryapal's motion could not be discussed. Of late, he said, events like the Kenya Immigration Ordinances, Class Areas Bill and other humiliating incidents have happened. The story was full of pain which caused anguish to Indians when they thought of them. All those incidents had passed since the Council recorded its votes last October. He, therefore, asked if it was in any way proper for them to vote any further sum for the exhibition which was not profitable to them but on the other hand carried with it associations of ideas humiliating to Indian sense of nationality.

Total Reductions

After the reductions referred to above the budget discussion concluded with the voting of the demands under the following heads :— Rs. 147,450 under the miscellaneous department, Rs. 9,19,900 under stationery and printing, Rs. 10,85,000 under loans and advances by Government, Rs. 10,00,000, under civil contingencies fund, Rs. 10,39,925 under expenditure in England under the control of the High Commissioner for India.

The total reduction made in the budget as presented came to roughly over 16 lakhs, but there appeared no question of dropping any

of the taxation measures proposed. The taxation measures which were placed on the agenda of the 7th and 8th March but were postponed came up for consideration on the next day.

On MARCH 27th the Finance Member moved for the introduction, one after another, of three Taxation Bills, namely a Bill to extend the duration of the Court Fees Amendment Act of 1923, a Bill to extend the duration of the Stamp Amendment Act of 1923 and the Motor Vehicles Taxation Act of 1923. All these Taxation Bills were passed by the Council last year and were given a year's lease of life. The Government intended to re-introduce them this year as well to provide for an additional revenue of about Rs. 27 lakhs.

By 19 votes against 26 the Council negatived the motion for the introduction of the Court Fees Amendment Bill. The Motor Vehicles Taxation Bill was similarly negatived by 40 votes against 31. The only Bill that the Government succeeded in steering through was the Stamp Act Amendment Bill, which was passed by 46 votes against 31. This tax is expected to yield only about Rs. 6 lakhs.

The Government did not move for the introduction of the Bill to impose a tax on entertainments and betting, though it was originally intended to levy that tax this year.

A Political Fugitive's Estate Confiscated

Replying to a question from a Swarajist member, the Hon'ble Mr. O'Donnell stated that under Act 24 of 1923 the estates of Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh of Mursan (a political fugitive) had been vested in His Majesty the King-Emperor. The Government, however, intended to hand over the estate to his minor son under a certain Sanad, the terms of which were being considered by the Government of India. When the estate would come back to the minor, it would be placed under the control of the Court of Wards. Mahendra Pratap was a fugitive from justice and would return to India at his own risk.

On APRIL 1st various demands for supplementary grants in the budget for 1924-25 were disposed of. There was no interesting debate or hard contest in connection with the motions for reduction which were not many. Supplementary estimates were divided in two instalments and when demands under the second set were moved a motion for postponement of their consideration was brought forward by Mr. Brijnandan Prosad Misra. The main ground for postponement was that the demands involved questions of great importance and so the Council should be given more time to think.

The President said that they were not dealing with motions for resolutions. They were dealing with the budget which were something in the nature of reductions. It was the case of a budget estimate which Government placed before the House. It was not in his opinion in the power of the House to postpone their consideration. He was therefore unable to postpone unless Govt. proposed to withdraw them on that day and place them on some other date. The arrangement of Govt. business was not in his hand. The arrangement of non-official business was only in his hand.

The Finance Member however withdrew these demands and said that they would be considered of the afternoon of the 4th, if non-official

work was finished by that time or on the 5th April. The next three days were allotted for non-official business. The Bill to amend the Agra Estate Act 1920 was then passed.

On APRIL 2nd. after election of non-official members to serve on several bodies, resolutions were considered. The following resolution of Mr. Masudduzzaman after a pretty long debate was passed as amended: "That this Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor acting with his Ministers to reserve two posts of civil surgeons for private medical practitioners holding registrable qualifications in the United Provinces."

Pandit Brijnandan Prasad Misra's resolution which involved a pretty long debate on principle and which met serious opposition from Govt. through the Finance Member was as follows:—"That this Council recommends to the Govt. to arrange to lay before the Council on the first day of the October and March meeting of the Council a statement (for the information of the members) in tabular form, showing the resolutions moved and not negatived by the Council in the Reserved and the Transferred Departments during the intervening periods respectively and the extent of their acceptance or rejection by the Govt. together with the actual steps, if any, taken by the Govt. thereon, the lists to include also such resolutions as were shown in previous lists as not finally disposed of."

Mr. Misra thought that the necessity for information of that kind had been increasing more and more every day in view of the fact that as far as he could gather the Govt. did not give effect to resolutions of the Council. Govt. wanted to pick up the easiest and simplest resolutions to which it could give effect without in any way substantially spending anything, without in any way sacrificing the interest of the Imperial Services, or those resolutions which did not in any way affect the view-point of Govt. itself. The reason why he brought the matter in the form of a resolution was that it was after the sad experience of 3 years and more that he found that no number of questions would elicit truth from Govt. He also cited various questions on the subject to show that Govt's. reply was vague. He advised the Council to seriously consider the question as it involved the question of its dignity.

The subject, Dr. Ganesh Prasad said, had been before the house in some form or other for a number of years. He referred to the reply of the Finance Member given in January, 1923, on a similar motion of Mr. Shakir Ali. The reply referred to was to the effect that a resolution of the Council was a recommendation to the Government just as a resolution of the House of Commons was a recommendation to His Majesty's Government. The Finance member then also had said that their whole record was witness on the point. He therefore had not thought that it was consonant with the constitutional relations between the Government and the Legislature that the Government should be asked to undertake to furnish the report regarding the action they had taken on a resolution.

The major part of Dr. Ganesh Prasad's speech was devoted to the criticism of the constitution. He thought that the pronouncements of the Finance member referred to above presupposed certain state of affairs in this country which did not exist. It was, he said, all right

to speak of this legislature and in the same breath of another legislature, the Mother of Parliaments, namely the House of Commons, but in this country there were certain powers which were held in reserve by the Governor and which did not exist in any constitutional monarchy, or if they existed there at all, they did so only in name. It is just possible that in the constitutional history of England there might have been periods similar to those through which they were passing. It was just possible, he submitted, that the period through which they were passing to-day in India might correspond to the period in the history of England in the days of the early Stuarts but he asserted that any power that the constitutional King of Great Britain possessed had never been exercised during the last 150 years.

The Finance Member in reply said that if he had to oppose the resolution it was not because of reluctance to supply information or of disregard of the resolution but because, as they held last year, to furnish a statement and information of that nature was constitutionally unsound. A resolution of the Council was a recommendation to the executive. He was not going to discuss the question whether the constitution was or was not what it ought to be. It was not the occasion for that. They had to take the constitution (i. e. status of a resolution) as it stood. It was binding upon them. A resolution was not instruction nor order to the executive Government. It was a recommendation and they felt that to furnish a statement unasked for, not in answer to a question, would tend to suggest that the resolution was not a recommendation but instruction. It would therefore, tend to attach to the resolution a constitutional character which did not attach to it. Information as to the attitude with regard to any particular resolution could, however, be supplied if asked in the form of a question.

Finally however the resolution was put to the vote and declared carried, the President being of opinion that the "ayes" carried.

Fire Arm Licenses

The last resolution on the agenda was of Pt. Nanak Chand urging preparation and maintenance by the district officers of persons possessing qualifications to entitle them to get fire arm licenses. He thought that there had been so far no settled policy, principle, or practice in the issue of licenses. The whole system in question had been more or less guided by the arbitrary discretion of the district officers.

Govt. opposed the resolution which was pressed to a division but negatived.

On this day the Finance Member announced that the Governor had directed to place official business, which otherwise would have followed the non-official business on the 4th, to have precedence over the latter. This evoked a strong criticism from members who complained that non-official resolutions were being strangled in that way, and Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram entered his emphatic protest.

On APRIL 3rd. after disposal of a few Bills, the Council passed on to the main business, namely resolutions. There were six resolutions on the agenda, but none of them involved any interesting or controversial discussions. The following resolution of Dr. S. Ahmad Khan after pretty long debate was passed as amended: "This Council recommends to the

Government to take effective measures so far as funds permit for the organisation of compulsory primary education in these provinces."

Mr. Ashiq Hussain Mirza then moved the following resolution :—

That this Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor acting with his Ministers the appointment of a committee to enquire into the activities of the Industries department in regard to (1) the development of industries; (2) technical education; (3) & (4) purchase of stores and to make recommendations for improvement in the matter.

The motion was however withdrawn after an assurance given by the Minister.

A resolution which met with great sympathy from the Hindu members was moved by Dr. Ganesh Prasad: "This Council recommends that the Government be pleased to request His Excellency the Governor to release Musammat Parbati Debi, at present a special division prisoner in Fatehgarh Central Jail." Dr. Ganesh Prasad, without meaning any reflections on courts of justice, described briefly the method by which the prisoner's speeches which brought her conviction were reported. He said that Musammat Parbati Debi's talk was always in such difficult high class Hindi that to say the least of constables who were stated to have reported her speeches, it would be difficult even for a Hindu like him to follow them. Her speeches were not carefully taken down when delivered. Her speech at Meerut was taken down not by a Sub-Inspector but by a Head Constable. Only short notes were taken, then they were expanded, and then translated. Dr. Ganesh Prasad then referred to the speech of the Home Member in connection with the C. I. D. budget when he had stated that when he (Home Member) assumed charge the method of reporting vernacular speeches was so unsatisfactory and reports so mutilated that it was impossible to take action on them. The Home Member distinctly stated that for reasons which in public interest he was forbidden to disclose, Government could not release the prisoner in question. He realized the feelings of the majority of non-official members in the matter, but under the circumstances he had no control and so could not accede to that demand. The resolution was then put to the vote and as there were few voices of "Noes" the President declared that "ayes" carried. It was accordingly adopted.

On APRIL 4th., the last day of the Council, there was a very large number of questions only a few of which were answered. In reply to questions by Mr. Mukundilal, the Home Member stated that persons convicted in U. P. for political offences either under the Criminal Law Amendment Act or the Penal Code were 2 in 1920, 1139 in 1921, 1838 in 1922 and 12 in 1923. Of them 259 were released on having asked pardon, 21 as a matter of grace or the free will of Govt., and 2117 after serving full term. 35 were still in jail. Only one woman was convicted of political offence between 1920 and 1923.

In reply to a question of Pt. Sri Kishan Datt Palliwal, the Home Member stated that Indian prisoners wore a *Kara* and a *Hansali* for purposes of identification and this necessity did not arise in case of European prisoners whose number was very small! It had been the custom for many years to exact a minimum of 7½ seers grain grinding from European prisoners in Naini Central Jail but orders had been issued now to exact in future the full task of 15 seers from able-bodied Europeans fit for hard labour.

In reply to a question of Chaudhri Badan Singh if it was a fact that Pt. Jawahirlal Nehru and B. Purshottamdas, Chairman and Ex-chairman respectively of Allahabad Municipal Board, were unusually detained by a Ticket Collector and a C. I. D. employee at Benares Cantonment to give information of the place where they intended to put up at Benares, the Finance Member stated that it had been ascertained by enquiry that those gentlemen were not detained by any member of the C. I. D. As the Ticket Collector on duty at the time had left Benares it was impossible to ascertain whether the complaint had any justification so far as he was concerned.

After interpellations the Finance Member announced that they had decided to effect reduction in canal Irrigation rates by 5 lakhs, a reduction which was strongly urged by members during Budget discussion. The announcement was received with acclamation.

The Finance Member then presented that instalment of supplementary demands which was withdrawn on the 1st April at the suggestion of a member.

Precedence was given to the Supplementary demand under orders of the Governor. This seemed to have been felt by the non-officials as there was little time left to consider the resolutions, and so before the supplementary estimates could be presented, Pt. Brijnandan-Prasad Misra gave notice of a motion for adjournment to discuss an urgent and important public matter, namely, the action of the Governor in encroaching unconstitutionally on the course of non-official business by allowing it to be superseded by supplementary estimate when non-official business got proportionately very small allotment of days.

The President held that the motion in question was not in order. There was nothing emergent. Discretion vested in the Governor in alloting business to have precedence and that discretion was exercised. The motion was accordingly disallowed.

Supplementary estimates were considered next. One of the new demands presented related to settlement and it was only of a non-contentious nature. During the Budget discussion the demand about settlement was rejected by the council and so presentation of demand as supplementary relating to the same subject-matter was objected to by some members. However after redution by more than three lakhs the supplementary demands were voted. There were 6 non-official resolutions and as the major part of the time was taken up by questions and official business, only one resolution could be considered. The following resolution was passed: "That this Council recommends to the Government that an Ayurvedic and Unani College be established in these provinces at an early date."

The Council was then declared prorogued and adjourned sine die.

Members of the Council

PRESIDENT: The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai.

MINISTERS: Patro, The Hon'ble Sir A. P. Peddiraju, P.

The Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal.

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur T. N. Sivagnanam Pillai.

Abbas Ali Khan Bahadur
Abdul Hye Sahib Bahadur
Abdul Razack Sahib, Khan Sahib, Sayid
Abdul Wahab Sahib, Munshi
Abdulla Ghattala Sahib Bahadur
Abdulla Sahib Bahadur, Haji, Khan Bahadur
Adinarayana Chetti, T. Anjaneyu'u, P.
Ankinedu Prasad Bahadur, S. R. Y.
Appavu Chettiar, D. Ari Gowder.
Arpudaswami Udayar, S.
Arumuga Nadar, P. K. S. Bhanoji Rao, A. V.
Biswanath Das, Sriman. Bradford Leslie
Chidambara Nadar, A. Congreve Mr. C. R. T.
Cruz Fernandez, Rao Bahadur.
Davies, R. W. Davis, J. A. Devendrudu, N.
Ellappa Chettiyar, Rao Sahib S.
Ethirajulu Nayudu, Rao Bahadur P. C.
Gangaraju, M. Gopala Menon, C.
Gopalan, P. V. Guruswami, L. C.
Knapp, Hon. Sir Arthur Rowland. (*ex-officio*)
Koti Reddi, K.
Krishna Rao Pantu'u, Rao Bahadur A. S.
Krishnan Nayar, Diwan Bahadur M.
Krishnaswami Nayudu, Rao Bahadur K.
Kuppuswami, J. Leech, Arthur J.
Legh, E. W. Madhava Raja, V.
Madhavan Nayar, C. Madurai, Hony. Lt.
Mahabala Hegde, B. Mallesappa, T.
Marakkayar, V. Hamid Sultan.
Marthandam Pillai P. N.
Maruthavanam Pillai, C. Mathai, Dr. John.
Moidu Sahib, T. M. Moore, P. L.
Moosa Sait Sahib, Muhammad.
Muhammad Sahib Bahadur, T. N.
Muniswami Nayudu, B.
Murugappa Chettiyar, Rao Bahadur A. M. M.
Muttayya Mudaliyar, S.
Muttayya Mudaliyar, C.

Madras Legislative Council

Jan.—March 1924

Kesava Pillai, Diwan Bahadur P.
Khalif-ul-lah Sahib, Khan Bahadur P.
Narasimha Raju, Rao Bahadur C. V. S.
Narayanan Nambudripad, O. M.
Natesa Mudaliyar, Rao Bahadur C.
Nicholson, C. Obalesappa, B.
Paddison, G. F. Patridge, P. W.
Pantulu Ayyar, V. *alias* Venkatarama Ayyer.
Pethachi Chettiyar, Diwan Bah. S. C. T.
Ponnuswami Nayudu, C.
Ponnuswami Pillai, K. S.
Prabhakaran Thampan, K. Premayya, G.
Raghuchandra Bellal, K.
Raja of Kollengode, The Hon'ble (*ex-officio*)
Raja of Kurupam. Raja of Ramnad.
Rajan, P. T. Rajappa Tevar, P. S.
Rama Rao, Rao Sahib U.
Raman, Rao Bahadur P.
Ramachandra Reddi, B. Ramachari, K. V.
Ramalinga Chettiyar, Rao Bahadur T. A.
Ramalinga Reddi, C.
Ramaswami Ayyar, Hon' Mr. C. P. (*ex-officio*
Ramaswami Mudaliyar, A.
Rameswara Rao, G. Ratnaswami, M.
Ranganatha Mudaliyar, A.
Rencotre, A. E.
Roche Victoria J. L. P. Sagaram, P.
Saldanha, J. A. Samuel, J D.
Sarabha Reddi, K. Sarvarayudu, K.
Muttu Chettiyar, P. C.
Narasimhacharulu, Rai Bahadur T. M.
Satyamurti, S. Sectayya, M.
Seturatnam Ayyar, M. R.
Sitarama Reddi, K. Siva Rao, P.
Srinivasan, R. Srinivasa Ayyangar, R.
Subbarayan, Dr. P.
Subramania Pillai, K. Chavadi
Sundaramurti, P. V. S.
Suryanarayanamurti Nayudu,
Diwan Bahadur K.
Thangavelu Pillai, Rao Sahib T. C.
Thanikachalla Chettiyar, Rao Bahadur O.
Tireman, H.
Todhunter, Hon. Sir Charles (*ex-officio*)
Tyagaraya Chetti, Diwan Bahadur Sir P.
Uppi Sahib, K. Veeraian, R.
Vellingiri Gounder, V. C.
Venkatachala Padayachi, K.
Venkatachalam Chetti, S.
Venkata Reddi Nayudu, Rai Bahadur Sir K.
Venkataramana Ayyangar, C. V.
Venkataranga Reddi, Rao Bahadur C.
Venkatapathi Razu, P. C.
Vijiaraghava Mudaliyar, W.
Virappa Chettiyar, Rao Bahadur P. K.
Venkataratnam, B.
Wood, C. E.
Yahya Ali Sahib, Janab Muhammad

Chief Events—Mad.

5	Feb	24	First sitting of the Council—Adjournment motion on the Chief Minister's whip carried.
7	Feb	24	Madras Irrigation Bill discussed.
9	Feb	24	Mr. Kesava Pillai's motion to stop regrouping of villages passed against Government after heated debate.
4	Mar	24	Adjournment motion on the control of appointment by Government talked out after a hot debate.
17	Mar	24	President announced receipt of a message from H. E. the Governor recommending his own amendments to the Hindu Religious Endowments Bill passed in April 1923.
22	Mar	24	Grant for Ministers' salaries etc., passed by amendments being guillotined by lapse of time.
24	Mar	24	Interesting information was elicited as to the work done by an I. E. S. man who delivered 18 hours lecture in a year—Motion for Separation of Judicial and Executive functions carried against Government.
28	Mar	24	Adjournment motion for gagging the Mirasdars' conference at Mayavaram by the Dist. Magistrate discussed and then withdrawn—Madras Land Revenue Bill thrown out.
1	Apr.	'24	Motion condemning the *Swarajya* paper of Madras in impugning the impartiality of the President discussed—Official bills passed.
2	Apr	'24	Hindu Religious Endowment Bill as amended by Governor evoked strong criticism by non-officials but was eventually passed by the House next day.
3	Ap.	'24	Non-official Resolutions passed—Council prorogued by Governor.

सत्यमेव जयते

Madras Legislative Council

After its December session the 2nd Reformed Madras Legislative Council resumed its sitt ngs on FEBRUARY 5th. The Hon. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai took the Chair as the new President.

The House was about to proceed with the business of the day when Mr. S. Satyamurti rising to a point of order observed that this meeting was not properly convened, his reason was that the meeting was first announced to be held on 28th January. Three days before that date the original intimation was cancelled and a fresh announcement was made to the effect that the House would meet on that day (5th).

The President ruled that it was properly held.

Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan then rose with another point of order. He stated that the non-official members had not been given the number of days they were entitled to for transacting their business.

At question time an unfortunate turn came last in the matter of the Reddy-Pangal controversy which was a blot on the public life of the province. Mr. Swami Venkatachalam Chetty moved an adjournment of the House to consider an urgent matter of public importance, viz, the issue of a whip by the Hon. the Chief Minister in connection with the "No-Confidence" motion of Mr. C. R. Reddy made in November last. The President then asked the opinion of the House whether it gave leave to the motion being made. The President allowed the motion and announced that it would be taken up at 4 P. M. A question of taking disciplinary action on the SWARAJYA paper for attacking the President was next raised but the matter was postponed.

Supplementary Grants were then taken up.

A grant of an additional sum of Rs. 31,000 under Irrigation for repairs to minor irrigation works was made as also an additional sum of Rs. 1,260 for the additional Sessions Court, Coimbatore.

An additional sum of Rs. 72,000 as grants in aid to local bodies for the maintenance of trunk roads was then granted.

The TUTICORIN PORT TRUST BILL as amended by the Select Committee was next considered and several clauses were agreed to till the 8th. clause on disqualification of persons to be appointed to the Board was reached. The discussion that followed on the sections of the bill evoked a good deal of racial bias as the Hon. Sir Charles Todhunter opposed and the non-official members urged election of Indians on the board. An amendment that either the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman should be an Indian was passed by defeating Government by 42 to 30 votes. Another amendment to exclude Colonial Britishers from the board was made as retaliation upon the South Africans and the Kenya Whites.

At this stage Mr. Chetty's adjournment motion to consider the Chief Minister's whip issued in connection with the no-confidence motion of Mr. C. R. Reddy in November last was taken up and a long and animated debate followed. The matter arose in this way: In November last Mr. C. R. Reddy had tabled a resolution of "no-confidence" on the Ministers. On this the Chief-Minister, the Raja of Panagal, issued a Government whip to all nominated and other members that they should vote for the Ministers. Subsequently when questioned about it the Hon. Sir Charles Todhunter denied any knowledge and opined that nominated members were not bound to vote one way or the other, certainly not for Government. Thus the Chief Minister was guilty of

violating confidence and his conduct was inconsistent with the dignity of the House. The debate that followed showed the bitterness of communal and party feeling in the Council. Mr. Thanikachalam Chetty made strong personal reflections on several members who opposed the Ministers. Messrs. Satyamurti, C. R. Reddy, Sir A. P. Patro, and the Raja of Panagal were the chief speakers. The motion was eventually talked out.

On FEBRUARY 6TH the "dirty linen" of the Reddy—Panagal correspondence again came up in question time and the supplementary questions revealed that Mr. C. R. Reddy had asked the Raja to have the Presidentship of the Council and the Vice-Chancellorship of the University. Discussion on the previous day's amendment on the PORT TRUST BILL was then taken up and again adjourned to the next day. The Hon. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar then moved the Madras IRRIGATION BILL. Several amendments were moved to have the bill postponed for six months to one month but were negatived.

On FEBRUARY 7TH the Port Trust Bill was taken up and the amendment for the exclusion of Colonial Britishers from the board was carried against Govt. The Irrigation Bill was next taken up. The strongest opponent of the measure proved to be Sir K. V. Reddi who pointed out some of the glaring defects in the project, such as the forcing of labour, taking possession of land which did not belong to Govt. etc. The bill was eventually referred to a select committee.

On FEBRUARY 8TH there was an unprecedented number of questions and answers which occupied more than 2½ hours. A supplementary grant was then taken up and voted. This was a non-official day and Mr. Satyamurti objected to official business being taken up. The President promised to give ample time for non-official business. The supplementary demand was one which had been rejected by the House in March last, viz. Rs. 17,200 for the special pay to Deputy Collectors employed in settlement work. Govt. stated that a sort of half-promise had been made to these officers and so the grant was passed

Non-official business was then taken up and Mr. P. Paddiraju's motion recommending cancellation of the Government notification for levying a fee on certain lands in the Kistna District to be included in the ayacut registers should be cancelled, was proposed and carried.

Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai moved a resolution recommending to the Government that further grouping of villages might be forthwith stopped. After discussion the Law Member suggested an amendment:

"That this Council recommends to the Government that the policy of regrouping of villages be discontinued both in the raiyatwari and Zamindari villages and that the villages amalgamated during the last two years be divided into their original units, and that the village officers who were removed consequent on such amalgamation be restored to their offices." The complaint was that Govt. was saving money by reducing the chowkidars and subordinate village officers and for this was breaking up village unity. After a long debate in which Government strongly opposed the measure, the resolution was carried.

Mr. Abbas Ali moved a resolution that in future persons aged 60 years or above be not appointed to or continued in the office of Public Prosecutor. It was finally withdrawn on the Law Member giving an assurance that he would consider the matter.

Mr. B. Mahabale Hegde moved a resolution for the remission of assessment to the extent of two-thirds on all wet lands yielding second crop whereon the first crop was destroyed by floods It was, however, withdrawn on Govt. assuring to look into the matter.

The Council then adjourned till the 4th MARCH.

On MARCH 4th Sir Charles Todhunter presented the Budget.

The following is a summary of the Finance Member's statement :—

The Budget for 1924-25 shows a total revenue of Rs. 1,675 lakhs and provides for a total expenditure of Rs. 1,660 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 15 lakhs which will be utilised towards payment of the Government of India's short term loans. There is neither increase nor decrease of taxation. The closing balance is a small sum of Rs. 14 lakhs, representing the amount at credit of the famine insurance fund.

The Budget contains a lump provision of Rs. 7 lakhs for grants to University and for famine and flood charges which have not yet been estimated, though it is likely that the provision will be far exceeded. The Budget provides for various minor new schemes representing ordinary expansion of the working of several departments.

The only important scheme is the long postponed bifurcation of the Kistna District. Provision has been made for various buildings connected with the ordinary administration by financing from loan money works costing half a lakh and more. Provision made for this purpose in 1924-25 is about Rs. 8 lakhs.

There has been a steady, though small, increase in expenditure in Transferred Departments, the percentage having risen from 32 in 1921-22 to 33 in 1924-25.

Heavy contributions to the Central Government to the tune of Rs. 348 lakhs, representing more than one fifth of the total revenue of Madras, has retarded the progress of administration in various directions such as mass education.

The remission of contributions by Rs. 80 lakhs now under discussion in the Legislative Assembly will go somewhat towards accelerating the progress of the Presidency. Even then Madras with a population of 42 millions will be far behind her sister presidency of Bombay with a population of 19 millions.

Dewan Bahadur Krishna Rao moved an adjournment to discuss the question of distribution of patronage and the control of the Services. The point stressed by the mover was that recently it had come out that the Ministers had no free hand at all in the matter of patronage and appointments, that they had become assimilated into the reserved half of the Government. The Govt. brought in a very old despatch of the Court of Directors of the days of the Company relying upon some saving clauses in the Government of India Act. The question of divisions of functions, the devolution rules, the control of the services etc, were brought in and instances were cited during the long debate of cases where the Ministers had been reduced to a nonentity and appointment in their departments had been made by supersession. The motion however was talked out.

On MARCH 6th the general discussion of the budget which lasted for 3 days was opened. The voting of grants was taken up on the 17th March and continued till the 29th. Altogether 45 non-officials spoke on the general discussion and the general grounds of complaint were about education and irrigation. The provincial contribution and the Salt Tax also had their usual share.

On MARCH 17th the Hon the President announced receipt of a message from H. E. the Governor in respect of the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Bill which was passed at the meeting of the last Council in April 1923.

Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chettiar rose to a point of order and enquired whether the remitting of the Bill back to the Council was in order. Mr. C. R. Reddy also raised a point of order as to whether it was in order to remit the Bill to a new Council. These points were postponed.

Motions on the Budget for 1924-25 were then taken up. The first demand was for Land Revenue. A number of motions for reduction or omission of allotments for executive subordinates, fixed travelling allowance, establishment for preparing statistics etc., were moved and explanations having been furnished by Government, they were withdrawn.

Rao Bahadur A. S. Krishna Rao moved the omission of the allotment of Rs. 97,651 to the Board of Revenue—Financial Commissioner and

establishments. The object of the motion was to recommend the abolition of the Board of Revenue. This was carried against Govt. by 49 to 33.

Mr. S. Satyamurti at this stage moved an adjournment of the House to consider a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., the sending of a telegram by some members of the Council to the Government of India supporting the maintenance of the Salt Duty at Rs. 2 per maund if the Provincial contribution from Madras was to be reduced. After some discussion the President ruled it out of order.

The time limit for the Land Revenue demand having been reached by the long discussion some 80 motions for reduction lapsed and the House then voted the whole of Rs. 220,94 lakhs minus Rs. 97,661 disallowed on the 17th.

The Excise grant of Rs. 24·13 lakhs was then taken up. Mr. C. V. Iyengar moved a cut of Rs. 15 000 to abolish Assistant Commissionership. In the discussion that followed the excise policy was strongly attacked whereupon the Govt. member proposed to have the matter put to vote on a nominal cut of Rs. 100. Mr. Iyengar consequently amended his motion, but after discussion the President asked him to withdraw the motion as the object, namely, of raising a discussion had been achieved. The whole excise demand was then granted by 63 to 28.

On MARCH 19th a long string of very important questions on the work of the cabinet, the secret of appointments, and Rules etc. for these, made the proceedings very lively, as Government did not disclose cabinet secrets and gave only evasive answers. On the resumption of voting on grants the demand under Stamps was cut down by Rs. 1,000 on the motion of Mr. C. V. Iyengar. There was a long debate on which the members attacked Government for having commercialised litigation and finally Government was defeated by 63 to 23 votes in this cut. The Stamp demand less Rs. 1,000 was then passed. The forest demand was then granted.

On MARCH 20th questions elicited the information that Ministers were in the habit of roving about in their electoral tours at public expense. The demand under Registration was next taken up. Rai Bahadur Narasimhachari moved for a cut of Re. 1 to raise a general discussion. The action of the Inspector General of Registration in dismissing people right and left and going over the country to canvass openly for the Hon. Sir A. P. Patro was strongly condemned, but Sir A. P. Patro said that the statement was a lie. Eventually the motion as well as a few others were withdrawn and the total demand was passed. Similarly the demands under Irrigation were carried.

On MARCH 22nd the Ministers' salary grant came under the guillotine rule and was passed without discussion owing to lapse of time. Mr. C. R. Reddy wanted to have this matter taken up but the House did not allow him and so he, followed by many members of the opposition, left the House.

On MARCH 24 a large number of questions enlivened the proceedings of the House. The power of Ministers to give effect to resolutions, the indecent haste in convicting the Editor of the "Congress" paper of sedition in one day's trial, the scandalous way in which Prof. Smith of the Presidency College did his work, and various other matters were discussed in interpellations. On the resumption of the budget the Law Member made an announcement in respect of separation of the Executive and Judicial functions that the Govt. of India would consider the question on an all-India basis, so the matter was further postponed. Several other grants were then passed.

On MARCH 25TH, on resumption of the budget grants, the 'Gaols' demand for Rs. 31·63 was moved by Sir Arthur Knapp. Mr. K. Uppi Sahab moved a cut of 2 lakhs from the allotment of 13 lakhs for dietary charges, on the ground that the police quite unnecessarily and harassingly put a very large number of innocent people into prison. The reputation of the Indian Police on this matter is world-wide. The main objection was to the great number of Moplah prisoners kept in jail. Mr. C. V. Iyengar proposed a cut of 1 lakh instead of 2. This was put and carried. The demand under Gaols was then agreed to.

Hon. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar then presented the Police Budget—a demand of Rs. 158·02 lakhs. He made a long preparatory speech outlining his policy and promising various measures of public utility with a view to meet popular demands against police expenditure. Only a few minor cuts were proposed and withdrawn.

On MARCH 26TH Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Iyengar moved a reduction of 5 lakhs from the Police budget. He said that Madras was spending more on Police than other provinces and less on Education. The motion was not accepted and the whole Police demand was finally agreed to.

Mr. Satyamurti moved a nominal reduction of Rs. 100 from the provision of Rs. 8·01 lakhs for "Education Reserved" and in the course of a long speech attacked the policy of the Govt. in maintaining separate European and Anglo-Indian Schools. After discussion the motion was negatived by a huge majority. The demand under "Education Reserved" was then passed.

Hon Sir A. P. Patro then moved the demand of Rs. 120·48 lakhs under "Education Transferred." A cut of Rs. 10,000 proposed by Mr. Thampan from the grant to Arts College was withdrawn, as also a few minor cuts. The most interesting part of the debate was where Mr. Satyamurti exposed the work or no-work of an European Professor, one Mr. E. Smith, who drew his princely salary for lecturing about a dozen hours in the whole year! This worthy Imperial Service-man had his whole time given to the European Govt. servants' Association! On the Minister promising to make enquiries the matter was dropped. Mr. A. R. Mudaliar then raised the question of the undesirability of maintaining separate colleges for separate communities. Mr. C. R. Reddy strongly spoke in support of such institutions, and Dr. Natesa Mudaliar urged the starting of a Mahomedan College. The motion was in the end withdrawn.

On MARCH 27TH at question time some diversion was created by the ex-Minister, Sir K. V Reddy, answering certain questions directed to the Education Minister. Some members questioned this procedure whereupon Sir Venkata said that since the present Minister was only 6 months in office, it was not fair to ask him as to what was done before that. The President intervened and said that the ex-Minister could reply to questions only when requested to do so by the incumbent in office. Mr. Venkataramana Iyengar asked questions regarding the Mirasdars' Conference which was to be held at Mayavaram on the 30th but was interfered with by the district authorities. The Law Member took all responsibility upon himself but said that he must depend upon the "men on the spot."

Voting of grants was then resumed. Rao Bahadur A. K. Krishna Rao raised the question of the creation of an Andhra University which had long been hanging in the balance without Govt. doing anything in the matter. Sir A. P. Patro in reply assured the House that the Govt. was moving in the matter though slowly. He had asked the P. W. D. to make plans. The Finance Committee had resolved that as soon as relief came on the score of the Provincial Contribution, a sum would be kept apart for this new university. But at present there was no hope of any financial relief, but he promised to press the Finance Com-

mittee for funds. As a Government they were committed to the scheme. On his own responsibility Sir Patro was getting a bill drafted.

The demand under "Education" was then passed without any reduction.

After lunch the Medical grant of Rs. 53·15 lakhs was taken up. Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar in moving for a cut of Rs. 100 raised the question of indigenous systems of medicine which were being grossly neglected by the Govt. The Hon'ble the Minister promised to bring in a supplementary bill for this purpose after the cabinet had met and given its sanction. The mover, wished to press his motion for the purpose of strengthening the hands of the Minister by giving him the backing of the House. The Minister, however, said that such backing would rather do harm to the project than strengthen his hands and consequently he was going to vote against the motion. Thereupon the mover withdrew his motion. Several minor cuts were proposed which were not pressed and finally the remaining items of the Medical demand were put to the House and passed.

On MARCH 28th the Mirasdars' question was raised in the House, Mr. C. R. Reddy, the Raja of Ramnad and Mr. Satyamurti taking the lead. The latter moved an adjournment of the House to consider the gagging order of the District Magistrate, Tanjore, which had the effect of stopping the Mirasdars' conference by force, but he withdrew it on an assurance given by the Law Member that he would see that right and justice was done. Sir Arthur Knapp then introduced the Madras Land Revenue Bill which proposed to re-assess land at almost double the prevailing rates. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayer was heading an agitation outside the Council to throw out the bill. The Raja of Kollengode supported the bill, but the majority of the leading Councillors opposed it, including such men as Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair, Sir K. V. Reddy and Mr. Ramaswamy Mudalier. After the whole day's debate the bill was thrown out by a large majority, 18 voting for and 68 against the bill.

On MARCH 31st an excess grant of Rs. 3,09,718 was demanded to regularise the expenditure chargeable to revenue incurred in 1922-23 in excess of the grant voted in that year. This was agreed to. Rs. 30,000 for tour expenses in connection with the Govt. exodus to the hills was then demanded and agreed to. Several small sums were then demanded as supplementary grants which were carried. The Raja of Panagal moved for a grant of Rs. 1,86,326 under the head Medical. This was carried, as also a motion for Rs. 20,000 to provide for expenditure on indigenous systems of medicine.

This closed the Budget discussion. Sir Charles Todhunter then read a communication from the Governor certifying the demand of Rs. 97,661 under "General Administration—Secretariat Establishment,—Board of Revenue" which had previously been rejected by the House.

On APRIL 1st, on the Council re-assembling, the Hon. Sir M. Habibullah, who had so long been under deputation on the Lee Commission, resumed office as Revenue Member of the Govt. and took his seat as such in the Council. He was greeted with cheers from the whole House, as he was the most popular figure amongst the front-rank members. There were a large number of questions and some of them quite enlivened the otherwise dull proceedings. Large sums of money spent by the Governor for his furniture and odds and ends formed the subject matter of a long passage-at-arms between the Home Member and Mr. Satyamurti.

Rao Bahadur Ethirajulu Naidu next moved his resolution that the House strongly disapproved of the action of the SWARAJYA paper in impugning the impartiality of the President of the Council. There was a heated debate on this motion which was finally withdrawn at the request of the Law Member.

Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair then brought in his Malabar Tenancy Bill which was put to the House and carried. Sir Arthur Knapp then introduced a bill to amend the Madras Children Act 1920 and at the same sitting the bill was passed into law. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar then moved the Madras Pilferage Prevention Bill, which, after a little opposition, was carried by a majority. The Bill was then referred to a select committee.

On APRIL 2nd the President took up the Madras Hindu Religious Endowment Bill for consideration according to the message of the Governor received on the previous day. This was a bill passed by the last Council and after having passed through various stages was now with the Governor waiting his assent to become law; the Governor had however suggested certain amendments as a condition precedent to his assent being given. Now these amendments were before the House. Several points of order were raised questioning the legality of the Governor's action but the President said that it was his duty to execute the message. He moved the first amendment as proposed by the Governor, when the Raja of Ramnad moved that the consideration of the bill be adjourned for a year. He was supported by the Raja of Challapalli and Messrs Krishna Rao, C. R. Reddy, and others. The strongest constitutional objection was taken to the method pursued by the Governor remitting a Bill from one Council which was dissolved to another which then came into existence.

On the side of Government, the amendment was strongly opposed by the Law Member and the Advocate General, and finally was defeated by 40 to 60. Discussion then turned on what should be done with the new amendments proposed by the members. The Advocate General wanted the president to vote them all out of order save and except the Governor's amendments. On this point there was much discussion which were not concluded when the House rose.

On APRIL 3rd the President gave his ruling on the several points of order raised on the last day's debate on the Governor's amendments to the Religious Endowments Bill. He said that on the day when the House passed the bill (in the last Council it exhausted its right to move amendments and the Governor's amendments were in the nature of alterations proposed by him could not be counter-amended. He therefore ruled all the other amendments as out of order whereupon a number of opposition members left the House in protest. The Governor's amendments were then placed before the House one by one and passed. At one stage Sir K. V. Reddy and Mr. Krishnan Nair again raised their voice of protest and several more members left the House, but finally all the amendments were carried through, the remaining opposition members taking no part in the proceedings.

On the House re-assembling after lunch non-official resolutions were taken up. Mr. K. V. Reddy moved that the Ghat Thalayaris who had been removed in pursuance of the retrenchment scheme be re-instated. This was agreed to. Mr. Abbas Ali moved that all the Moplah prisoners, other than actual murderers etc., of the last rebellion be released. He compared the Moplahs to a belligerent force and he said that the only decent thing after peace had been established was to set them free. The motion was carried, Government opposing. Mr. K. P. Thampan then moved that the assessment on second crops in places affected by the recent drought in Malabar be remitted. On Sir M. Habibullah opposing it on behalf of Government on the ground that all possible concession had already been given, the mover withdrew the motion. This closed the business of the Council for the March Session.

H. E. the Governor then came and declared the Council prorogued in a short speech in which he took leave of the Council before retirement.

B. & O. Legislative Council

The first meeting of the second B. & O. Legislative Council took place on Tuesday the 15th January, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Khwaja Mohamad Nur presiding. There was a full attendance of members. H. E. the Governor inaugurated the new Council in a short speech.

The Council met next on Wednesday, the 16th January to elect a Deputy President for the Council and non-official members on the Standing Committee on Public Accounts. On votes being taken Chowdhury Bhagwat Prasad Samant Rai Mahapatra was elected as the Deputy-President.

On FEBRUARY 12th, the first business day, the Council met for non-official resolutions. The first resolution was moved by Mr. Md. Yunus recommending the publication of the Council proceedings in the vernaculars. The mover urged that such a step would serve to educate the electors and keep them in touch with what their representatives were doing in the Council. The motion was carried, Govt. opposing. Mr. Yunus moved another resolution suggesting the creation of a department for the management of endowed estates. He said that it was in the interests of the public at large that such a department should be created. Mr. Mubarak Ali moved an amendment to the resolution that early effect be given to the Mussalman Wakf Act 1923 which was accepted by the House and carried.

After lunch Mr. Mubarak Ali's resolution regarding the re-opening of the Saran canal was discussed. The mover said that the extension of the canal would offer facilities to the agriculturists for irrigation purposes. The motion was finally carried by 33 against 12 votes, Govt. opposing.

On FEBRUARY 13th Kumar Rajivaranjan Prasad Sinha moved the following resolution :—

This Council recommends to the Government—(a) that the report of the committee on the separation of executive and judicial functions be forthwith published for eliciting public opinion and criticism; (b) that the Government do publish their final conclusions after considering those opinions and criticisms within a period of three months from the date of the said report: and (c) that the Govt. do make provision in their budget for 1924-25 for a sum approximately sufficient to enable them to carry out during the course of the next financial year the recommendations made in the said report.

After a long debate the resolution was split up into three parts and put to vote separately. The first clause was carried. The second clause was pressed to a division and carried by 46 to 19. The third part was then put and lost by 28 against 34.

Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath moved that an Ayurvedic College be established in the province. In proposing the resolution, he said, people all over India were insisting on the establishment of an Ayurvedic College. Allopathic Colleges were many but no Ayurvedic College organised on scientific basis existed. Moulvi Mobarak Ali suggested an amendment for teaching Tibbi along with Ayurveda. After a long debate and on the assurance of the Ministers that the matter will be enquired into by them, the resolution was withdrawn.

On FEBRUARY 14th Supplementary Demands were taken up. Mr. W. S. Bremner moved that the Council do assent to the supplementary grant of Rs. 57,400 under head Irrigation, Navigation etc. He said that the Dehri weir was severely damaged during the

high floods in August last. After having explained the nature of the damage, he said that it was necessary to repair these damages to bring the Sone Canal into efficient state of working. The total amount would be 2 lacs 25 thousand rupees, of which 1 lac would be spent this year. It had been managed to secure Rs. 42,600 by re-appropriation by strict economy. For the balance of Rs. 57,400 a supplementary demand had been put forward. Put to the vote the motion was carried.

A grant of Rs. 26,000 under head 'other than revenue expenditure financed from ordinary revenue.' was also carried.

The Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Fakhruddin moved that the Council do assent to a supplementary grant of Rs. 2,100 for the "Purchase of Moghul Coins for the Patna Museum." The motion was put to the vote and carried. Also a supplementary grant of Rs 44,523 for "Grants to local bodies for primary education—Recurring" was agreed to. He also moved for a supplementary grant of Rs. 3,00,000 under head "Loans under the Co-operative Societies Act.' This was agreed to.

The B. & O. Budget.

On FEBRUARY 15th the Budget was presented by the Finance Member, the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha. When the budget for the current financial year was passed last March, he expected an opening balance of one crore twenty-two lakhs and thirty-nine thousand, a revenue of five crores thirteen lakhs and thirty-three thousand, an expenditure (debitable to revenue) of five crores nine lakhs and eighty-eight thousand, and a closing balance of one crore twenty-six lakhs and ninety-six thousand. The actual results showed an alteration on the right side in all these items. The opening balance was one crore forty-three lakhs and twenty eight thousand (namely an excess of twenty-lakhs eighty-nine thousand), the revenue was estimated at five crores twenty-seven lakhs and fifty-one thousand (namely an excess of fourteen lakhs eighteen thousand) and the expenditure (debitable to revenue) was estimated at four crores ninety-two lakhs and thirty-nine thousand (namely seventeen lakhs forty-nine thousand less than estimated), with the result that he expected to close the year with a balance of one crore sixty-five lakhs and five thousand.

For the next financial year he anticipated a further increase of revenue to five crores thirty-four lakhs and forty-two thousand—that is, an excess of six lakhs ninety-one thousand over that of the current year. This estimate might have, however, to be modified, if the results of the excise settlements did not come up to expectations, and possibly that for stamps also may have to be reduced, as since the last few months there had been a falling off under this head.

Turning to expenditure, he said: 'the estimated amount required for next year (exclusive of new schemes) was four crores ninety-one lakhs and thirty three thousand, almost exactly one lakh less than our estimated expenditure this year. The total ultimate cost of the new schemes put forward was twelve lakhs and thirty thousand recurring and thirty-five lakhs forty-two thousand non-recurring. The closing balance at the end of 1924-25 was put at one crore seventy-nine lakhs and fifty-eight thousand.

The main outlines of the budget are characterised by the familiar features of disproportionately more expenditure over the Police, the Jails, Justice etc and ever so much less, compatatively speaking, on Education, Public Health, Medical and Industries. There was provision for Rs. 17,87,000 for Jails, 82,81,000 for Police and 36,95,000 for Justice, an expenditure of 68,22,000 for Education, 20,89,000 for Medical, 9,99,000 for Public Health and but 7,55,000 for Industries, 4,75,000 for primary education, 3 lakhs for capital expenditure on medical buildings in rural areas and 2 lakhs for recurring grant to

District Boards for medical relief. The Industries Budget showed an increase of 1,55,000 over the revised amount and this comprised 74,000 for converting the Behar School of Engineering into a College and 30,000 for Orissa Engineering school, thus making up a total of 2,04,000 against the current estimate of 1,76,000 for the two schools taken together. Two other notable provisions are 71,000 for the Cottage Industries Institute and 50,000 for the Tirhut Technical Institute.

On FEBRUARY 18th non-official resolutions were further taken up. Mr. Dulu Manki moved: 'This Council recommends to the Government that people be permitted to take for fuel sabai grass and home materials free of charge from the protected forests in the district of Singbhum.' There were 3 amendments to the resolution which were all declared out of order. The motion was carried, Govt. not opposing.

The resolution of Kumar Rajivaranjan Prasad Sinha urging the appointment of a Standing Committee consisting of officials and non-officials for the next three years to devise measures and take such timely action as may be necessary for the prevention of further recurrence of the floods in the rivers Ganges and the Sone in the district of Shahabad which was afterwards amended with the addition of the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr and Palamau as well was passed, inspite of Government opposition.

On FEBRUARY 19th a heated debate took place on the introduction of the Charka in Schools. Babu Nilkantha Chatterjee moved:—"This Council recommends to the Government that in all public schools arrangements be made for teaching boys and girls above the age of ten the art of spinning by "Charka." He said that the majority of Indians did not know what were called two meals a day. According to an official statement the average income of an Indian was Rs. 2-8 a month. This terrible poverty of the people could to a very great extent be mitigated by the introduction of Charka.

Pandit Godawaris Misra supported the resolution. This was a subject, he said, which should have been given consideration by Government long before. The spinning wheel, which was introduced in this country in accordance with the Congress resolution and which had become very popular would have succeeded well had not unnecessary interference come from the Police at the instigation of the Govt.

Babu Ganesh Dutt Singh opposing the motion asked why there should be compulsion when there was a general talk of freedom everywhere to-day. Let those who want to learn do so by all means. He asked what they were going to do in case of 42 lakhs of boys of school-going age. How many, he asked, who were supporting the resolution were spinning Charkha themselves? Why can not they go about in villages and ask people to take to it? They had failed there and they had come to the Council and were asking Government to do it!

Sir Muhammad Fakhruddin said that he personally was a great believer in Charkha. But they had to see if Charkha could be placed on an economic basis. He issued circulars sometime back to Registrars of Co-operative Societies to supply Charkha to pardanashin ladies, incapacitated people and poor agriculturists who wanted it. Thus Government was not against it. He pleaded spinning being made an optional subject for boys and compulsory for girls. If the resolution was thus amended and if it was laid down that the boys should bring cotton themselves, he would have no objection to accepting the resolution. After a long debate the motion was put to the vote and carried by 37 to 26 votes.

On FEBRUARY 21st & 22nd there was a general discussion on the Budget which was strongly attacked by most of the Indian members for the exhorbitant Police expenditure and the sapping of the vitality

of the people by the Excise and Stamp policy of the Govt The vices of the people were being encouraged for the purposes of revenue, so said Babus Anant Prasad, J. C. Bhattacharya, Mr. Rajendra Misra; the latter also attacking the C. I. D. strongly. Messrs Ramnarayan Misra and Mahapatra urged for more money for Orissa. Mr. Jaleswar Prasad spoke against the increase in the pay of high officials and the cost of administration doubling in the last four years. Mr. M. S. Das, late Minister, strongly attacked the position of Ministers. They were mere lookers-on with no power to do any good to the people. They were like men married to widows and saddled with step-sons! They were encumbered with many step-sons, sitting behind them in the official benches and going by the name of their secretaries! The Govt. members then replied, supporting their standpoint in their usual way.

On MARCH 5th, on the Council re-assembling, non-official business was taken up. There was a very meagre attendance, only some 55 members out of 105 attending, majority being the Govt. members and their supporters. Inspite of this a resolution by Mr. Nilkantha Chatterji who moved for the release of all political prisoners of the Province was carried by a majority. A heated debate followed in which Mr. Rajandhari Singh, Pt. Godawarris Misra, Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath, Mr. Jimut Sen, Mr. Srinarayan Sahay, Babu Jaleshwar Prasad and others took part in support of the resolution. The Hon. Mr. McPherson in opposing the motion on behalf of Govt. made a scurrilous speech attacking Pt Gopabhandu Das which was highly resented by the Council. Eventually the motion was adopted.

Babu Bhuvaneshwari Prasad Mandal then moved:—'This Council recommends to the Government that the Court Fees Act VII of 1870 as amended by the Bihar and Orissa Court Fees (Amendment) Act 1912 be further amended so as to fix a maximum limit of Rs. 5,000/- leviable as ad-valorem fees on institution of suits."

The motion was put to vote and resulted in equality of division. With the casting vote of the President the motion was negatived.

Votes on Budget Grants

On MARCH 6th the budget demands were discussed item by item and voted upon. The Hon. Mr. H McPherson first moved that the Council do assent to the demand of Rs. 20,50,098 under the head "Land Revenue."

Babu Gur Sahay Lal moved that the provision of Rs. 83,290 for "Kanungo establishment" be omitted. The mover urged that Kanungoes were not really required and they were engaged in discharging duties other than their own and for which they did not exist. The Hon. Mr. McPherson opposing the motion said that the mover had followed a wrong course in asking the Council for the total abolition of the Kanungoes. The Kanungoes were doing quite useful work and it was not possible to dispense with their services. Ultimately the motion was put to the vote and carried by 28 against 25 votes.

After some other motions for reduction had been withdrawn, the head demand of Rs. 19,69 808 was voted by the Council under Land Revenue.

The Hon. Mr. Ganesh Dutta Singh then moved:—"The council do assent to the demand of Rs. 10,38,960 under the head Excise."

Discussion on the motion of Babu Jagabandhu Singh for 'miscellaneous contingencies' be reduced by Rs. 20,150 commenced when the Council adjourned.

On MARCH 7th the debate on Babu Jagabandhu Singh's motion that the item of Rs, 29,511 for "Miscellaneous contingencies" under the head 'Excise' be reduced by Rs. 20,150 was then resumed.

Babu Godawaris Misra supporting the motion said that there were already facilities for the excise officers to tour in the districts and there was no necessity for a steam launch. The motion was ultimately negatived without a division. Then came the main cut.

Mr. Jimut Bahan Sen moved that the demand under the head 'Excise' be reduced by Rs. 10,000,000. The mover criticised the excise policy of the Government and had not concluded when the House rose.

On MARCH 8th the Council held a short sitting. The Hon. Mr. Ganesh Datta Singh, after formally introducing the Bihar and Orissa Aerial Ropeways Bill, 1924, moved that the Bill be referred to a select committee. The object of the Bill was to authorise, facilitate and regulate the construction and working of aerial ropeways in Bihar and Orissa.

The Hon. Mr. Sinha next moved for leave to introduce the Bihar and Orissa Local Fund Audit Bill, 1924, and that it be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon. The motions were adopted by the House. The object of the Bill was to provide for and regulate the audit of local funds in Bihar and Orissa.

On MARCH 10th the Excise demand was next taken up. Pts. Rajendra Misra, Shivashanker Jha, Moul. Umid Ali and others spoke in support of Mr. Sen's motion and strongly attacked the Excise policy of the Govt.

Mr. M. S. Das, who launched a fierce attack, said, could any one maintain that liquor shops were good agencies to elevate human nature? It was said that the surest method to stop the evil was to increase the cost and thus place liquor beyond the reach of the poor. Could Govt. show one instance of good ever coming out of a policy of taking money from the people for indulgence in a bad habit on their part? The remedy was to recast the policy. If they could not find means to make up for the deficiency in revenue, they must reduce the cost of the administration. Could such a system of administration command the admiration of humanity? Could not a Government, which lost crores to stop an evil habit of the Chinese, find means to do the same in regard to this country? He would like to know how Government members would feel if the price of whisky was increased to Rs. 50 a bottle! The whole department should be manned by sympathetic Indians. It could not do to have an Englishman for the Excise Commissioner. He appealed to non-officials to take things in their own hands and not trust those for reform who believed in pegs!

Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath said Mr. Das's speech should open the eyes of the Government. Mr. McPherson, said the speaker, had drawn attention into the history of drink in the country to show that drunkenness was common in Bengal in pre-British days. Was he in a position to say that people on account of excise policy were more temperate and more sober now? Could he give figures to substantiate it? From earliest times the excise policy had been indicted by our best men, including men like Mr. Gokhale, and the late Mr Cane. Mr Cane had shown that drunkenness had been increased as a result of the excise administration. Temperance was not the guiding motive of the Govt but to secure the maximum possible revenue. Temperance was not the watchword but revenue! Was it not a fact that officials did their very best to frustrate the activities of the Non-co-operators? Drastic measures were necessary but not tinkering. Did they really practice the policy of minimum consumption? Government had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The speaker emphasised that Ministers were not so much to blame. It was the system of things, the policy, that had always been followed by the British Government. The motion was however ultimately lost by 23 to 35 votes.

On MARCH 11th the Council agreed to the demands of Rs. 3,39,100 under head 'Stamps,' moved by Mr. Tanner.

Forests.

The Hon. Mr. McPherson then moved that the Council do assent to the demand of Rs. 7,04,525 under head 'Forests.' Babu Krishna Ballava Sahai moved that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100. Mr. Sahai tried to make out a case that our Forests which we made to serve Imperial purposes by supplying timber to the Navy in bygone days are now held for the benefit of the European Tea Planters. Mr. Godawaris Misra pointed out some mismanagement of the department, such as, forest-produce being sold by the officers privately, poor people not allowed to cut bamboo, etc., that it was overstaffed, the majority of the officers remaining idle for most part of the year, and so on. The motion was, however, put to the vote and lost. The original demand was then assented to.

Registration

The Hon'ble Sir Sayed Muhammad Fakruddin moved that the Council do assent to the demand of Rs. 5,84,800 under head 'Registration.'

Babu Rameshwar Prasad Singh moved that the item of Rs. 90,000 for 'Temporary establishment' be reduced by Rs. 15,000.

Mr. Singh withdrew the motion on being assured by the Minister that otherwise the work of the department would greatly suffer.

The original motion was put to vote and carried.

Irrigation

Mr. Bremner moved that the Council do assent to the demand of Rs. 20,19,546 under the head 'Irrigation.'

Babu Guru Sahay Lal moved that Rs. 4,88,596, in the voted portion of the provision of Rs. 5,40,904 for "Total working expenses—Orissa canals" be reduced by Rs. 80,000. The motion was after discussion withdrawn.

Babu Rajivaranjan Prasad Sinha next moved that Rs. 9,96,102, the voted portion of the provision of Rs. 10,57,922 for Son Canal, be reduced by Rs. 100. He complained of the shortage in supply of water and the raising of the rates. The motion was however in the end withdrawn.

On MARCH 12th, the Council reassembling, Babu Dwarka Prosad Singh moved that Rs. 40,972 for Superintending Engineers be omitted. He said that the establishment and the cost of the Superintending Engineers was absolutely useless. They merely despatched papers from divisional offices to Government and acted really as post offices. The divisional canal officers could directly deal with Government without this intermediate agency. Supervision also could be done by the divisional canal officers. The motion was pressed to a division and lost by 1 vote, 23 being for and 24 against.

Babu Dwarka Prasad Singh next moved that the total demand be reduced by Rs. 1,23,226. He said it was made clear by Government that their canal policy was guided by commercial principles. Their business was to see to revenue and disregard hardships on the people. His idea in pressing the motion was to secure economy. The Retrenchment Committee had recommended several reductions which had been refused by Government and it was their duty to press reductions in the way proposed by him.

Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath supporting said they had now before them the report of the Retrenchment Committee which consisted of

men like the President of the Council, the Hon'ble Babu Ganesh Dutta Singh, the late Rai P. W. Sinha, Mr. P. K. Sen and others. That Committee unanimously made certain recommendations in regard to P. W. D. among others. The demand of the mover was much more modest compared to the recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee. The Government, if they were earnest, could have selected any of the recommendations and given effect to it. But every thing had been brushed aside and it had been shown that Government did not care a jot for public opinion. Either the Council should throw overboard the Committee's report or stand by it. The Hon'ble Babu Ganesh Dutta Singh, he knew, was in his heart of hearts with them but he was paying the penalty of his high office.

Babu Jagabandhu Singha, Mr. Mahapatra, Babu Rajandhari Singh spoke in support of the motion while the Hon. Mr. Sinha replied on behalf of Govt. strongly opposing the motion.

The motion was put and carried by 33 votes to 24.

General Administration

The Hon'ble Mr. McPherson moved that the Council do assent to the demand of Rs. 52,41,458 under the head "General Administration."

Mr. J. B. Sen moved that the provision of Rs. 88,270 for the Board of Revenue be reduced by 10,000. This was meant to be a vote of censure on the Govt. for the alleged high-handed and maraudous activities of their servants in Bettiah. After a long debate the motion was however lost by a majority of 2 votes.

Mr. Sen said it was his intention to speak for economy solely, but he wanted to bring to the notice of the Council the mismanagement of Wards estates which were under the control of the Board of Revenue. The managers of these estates were with few exceptions men of very ordinary type. Some of these were absolutely unfit and he knew of many cases in Manbhum where debts had increased and mismanagement prevailed. He drew the attention of the House to what had happened at Bettiah. The Govt. knew that the Mina Bazar had been lost to the Estate. Whether the Board of Revenue had succeeded or failed in controlling the Bettiah Estate he could not say. The officers of the Court of Wards at Bettiah had assaulted the Vice-Chairman of the Municipality, and the result was that the Bazar which was under the Bettiah Estate had been abandoned by the people and a new bazar had been opened. But whatever the allegations the fact was that an income of Rs. 50,000 had been lost to the estate, and the Government ought to tell the House as to how it was that one day's incident had driven away the stall-holders to another place. He could say that the affair was the result of the Manager's mal-administration and as a result of the assault on the Vice-Chairman. The speaker referred to the mischief being done in the Ramgarah Estate in regard to the forest settlement etc.

The Bettiah Affair

Babu Jaleshwar Prasad then related the whole story of the assault case at Bettiah. In 1921 the Bettiah municipality was captured by the congress workers, and instead of the European Manager of the Estate, Mr. B. B. Varma, a non-co-operator, became the Chairman. This enraged the Manager, and he was concerned in an incident of the 18th January last in which an orderly of the Manager assaulted the Vice-Chairman in the bazar. Most of the shopkeepers left the bazar in protest. There was a second assault of another non-co-operator, Pt. Prajapati Misra, close to the house of the Manager. The wound inflicted was serious,

and was committed by a man who had been employed by the Court of Wards for the purpose of assaulting the Vice-Chairman. This second assault was committed at the direct instigation of the Court of Wards authorities to strike terror into the hearts of the people.

Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath, Mr. Krishnaballav Shahay, M. Motiur Rahaman and others who followed further described the reign of terror in Bettiah. Messrs. Hammond and McPherson on the side of Government emphasised that the allegations made were not true, otherwise the case could have been taken over to a criminal court, and they did not believe the plea that being non-co-operators, the aggrieved people refrained from seeking justice in a British law court. On the motion being pressed to a division it was lost by 28 votes for and 30 votes against the motion, the majority not caring to go into the Bettiah case.

Commissioners

Babu Godawaris Misra next moved that Rs. 1,79,77, the voted portion of the provision of Rs. 3,59.77 for the "total maintenance of office of Commissioners of Divisions" be omitted.

In moving the omission, he said that he would be diffident over the proposal did he not feel that he had the support of veterans who had sat on the Retrenchment Committee—men like their President and their Minister for Local Self-Government. Once a tree had grown it was difficult to cut it, and the office of Commissioners was indeed a big tree. The work of the Commissioners had now become out of date. Circumstances had so changed that the office had become superfluous. He referred to the duties of a Commissioner as mentioned in the Decentralization Committee's report and showed how all those duties were, in the first place, discharged by District officers, and in revenue matters, the Board of Revenue was the final authority. The work of the Commissioner was in the nature of a post office. The Decentralization Committee's report showed that the control of police had passed into other hands. In regard to Education, things had also changed considerably and so was the case with Local Self-Government. In respect of criminal justice the Commissioner should be the last person to have any say in the matter. Every year they had pressed for the abolition of this superfluous office and he hoped the official members would not now oppose the motion.

Next day, MARCH 13th, the discussion on Mr. Misra's motion was continued. Babu Ananta Prasad and Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath supported the motion and said that the only reason why the post of Commissioners was kept was to keep open some fat berths for the Service-men. Khan Bahadur Ashfaq Hussain gave his opinion as a result of six years' experience as personal assistant to the Commissioner and said that the work of the Commissioner could very easily be done by other officers in connection with their office work. The Gov'. members opposed the motion on the plea of efficiency. Pandit Godawaris Misra, replying to the debate, said there had been enough discussion from year to year and they, the non-officials, were not prepared to indulge in further discussion by way of a resolution. No hopeful statement had been made on behalf of Government and he pressed his motion.

The Hon'ble Mr. McPherson emphasised that the course adopted by the non-official members was not the proper course to pursue. The speaker complained that the view of the Council had not been properly put forward by way of a resolution. He asked the Council to give the Government a full opportunity of presenting the case for the retention of Commissioners. He repeated that so long as the present revenue

system continued, the post of Commissioners was a necessity. The argument that Madras had got no Commissioner was not valid as the system of revenue there was greatly different from that of Bihar.

Put to vote the motion was carried by 37 voting for and 27 against it, defeating Govt. by a majority of 10.

Pay of Officers

Babu Jaleswar Prasad moved that the provision of Rs. 16,65,800 for "pay of officers"—"voted" be reduced by Rs. 1,46,100.

He began to protest against the action of the Government in not acting up to the resolution which was passed in the last Council for the removal of the Santal Parganas from the non-regulation schedule to the regulation schedule when he was ruled out of order by the President on the grounds: (1) the Government servants whose pay the mover proposed to cut down were not responsible for not giving effect to the resolution referred to, and (2) that the resolution was not for abolishing the posts of Deputy Magistrates and Sub-Deputy Magistrates in Santal Parganas whose pay was proposed to be cut.

R. B. Dwarka Nath submitted that that resolution expressed dissatisfaction against a certain system of administration in Sontal Parganas. Government was employing an agency for carrying on that very system. He asked, could not they bring in that motion and discuss the system.

The President asked if there was any resolution to do away with that class of officers. After some discussion on the point, Babu Jaleshwar Prasad was allowed to proceed on the ground that the number of Deputy Magistrates and Sub-Deputy Magistrates was excessive in the province because in the district of Santal Parganas these officers had also to do civil, revenue, criminal and executive work combined and consequently they had to do the work which was ordinarily done by Munsiffs and Sub-Judges in other parts of the province. In Santal Parganas a Deputy Magistrate was also a Sub-Judge. The discussion was then confined to this point alone.

The Hon'ble Mr McPherson replied in a short speech. Put to the the vote the motion was carried by Ayes—32, Noes—27. The entire reduced demand under general administration was then put to vote and carried.

Justice.

The Hon. Mr. Sinha moved that the Council do assent to the demand of Rs. 28,35,068 under this head. The motion was carried.

Jails and Convict Settlements.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sinha moved that the Council do assent to the demand of Rs. 16,10,500. under head "Jails and Convict Settlements."

The motion was assented to, Babu Anant Prasad having withdrawn his amendments.

Police.

Mr. Hammond moved that the Council do assent to the demand of Rs. 75,27,348 under head "Police."

After a number of motions for reductions were withdrawn without any discussion, Babu Anant Prasad moved that the provision of Rs. 74,551 (voted) (excluding expenditure payable in England) for "total training schools for constables" be omitted, but eventually withdrew it.

R. B. Dwarka Nath moved that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 7,00,000. He said it was an emphatic protest against the high police expenditure which had more than doubled itself since the creation of the province. The Retrenchment Committee had recommended reduction to the extent of 16 lakhs a year in the police budget. He

did not propose to discuss any figures in this connection because he knew that experts like Mr. Hammond and Mr. McPherson could turn the table on them. The only criterion from which he would like this question to be judged was whether the people were able to bear it. They knew what a large amount of money was required for education, sanitation, agriculture, water supply, medical and other nation-building departments. Police expenditure in Behar was greater than in other provinces, excepting perhaps Bengal. He directed attention of the Council to the pay of the establishment, to Superintendents, to constables, but not the last, to the dearest department of Government, the C. I D. They had no longer to hunt out the N. C. O. Rather the N. C. O had decided to hunt the Government out in the Council Chamber. The other professional politicians, the M. L. C's were also there in the Council. The N. C. Os made no secret of their intention. They were ever ready to hand themselves over to the police. Where then was the necessity of the C. I. D? Every public man would tell them that the reports of the C. I. D. reporters were drawn more from imagination than from notes. There was no secret societies or political organisation to be stamped out which could justify the existence of the Political section of the C. I. D. He had not concluded his speech when the Council adjourned.

On MARCH 14th the discussion on the motion lasted for the whole day. Those who supported the motion were Babu Jagbandhu Sinha, Mr. Samantrai Mahapatra, the Deputy President, and Mr. Krishnabullava Sahay. Those who opposed the motion were M. Swain, the Hon'ble Mr. McPherson, Mr. S. M. Yahia, Mr. P. L. Singh and Mr. D. M. Madan The motion was pressed to a division and lost by 31 against 30 votes.

On MARCH 17th Moulvi Syed Mubarak Ali moved that the demand under the head 'Police' be reduced by 5 per cent. The Police expenditure, he said, had been going up for the last 5 or 6 years and with the inauguration of Reforms some new posts had been created in the Department. The Retrenchment Committee recommended a cut of 17 lakhs in the expenditure. His proposal for reduction was much less than that. He urged abolition of the post of Deputy Inspector General of Police.

Assurance being given on behalf of Government by Mr. Swain, Inspector General of Police, that every effort would be made to economise expenditure and bring about a reduction as near as possible to two lakhs, the motion was withdrawn. Finally the whole demand of Rs. 75,27,348 under police was assented to by the House.

Other Demands.

Mr. Dain moved that demand of Rs. 1,000 under the head "Posts and Pilotages" be allowed. The demand was agreed to.

Hon. Sir Fakhruddin moved that the demand of Rs. 34,000 under the head scientific departments be assented to. The demand was allowed.

Mr. Collins moved that the demand of Rs. 1,31,026 under the head 'Education—Reserved' be agreed to. The demand was allowed.

Hon. Sir Fakhruddin moved that the demand Rs. 61,16,134 under the head 'Education—Transferred' be allowed. The motions for reduction being withdrawn the whole demand under the head was assented to.

The Hon. Mr. Ganesh Dutta Singh moved the demands of Rs. 17,20,009 and Rs. 9,23,700 under heads 'Medical' and 'Public Health' respectively which were allowed by the House.

The Hon. Sir Fakhruddin moved that the demand of Rs. 9 79,418 under the head 'Agriculture' be allowed.

Babu Rameshwar Prasad Singh moved that the total provision of Rs. 34,302 for the establishment of a Dairy Farm at Monghyr be omitted,

The motion was in the end withdrawn. After another motion was rejected the House adjourned.

Next day MARCH 18th the Hon'ble Mr. Ganesh Dutta Singh made a statement regarding Excise policy. In the debate on the demand for Excise for next year certain members of the Council put forward some consideration and he promised to consider them. He had done so and decided to accept three of the five suggestions made in the following form:—

(1) The limit of retail sale of country spirit will be reduced from 3 quart bottles to one quart bottle in all shops within the Municipality of Patna from the 1st of April.

(2) In the same area from the same date consumption of country spirit will not be allowed in the permises of the shop, in other words, the licenses will be for "off" sale only.

He has selected the Patna area for these experiments. If the experiments are successful they will be extended to other areas.

(3) The rules for the Licensing Boards would be so framed as to give effect to the suggestions of the Hon. Members that where there are more than one member of this Council within the jurisdiction of the Board such members will select their representatives on the Board themselves.

(4) If any registered temperence societies came into existence within the jurisdiction of such Boards they will be allowed to nominate one representative as a member of the Board.

The Council then proceeded with the discussion on demands for grants.

In the absence of Hon. Sir Fakhruddin, Mr. Collins moved that the demand of Rs. 7,05,980 under the head "Industries" be assented to. The demand was agreed to.

Mr. Dain moved that the demand of Rs. 45,930 under the head 'Miscellaneous Departments' be allowed which was done.

Hon. Mr. H. McPherson moved that the demand of Rs. 21,27,775 under the head "Civil Works—Reserved" be allowed.

Mr. Krishna Ballabh Sahay moved that the item of Rs. 10,700 for acquisition of a house within the Monghyr fort for the residence of a Deputy Magistrate" be omitted. He said that the house was in possession of the Congress Committee and it was not really needed by the Government. Some people did not like that the house should be in possession of the Congress Committee. After an animated discussion the motion was carried without a division.

After lunch, Mr. Mubarak Ali moved that the demand under this head be reduced by approximately 10 per cent. He said that there had been increased expenditure on this head during the last twelve years. By effecting substantial reduction in the department they would get more money for the nation-building departments which were being starved.

The motion was strongly opposed by Govt., but when put to vote was carried by 28 against 18 votes; with these two reductions the remaining demand under the head was allowed.

Civil Works—Transferred.

Hon. Mr. Ganesh Dutt Singh moved that the demand of Rs. 48,16,434 Under the head Civil Works—Transferred, be assented to.

The amended motion of Mr. Rameshwar Prasad Singh that the demand be reduced by 5 per cent was accepted by Moulvi Mobarak Ali who had moved a cut of 10 per cent. and was carried. With this reduction the remaining demand was allowed.

Other demands were put and allowed without discussion. This ended the business of the Council.

The President then read the message from His Excellency the Governor proroguing the Council.

Restoration of Refused Grants.

Early in April, 1924, His Excellency the Governor of Behar and Orissa issued the following orders in connection with the grants refused by the Legislative Council, by virtue of the power of certification vested in him :—

In connection with the Provincial budget for 1924-25 the following reductions were voted by the Legislative Council :—

(a) 5—Land Revenue. Omit Rs. 83,290 for Kanungo establishment. (Carried by 28 votes to 24).

(b) Irrigation. Reduce the demand by Rs. 1 23,236. (Carried by 33 votes to 24).

(c) 22—General Administration. Omit Rs. 1,79,077 being the voted portion of the provisions of Rs. 3,59,077 for the total main office of Commissioners of Divisions. (Carried by 37 votes to 27).

(d) 22—General Administration. Reduce the demand of Rs. 16,6 , 800 for the Pay of officers—voted, by Rs. 1,46.100. (Carried by 32 votes to 17).

(e) 4—Civil Works—Reserved. Omit the item of Rs. 10,700 for the acquisition of a house within the Monghyr Fort for the residence of a Deputy Magistrate. (Adopted without a division).

(f) 41—Civil Works—Reserved. Reduce the demand by Rs. 2,12,777 or approximately 10 per cent. (Carried by 28 votes to 18).

(g) 41—Civil Works—Transferred. Reduce the demand by Rs. 2,40,821 or approximately 5 per cent. (Adopted without a division).

I have perused the proceedings of the Council relative to these seven items of business, and note the following in respect of each ;—

A. Kanungo Establishment

The arguments used by those who favoured the reduction varied in character, and were to some extent inconsistent with one another. It was argued, for instance, that there was no work for Kanungoes in modern conditions ; that such duties as they perform would be done by others ; that a more reliable agency was required ; that a less highly paid agency would suffice ; that the numbers might be reduced.

The fact remains that the establishment has been entertained for many years on a permanent and pensionable basis which at least raises a presumption that there are functions to be entrusted to it. It is not open to the local Government, even if they would, forthwith to discharge this staff without payment of compensation : neither could Government do so until it is satisfied how the work hitherto entrusted to this agency is to be done in future. Following on the debates in Council a reference will now be made to local officers enquiring whether the Kanungo establishment is still needed, whether it will permit of any reduction, or whether it could usefully be modified in any way. The terms of the reference will be made public. In the next session of the Council Government will explain the result of its enquiries and its conclusions thereon and, if necessary, will ask for a supplementary grant. It is inevitable that the service should be maintained until a decision is arrived at as to what (if anything) can be substituted for it.

B. Irrigation

The grounds urged in support of the reduction were those of protest against recent enhancement of water-rates and the non-acceptance of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee in the matter of irrigation. It is noticeable that one specific recommendation of that Committee, i. e. the abolition of Superintending Engineers, when put separately to the vote was lost. Further, an enhancement of water-rates has clearly little connection with a possible reduction of expenditure.

The Irrigation budget for the ensuing year was framed on economical lines (e. g. a reserve of Rs. 25,000 was reduced to Rs. 5 000). Many of the works provided for are in progress; others, e. g. those necessary to make good the flood damage, are essential. In respect of subdivisional officers and sub-overseers, the staff is at a dangerously low level and must be strengthened. The abandonment of works such as the Bir bandha would not, it is believed, commend itself to the Council and would expose an area to damage from floods while for the Turkaul embankment which has been advocated in the Council, it may be necessary to find funds by reappropriation. There is in short no available surplus in the departmental budget from which this economy could be effected.

C. The Divisional Commissioners

The motion was passed in protest against the retention of the post of Divisional Commissioners. These appointments have been in existence for many years and are part of the revenue system of the province. They cannot be abolished without material alterations in that system and in themselves they are considered by the Governor-in-Council to be necessary. In any case the ultimate decision as to their retention or otherwise rests with the Secretary of State. If the Commissioner of a division is to be in a position to discharge his functions as such, he clearly requires the subordinate assistance of his office.

D. General

The majority desired to record a protest against the system of administration in the Santal Parganas. Government, on more than one occasion, have defended and explained that system, and they are not prepared to modify it in the manner suggested. The motion aimed primarily at the substitution of one agency for another; it was not contended that no agency was required and that an economy could thus be effected. The retention of the administrative machinery obviously postulates the provision of funds."

All the above four demands relate to Reserved Subjects and for the reasons briefly given in each instance and under the authority vested in me, as Governor by section 72D (2) (A) of the Govt of India Act, **I hereby certify that the expenditure provided for the last three demands is essential to the discharge of my responsibility to the subject covered by each.**

In respect of the first demand, I do certify to the extent of Rs. fifty thousand only, leaving the question of a supplementary demand to be considered after the completion of the enquiry promised.

The fifth and sixth reductions relate also to Reserved Subjects but in connection with them I do not certify. The seventh and the last refers to a Transferred Subject.

Assam Legislative Council

The Assam Legislative Council was opened by the Governor, H. E. Sir JOHN KERR on the 24th. March 1924. Out of 39 elected members 20 were new elections, and 13 were members of the old council returned again. In the last November elections the number of votes polled rose to 83,000 from 33,000 in 1920. 37 per cent of electorates voted in 1923 as against 16 per cent in 1920. Thus the House was more representative than the first Reformed Council of 1920. The most interesting party was the Swarajists, who numbered eight, under their leader Maulvi Faiznur Ali of Dibrugarh, all clad in Khadder and Gandhi caps, and soon they were able to draw the majority of the Independents to their side, making a Swarajist-Independent coalition with absolute majority. The party was weakened by the removal of an important Independent Member, Moul. Saadulla, who had become a Minister. The appontment of Mr. Kutubuddin Ahmed, a non-descript 2nd grade pleader, in the place of the late Mr. Majid, the Judicial Member, was a matter of supreme dis-satisfaction and resentment in the Council.

The most important debate of the session was that on Responsible Govt. on March 25th, when the Swarajist leader, Mr. Faizaur Ali moved his resolution. Mr. Saadulla, erst-while Nationalist who had been returned on his nationalist ticket, opposed the resolution and supported diarchy, much to the amusement of his old friends. The most interesting speech of the day was of Mr. Basanta K. Das who confronted the Govt. members with facts taken from the Montford Report, and from the speeches of disenchanted Ministers like Messrs Chintamoni, P. C. Mitter and others against Diarchy. The voting showed all the elected Indian members for the resolution, and all the nominated ones with the Ministers against it.

On MARCH 25th the Deputy President's Salary was taken into consideration. Maulvi Rashid Ali Lasker moved that for the words and figures Rs. 1,000, the words one rupee be substituted.

Babu Gopendra Lal Das Chaudhury, who was elected Dy. President, spoke in support of the motion and said that he would not accept any salary during his term of office but as the Govt. of India Act required that the Deputy President should receive pay he was willing to accept one rupee. The motion was adopted.

The Hon. Rai Bahadur P. C. Dutta then presented the Municipal Rules.

Maulvi Rashid Ali Laskar moved the following resolution :—" That this Council recommends to the Government of Assam that early steps be taken under section 61 of the Civil Procedure Code, 1908, to declare that 30 seers of paddy per head of the judgment debtor and his family members per month, or so much of the paddy and other agricultural produce as is deemed sufficient by the Court for the due cultivation of the land and for the support of the judgement debtor and his family until the next harvest, be exempted from liability to attachment or sale in execution of a decree." The motion was put and negatived.

Responsible Government.

Maulvi FAIZNUR ALI moved the following resolution :—" This Council recommends to the Government to request the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General in Council to take such immediate steps as may be necessary in order to establish full Responsible Government in Assam." After a lengthy debate the resolution was put to a division and carried with great acclamation by 29 votes to 17.

On 26th MARCH the Hon'ble Mr. W. J. REID laid before the Council the following list of certificates given by His Excellency the Governor of Assam either under Section 72 D(2) proviso (a) of the Government of India Act restoring grants or authorising emergent expenditure under Sec 72 D (2) proviso (b) of the Act: 1. Resettlement operation in Kamrup and Sibsagar. 2. Amount payable to the Raja of Tripura, being the amount of mesne profits decreed by the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal. 3. Amount payable to Muhammad Haidar of Nairpul, Sylhet, being the amount of mesne profits of the oils decreed by the Civil Court in suit No. 107 of 1921.

Aided Schools.

Srijut Nilmoni PHUKAN moved :—" This Council recommends to the Government of Assam that Government grants-in-aid of aided schools of the province be increased by fifty per cent. for the year 1924-1925." After discussion the question was raised whether Government would accept the motion if the mover agreed to the words " if funds permit." The Hon. M. M. Saadulla expressed his willingness. The motion was then adopted as amended.

Babu Krishna Sundar DAM moved the following resolution :—" That this Council recommends to the Government of Assam to take steps to abolish the separate post and allowance of the Director of Land Records. The motion was adopted despite Govt. oposition by 23 to 22 votes.

Mr. W. D. SMILES moved the following resolution :—" That this Council recommends to the Government of Assam that they will be pleased : [a] to provide an efficient system of provincial arteries of communication as distinct from local ; [b] as a preliminary step to direct the Chief Engineer to prepare a scheme for provincial communications as soon as possible with an estimate of the approximate cost ; [c] to raise local loans to finance these undertakings, the maximum amount to be one crore of rupees to be raised during a minimum period of ten years." The motion was lost.

Khadi for Police.

The following two resolutions were withdrawn by Srijut Rohini Kanta Hati Barua and Babu Brajendra Narayan Chowdhury respectively :—[i] " That this Council recommends to the Government that all uniforms of the Police Department of this province should be of pure dyed Khadi and in the absence of Khadi, Indian mill made cloth." [ii] " This House recommends to the local Government to move the Secretary of State-in-Council for an order that a member of the Executive council of the Governor of Assam be paid an annual salary of Rs. 18,000 [eighteen thousand]."

More Transferred Subjects.

Srijut Sadananda DOWERAH moved :—"This Council recommends to the Government that necessary steps may be taken for the inclusion of Forests, Public Works Department, Excise and Fishery among the Transferred Subjects at an early date." After discussion the motion was adopted.

Maulvi AHMAD CHAUDHURY moved that the Assam Water Hyacinth Bill be referred to a Select Committee. The motion was adopted.

Franchise for Political Convicts

Srijut Kamakhyaram BARUA moved the following resolutions :—"That this Council recommends to the Government that early steps be taken for the removal of the disabilities of political convicts in the matter of their eligibility for election to the Local Bodies." (ii) " That this Council recommends to the Government that early steps be taken for the removal of the disabilities of political convicts in the matter of their eligibility for election to this Council." The motions were put and adopted.

On MARCH 27th & 28th there was a general discussion on the budget, after which the Council adjourned to the 1st April for voting on budget items.

Voting on the Budget.

On APRIL 1st the Hon'ble Mr. W. J. Reid moved that a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,58,000 be granted for the administration of the Land Revenue Department.

Mohd. M. Hussain Chaudhury moved:—"That the provision of Rs. 7,286 under management of Private Estates be omitted." He however amended the motion as follows.—"That the provision of Rs. 7,286 under management of Private Estates be reduced by Rs. 1,666." The motion as amended was put and adopted.

Settlement Operation Cut Down.

Mr. Tara Prasad Chaliha moved.—"That the provision of Rs. 1,91,750 under Settlement Operations be reduced by Rs. 1,41,000. The motion was put and adopted after a heated debate.

Srijut Mahadeva Sarma moved:—"That the provision of Rs. 5,7'0 and Rs. 2,800 for pay and allowances of the Superintendents of Grazing be omitted". The motion was put and adopted.

The Hon. Mr. Reid then moved that Rs. 15,06,774 be granted for the administration of the Land Revenue, and Rs. 1,59,000 for the administration of the provincial "Advance and Loan Account" which were granted.

General Administration.

The Hon. Mr. W. J. Reid moved that Rs. 18,03,000 be granted for the administration under General Administration.

Minister's Salary Reduced.

Babu Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury moved:—"That the provision of Rs. 84,000 for the salary of Ministers be reduced by Rs. 48,000." The motion was adopted, 24 Hon. Members voting for it and 23 against it. Two other similar motions were withdrawn.

On APRIL 2nd Babu Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury moved:—"That the provision of Rs. 15,400 for the Steam launch "Kestrel" be refused." He, however, amended the motion by proposing a reduction of Rs. 10,000 instead of the whole amount in order to leave some margin to meet current expenditure till the launch was disposed of. The amended motion was carried, 34 voting for it and 8 against.

Srijut Sadananda Dowerah moved:—"That the provision of Rs. 93,160 under 'Commissioner' be refused." Mr. W. D. Smiles proposed an amendment to the effect that the provision be reduced by Rs. 1,000 on the understanding that if Government took no steps in the matter of the abolition of the post of the Commissioner the entire amount would be refused by the Council next year. After some discussion, the amendment was accepted by the mover of the original motion and accepted by the Council, 33 voting for and none against.

The Hon'ble Mr. W. J. Reid moved:—1. "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,44,000 be granted for the administration of the head 22—General Administration." 2. "That a sum not exceeding Rs 6,05,000 be granted to the Governor in Council to defray the charges which will come in the course of payment during the year ending on the 31st March 1925, for the administration of the head—Superannuation Allowances and Pensions." 3. 'That a nett sum not exceeding Rs. 41,000 be granted to the Governor in Council to defray the charges which will come in the course of payment during the year ending on

the 31st March 1925, for the administration of the Assam Rifles." The motions were adopted.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Kutubuddin Ahmed moved that Rs. 7,17,000 be granted to the Governor in Council to defray the charges which will come in the course of payment during the year ending on the 31st March 1925, for the administration of the head—Administration of Justice." The motion was adopted.

He next moved:—"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,59,000 be granted for the administration of Jail Department.

Babu Gopendra Lal Das Chaudhury moved:—'That the provision of Rs. 3,94,750 under Jails be reduced by Re. 1." On an assurance being given by the Hon'ble Mr. Kutubuddin that matters complained of by the Members supporting the motion for reduction with regard to the comforts of the prisoners would be carefully gone into, Babu Gopendra Lal Das Chaudhury withdrew his motion. The original motion was then put and adopted.

He next moved:—"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,05,000 be granted for the administration of the Police Department."

Cuts in the Police Budget.

M. Abdul Rahim Chaudhuri moved that Rs. 16,270 for a saloon for the Superintendent of the Railway Police be omitted. The motion was put to a division and carried by 24 votes to 19.

Maulvi Rashid Ali Laskar moved that Rs. 36,600 for the salary of Deputy Superintendents be omitted. The motion was carried.

Babu Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury moved:—'That the provision of Rs. 2,200 under Village Police be omitted.' The motion was accepted by Government and adopted.

Babu Basanta Kumar Das moved:—'That the provision of Rs. 79,616 under Criminal Investigation Department be omitted.' He amended his motion as follows:—'That the provision of Rs. 79,616 under Criminal Investigation Department be reduced by Rs. 73,661.' The amended motion was put and negatived 18 voting for and 23 against it.

On 3rd APRIL the Hon'ble Mr. W. J. Reid moved:—"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,34,000 be granted for the administration of the Forest Department." Babu Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury moved:—'That the demand for Rs. 5,27,200 under 1—Timber and other Produce removed from Forests by Government Agency be reduced by Rs. 4,00,000.' The motion was lost. The original motion was then put and carried. The Hon'ble Mr. W. J. Reid then moved:—"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 35,000 be granted in connection with the Goalpara Forest Tramway Scheme." The motion was adopted.

The Hon'ble Mr. W. J. Reid moved that Rs. 45,000 be granted for the administration of the head—Stamps. The motion was adopted.

Cut in Excise Demand

The Hon'ble Mr. W. J. Reid moved:—"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,84,000 be granted for the administration of the Excise Department." Srijut Mahadeva Sarma moved:—'That the provision of Rs. 1,84,345 under Excise be reduced by Rs. 1,13,641. Srijut Sadananda Dowerah proposed an amendment suggesting a reduction of the provision by Rs. 65,000. The motion as amended by Srijut Sadananda Dowerah was put to a division and carried, 23 voting for and 22 against it. The original demand as reduced was then put and adopted.

The Hon'ble Mr. W. J. Reid moved:—'That a sum not exceeding

Rs. 3,000 be granted for the administration of the head—Miscellaneous Departments.' 'Rs. 3.94,000 for the administration of the head—Stationery and Printing." The demands were granted.

Mr. T. P. Chaliha's motion for reducing by Rs. 50,000 the grant of Rs. 2,03.000 for printing forms was withdrawn on the Govt. assuring that efforts will be made to observe economy.

The Hon'ble Mr. W. J. Reid moved that Rs 33,00,000 be granted for the administration of the head 41:—Civil Works."

Maulvi Abdul Hamid moved:—"That the provision of Rs. 17,000 for Assam Allowance of the Executive Engineers and Assistant Engineers be omitted." The motion was put to a division and carried by 25 to 8.

Two motions for reduction by Moul. Rashid Ali and Babu Gopendra Lal respectively were withdrawn.

The Hon'ble Mr. Saadulla moved :—'That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,49,000 be granted for the administration of the Education Department.' The motion was adopted.

Grants en Block

Under rule 27 (3) of the Assam Legislative Council Rules the Hon'ble the President put the next 15 demands for grants which were adopted by the Council. They are :—

Rs. 2,51,000 for Railways.—Rs. 71,000 for Ports and Pilotage.—Rs, 70 000 for Navigation and Embankments.—Rs. 75,000 for European Education.—Rs. 11,000 for Scientific Departments —Rs. 55,000 for Expenditure incurred in England.—Rs. 87,000 for Refunds.—Rs. 7,81,000 for Medical Department.—Rs. 5.65,000 for Public Health Department.—Rs. 3,02,000 for Miscellaneous (Transferred.)—Rs. 5,88,000 for Civil works (Transferred.)—Rs. 79,000 for Registration Department,—Rs. 4,10,000 for Agriculture Department.—Rs. 91.000 for Industries Department,—and Rs. 3,000 for Miscellaneous Departments (Transferred.)

Non-Official Resolutions.

On 4th APRIL Srijut SADANANDA DOWERAH moved for leave to introduce the Assam Temperance Bill 1924. The motion was put and carried. The Secretary then read the title of the Bill and the Bill thereupon was deemed to have been introduced in the Council.

Enquiry into Repression of N-C-O.

Srijut TARAPRASAD CHALIHA moved :—"This Council recommends to the Government of Assam that a Committee be appointed containing a majority of elected Indian members of the Council to enquire and report on the actions taken by the Executive Authorities of Assam from November 1921 to the present time to put down the non-co-operation movement and its activities ostensibly directed towards temperance reform, settlement of disputes by arbitration, and encouragement of spinning and weaving."

After the Hon'ble Mr. W. J. Reid had explained the attitude of the Government in respect of the resolution, Khan Bahadur Alauddin Ahmad Chaudhury moved that the debate on the resolution be postponed sine die. The motion was put to a division and was carried, 25 voting for and 20 against it.

Srijut NILMONI PHOOKAN moved the following resolution:—' This Council recommends to the Government of Assam that steps be taken to repair the old bunds on the North Bank of the Dehing river in the Dibrugarh sub-division for reclamation of vast arable lands."

Mr. O. H. Desenne in reply said that he would accept the resolution if amended as follows:—"This Council recommends to the Government of Assam that steps be taken to ascertain if it is possible to reclaim the vast arable lands on the North Bank of the Dehing river in the Dibrugarh sub-division." The amended resolution was put and carried.

Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions

Srijut SADANANDA DOWERAH moved the following resolution:—

"This Council recommends to the Government of Assam that a Committee of officials and non-officials be appointed to report to the Council on the scheme for the separation of judicial and executive functions which has been prepared, and to advise whether it should be adopted with or without modification with power to submit proposals for a new scheme if considered necessary." It was carried.

Moulvi RASHID ALI Laskar moved the following resolution which was adopted:—"That this Council recommends to the Government of Assam that the Excise Inspectors thrown out of employment under the experimental measure be provided with suitable appointments as soon as possible."

Lt. Col. W. D. SMILES moved the following resolution :—

"This Council recommends to the Government that a representation be submitted to the Government of India urging that the export duty realised on tea exported from Assam be abolished.' It was adopted.

On 5TH APRIL Babu Basanta Kumar Das handed to the President a written statement of his motion for the adjournment of the business of the Council for the purpose of discussing the question whether the House has a right to carry on a motion for adjournment 'sine die' of a discussion on a particular resolution placed before the House and annexed thereto the consent of the President in writing to the motion.

The motion automatically terminated at the end of two hours' debate. At 1-30 p. m. the Council was prorogued by His Excellency the Governor in person.

Restoration of Grants by the Governor

His Excellency the Governor of Assam passed the following orders with regard to the demands on account of the Provincial Budget estimates for 1924-25 which were refused or reduced by the Legislative Council.

The items were as follows :—(1) Demands of Rs. 5,700 and Rs. 2,800 on account of salaries and travelling allowance of four Superintendents of grazing which were refused. The decision of the Council had been accepted and notice of discharge have been issued to these officers and to their menial staff. As however they are entitled to three months' notice or pay in lieu of notice. His Excellency decided, in view of the hardship which would be caused by the delay involved in submitting a modified demand to the Council, to restore the amount required to cover these dues less the amounts saved by the discharge of the menial staff whose pay was voted by the Council.

(2) A demand of Rs. 1,666 for the appointment of a lady assistant in the Court of Wards was refused. His Excellency accepted this.

Settlement Operations Certified.

(3) A demand of Rs. 1,91,750 on account of Settlement Operations was reduced by Rs. 1,41,000.

The mover of the reduction stated that it was not his desire to stop the Settlement Operations abruptly or to postpone the resettlement of the

Assam Valley Districts indefinitely, but that the immediate effect of the reduction would be that the work of resettlement would be produced at a slower pace or would be temporarily stopped to be resumed again if necessary when better times come and some progress has been made in the direction of codifying the Land Revenue Regulations. Other speakers in support of the motion took the same view and it is clear that the opinion of the Council as a whole was definitely against making the existing Settlements permanent.

It is therefore only a postponement of the resettlement operations that has been urged and His Excellency after full enquiries is satisfied that this course would be uneconomical and unsatisfactory.

A Committee has been appointed to consider the amendment of the Land Revenue Regulations relating to the Settlement operations and their conclusions should be available for the consideration of the Government and of the Council long before the reassessment proposals come up for consideration. His Excellency is of opinion that in the interests both of the province and of the raiyats the re-settlement of the districts of the Assam Valley as they fall due is an administrative necessity of high urgency and he has therefore certified that the expenditure provided for by this demand is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject of land revenue.

Demands for Excise

(4) A demand of Rs. 1,14,345 on account of Excise was reduced by Rs. 65,000. The items affected by this reduction include the salaries of the superintendents of Excise, the pay of the establishment, the allowance of officers and establishment and excise charges falling under the head 'Supplies and Services.' The original motion to reduce the demand by Rs. 1,31,000 if accepted would have resulted in the total abolition of the preventive staff, but it is clear that this was not the intention of the Council. On the contrary most of the speakers urged upon the Government the necessity of pursuing with greater vigour their policy of restricting supplies of exciseable articles.

The subsequent amendment to reduce the demand by Rs. 65,000 only had the result of clouding the issue to some extent and some members appear to have supported it as a protest against the Excise policy of the Government while others expressed a desire for a transfer of the preventive and inspecting functions of the department to the police. An experiment on these lines has been introduced recently in two districts but it has not been in operation long enough to enable the Government to decide whether its general extension could be effected without sacrificing the success which has already been obtained in reducing consumption. The matter will be further considered after further experience has been gained, but in any case such a change would necessitate an addition to the police establishment for which no provision has been made in the current year's budget and a reduction of the excise staff without a corresponding addition to the police could only result in a set back to the policy which the Council desire to see pressed more vigorously. His Excellency has therefore certified that the expenditure provided for by the portion of the demand which was refused is essential to the discharge of his responsibility in the subject.

Ministers' Salaries.

(5) A demand of Rs. 84,000 on account of Ministers' salaries under the head 'general administration' was reduced by Rs. 48,000. Under Section 52 (1) of the Government of India Act the decision of the Council in regard to this matter is final.

(6) A demand of Rs. 15,400 for the maintenance of the steam launch 'Kestrel' was reduced by Rs. 10,000. In accordance with the decision of the Council steps are being taken to sell the launch and notice of discharge has been issued to the crew.

(7) A demand of Rs. 93,160 on account of the establishment of Commissioners was reduced by Rs. 1,000. Commissioners have been directed to give effect to it by economising in their expenditure.

Salaries of Police Certified

(8) A sum of Rs. 36,609 on account of the salaries of the Deputy Superintendents of Police was refused. The absence of provision for this expenditure would necessitate the discharge of eight officers or their transfer or revision to other posts. Government last year announced their intention to make no further permanent appointments to the Provincial Police Service pending the receipt of report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in which the position and function of the provincial and All-India Services will be reviewed. It is expected that a decision on that question will be arrived at during the current year and in the meantime it would be premature to make radical alterations in the organisation of the police dept. Hasty changes which might have to be reversed within a few months could only lead to inefficiency and unnecessary expense. His Excellency has accordingly certified that the expenditure provided for by this demand is essential to the discharge of his responsibility.

(9) A demand of Rs. 2,200 on account of rewards to Chaukidar Panchayats and contributions to the District Chaukidari fund was refused. The decision of the Council has been accepted.

Saloon For Supdt. of Ry. Police.

(10) A demand of Rs. 16,270 for the purchase of a saloon for the Supdt. of Railway Police was refused. It was explained in the course of the debate that the head-quarters of the Superintendent of Railway Police have till recently been at Chittagong where he was able to obtain the use of a special carriage through the courtesy of the authorities of the Assam Bengal Railway to which Railway his jurisdiction was confined. He has now in consequence of a general re-organisation of the Railway Police system throughout India, been given jurisdiction over all the railway systems within the provnce, including the E. B. Railway which was formerly under the Superintendent of Railway Police in Bengal. The head-quarters of the Superintendent have been removed to Gauhati where it is impossible, for the arrangements which held good at Chittagong to be made, and moreover the Government of India decided, in connection with the re-organisation of the Railway police that a carriage for the Superintendent should be provided by Government, the Railway administration providing haulage free. It is essential for the proper discharge of his duties that he should have a carriage in which he can live and do his work and which can be detached at any wayside station which it may be necessary for him to visit. If he had no carriage of his own it would be neccssary to hire a special carriage on most occasions—an arrangement which would ultimately be much more expensive than that now proposed. For these reasons His Excellency has certified that the expenditure provided for by this demand is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject.

(11) A demand of Rs. 17,600 on account of Assam allowance for the Assam Engineering Service and for those members of the Indian Service of Engineers whose salary is votable was refused. His Excellency has passed no order in regard to this demand.

THE TARIFF REPORT

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The Tariff Board

In the March session of the Legislative Assembly the Govt. of India announced that legislation on the lines of the recommendations contained in the Tariff Board's report will be introduced by them in the May session of the Assembly. The Tariff Board was appointed by the Resolution of the Government of India in the Department of Commerce No. 3478, dated the 10th July 1923, which reads as follows:—

"On February the 16th, 1923, the following resolution was adopted by the Legislative Assembly :—

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council—

(*a*) that he accepts in principle the proposition that the fiscal policy of the Government of India may legitimately be directed towards fostering the development of industries in India ;

(*b*) that in the application of the above principle of protection, regard must be had to the financial needs of the country and to the present dependence of the Government of India on import, export and excise duties for a large part of its revenue ;

(*c*) that the principle should be applied with discrimination, with due regard to the well-being of the community and to the safeguards suggested in paragraph 97 of the Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission ;

(*d*) that in order that effect may be given to these recommendations, a Tariff Board should be constituted for a period not exceeding one year in the first instance, that such Tariff Board should be purely an investigating and advisory body and should consist of not more than three members, one of whom should be a Government official, but with power, subject to the approval of the Government of India, to co-opt other members for particular enquiries."

Accordingly a Board was constituted with Mr. G. Rainy, C.S.I., I.C.S., as president and Messrs V. G. Kale and P. P. Ginwalla, as members, and was instructed to examine first the question of the protection of Steel Industry in India. The Board assembled at Simla at the beginning of July and after preliminary work proceeded to Jamshedpur to take evidence on behalf of the Tata Iron and Steel Company. The Report of the Board was issued in April last.

The Tariff Board's proposals mark a decisive turning point in the economic history of India. The Board's recommendations will, in effect, bring about an economic revolution which two generations of Indian economists had unceasingly advocated. The policy of free trade was blindly and indiscriminately forced upon India. All the prominent Indian economists were protesting against this injustice done to India for half a century but all their efforts were in vain. Ranade and Gokhale, R. C. Datta and Dadabhbai Naoroji, with all their cogent arguments amply supported by facts and figures, could not produce any effect on an obdurate Government which clung to the disastrous policy of free trade. Free trade applied to an industrially developed country like England meant a wider market and an increase of commerce. But applied to a backward country like India it meant great exploitation and commercial dependence and helplessness. The Swadeshi and Boycott agitation of 1906 were intended primarily to give that protection to indigenous industries which could not be given to them by law. The Fiscal Commission recommended protection with certain safegurds but did not make any concrete proposal and left the question of 'duty or bounty' undecided.

The Tariff Board has made up a very strong case for protection to steel industry and has shown with convincing facts and figures that the industry satisfies all the conditions laid down by the Fiscal Commission.

In the first place the steel industry is essential for national defence. The Board has collected sufficient evidence from mining experts to show that both in respect of iron ore and coking coal the present supply could last for a century and more. Indian labour is not as efficient as that in other countries but with experience of some years there is reasonable hope that it will attain the desired degree of efficiency. The market in India for steel is extensive and there is a great scope for its steady growth in the future. But the fluctuations and uncertainties of the world market caused by the great war still continue and the inauguration of new and improved machinery involves some initial expense. Steel imported into India sells cheaper than the country in which it is manufactured. The Board has avoided the use of the obnoxious word 'dumping" and does not propose protection to steel by way of "anti-dumping." In basing the case on stronger and sounder grounds the Board has avoided a good deal of expected criticism. The Board has also shown great discretion in keeping before it the sound principle that there can be no protection unless there is something to protect. It has, therefore, recommended no tariff duties on those articles the manufacture of which has no natural advantages in India and which are in fact not manufactured in India at present. Much ado is made about the burden on the consumer. Protection necessarily entails such a burden. But the Board has shown that the burden does not fall very heavily on a single industry. It is diffused over a large field. The Government, the railways and the private firms share the burden equally and in due course they will be amply compensated for their sacrifice.

The report puts the issue clearly and unmistakably in the following words:—"But it is worth while to consider briefly what the consequences would be if protection were withheld and the manufacture of steel in India were to cease. A large number of workmen would be thrown out of employment and the industrial training they have gained at Jamshedpur would be to a large extent wasted. A very serious blow would also be inflicted on the coal industry owing to the sudden drop in the demand for coal. These however are not the most serious results. The development of India's natural resources for steel manufacture would be postponed indefinitely, for we have no hope that, at the present level of prices, fresh capital would be forth-coming or that another firm would enter the business. Finally, and this is the gravest consequence of all, the shock to public confidence in the future of Indian industries would be extreme. It has long been recognised that the progress of industrial development in India will be slow until Indian capital is forthcoming in much more abundant measure than it has been in the past. The collapse of the greatest single industrial enterprise in the country would put back the clock for twenty years at least. We do not claim that these considerations are decisive. But they are factors which must be taken into account in arriving at a decision on a momentous issue."

The Board has proposed specific duties from Rs. 20 to Rs. 45 per ton on various steel and wrought iron manufactures. It has proposed to grant bounties on the manufacture of heavy rails and fishplates, at the rate of Rs. 32 per ton in the first year, Rs. 26 per ton in the second

year and Rs. 20 in the third year. The Board has thus utilised both the rival forms of protection with due discrimination. The question of 'duty or bounty' cannot be solved by abstract reasoning. Both have their advantages and disadvantages. The Board has laid down the salutary principle that the least objectionable method of protection should be adopted after considering each case on its merits. In deciding between specific and *ad valorem* duties the Board has in all cases favoured specific duties. In the present system of tariff the *ad valorem* method is generally adopted. But *ad valorem* method is useful only in case of revenue duties and not in the case of protective duties. For, prices fall, and when there is greater need of protection the *ad valorem* duties also fall. When on the other hand prices rise and the need of protection becomes less, the *ad valorem* duties rise. Specific duties have also their own defects. A specific duty always remains unchanged. The Board therefore propose to give power to the executive government to vary the duty in case of emergency without previous legislative sanction. The market of steel is yet uncertain and sudden rises and falls in prices are expected for some years to come. The power which the Board proposes to give to the executive is therefore extremely necessary.

There is only one firm in India which manufactures steel and that is the Tata's firm at Jamshedpur. The firm is carrying on production at a loss. Protection to steel is therefore protection to one single firm. The fact that there is no other firm does not weaken the case of the Tata Company. It only furnishes another strong argument for protection. The fact that with the abundance of raw material no other firm dares to enter the business establishes the need for protection. Competition however is necessary in the interest of the consumer and the Board has hopes that in a few years two or three other firms will be started. The scheme of protection is limited to three years. After that time a fresh inquiry will be necessary. During that interval the Tata Company must show by Indianisation and economy that they are anxious to lessen the burden on the consumer. The evidence taken by the Board shows that the process of Indianisation is steadily carried on by the Company. The same process must continue.

There was, as expected, a strong opposition to the modest poposals of the Board by the European and Anglo-Indian interests. An organised attempt was made to whittle down the poposals and in this the Bengal Chamber took the lead, the fear entertained being that any development of Industries in India on any large scale will prejudicially affect British industries. The strongest plea put forward was that any protection given to the industry will tax mainly agriculturists, for whom British interests always feel so very much! The question of giving protection to other minor Indian Industries has since been engaging the attention of the Board and will be mentioned in the next issue of this QUARTERLY.

The following is the summary of recommendations of the Board :—

The Tariff Report

On Protection for Indian Steel Industry

The TARIFF BOARD was appointed by a Resolution of the Government of India, dated 10th July 1923, accepting a resolution passed in the Legislative Assembly on February 16th. 1923. The Board was thereupon appointed with an Official, namely Mr. G. Rainy C.S.I., C.I.E. as President, and two Indians, namely Prof. V. G. Kale, member, Council of State, and Mr. P. P. Ginwala, M. L. A, as members.

The Board was directed first to examine the question of extending **Protection to the manufacture of Steel in India.** Accordingly the Board met first in Simla in July 1923 and after holding enquiries at Jamshedpur and Calcutta issued its report which was finally published on April 26th 1924.

Protection has always been an important plank in the nationalist programme. As early as the eighties of the last century Ranade, Dutt and Dadabhai pointed out that without protection India's nascent industries had no chance of thriving in the teeth of fierce world competition. But the Government, notoriously indifferent to national interests, paid no heed. It is only recently that overwhelming public pressure forced Government to recognise the need for revising its tariff policy.

The imperative necessity for giving protection to the steel industry in India is unanimously recognised by the Tariff Board. The Board enquired into the case of eight steel products which applied for protection, namely, rolled steel, tin-plate, railway wagons, wire and wire nails, agricultural implements, steel castings, railway locomotives and enamelled wire ; but the Board came to the conclusion that only five of these are in need of protection. The three in respect of which no recommendation is made are railway locomotives, steel castings and enamelled wire.

Among the GENERAL PROPOSALS made by the Board, the most important are :—

(*a*) that the Government should declare that effective protection of this basic industry (Steel) is the recognised policy—this should be embodied in the preamble of the Tariff Bill ; and

(*b*) that Government should assume unfettered powers to vary the tariff duties to meet fluctuations in the world market.

The recommendations provide both for tariff duties and bounties with the object of making the burden on the consumer as light as possible. Finally, the Board is of opinion that the recommendations should be limited to a period of three years at the end of which a fresh enquiry should be instituted.

The report is issued in three parts. The first part was submitted in the beginning of March 1924. This dealt with the question of protection to rolled steel with which the Tata Company is concerned. The Board, apparently realising the delay involved by its enquiry and the grave danger to Steel Industry by any loss of time in giving protection, submitted their first report thinking that the Government of India would show equal realisation of the urgent need of Protection and give effect to their proposal before the Legislature dispersed from Delhi in March last. Indeed this was expected by

all non-officials but Sir Charles Innes took them all by surprise by announcing a May session for the special purpose of discussing the Tariff question. Suspicion has been cast on the Government for this undue delay that an opportunity was being afforded to British manufacturers to dump the Indian market in the meanwhile, and the antecedents of the Government in regard to Indian Industries lend colour to this view. The report itself bears traces of benevolent bureaucratic hand in the sense that even fully proved formulas are put forward in a subdued tone and attempt to be outspoken is hedged round with qualifying words. A National Board appointed by a National Govt. would have naturally reported far more strongly. In one place the Board attempts to deprecate the use of the word 'dumping' in defining the actions of foreign manufacturers and denied the fact that some British firms sent material to India at prices even below their cost of production deliberately designing to kill the Indian Industry. In an equally cautious manner has the Board refuted all charges levelled by representatives of British vested interests against Tata's management. For instance, it was alleged that Tatas had wrongly started the expansion scheme during the war involving heavy cost in the purchase of machinery. The Board replies that but for the operation of one part of this plant which costs forty lakhs and within one year brought in a profit of more than double its costs, the Tata works would have closed long ago, and further, that it is the prospect of early operation of this new plant which offers prospect of more economical out-turn which has made the Board pin the hope that after the next three years the price of Indian steel product may not need any protection at all. The Board also remarks that money raised for new works would not have been raised at smaller rate of interest than by the Tatas. The Tatas do not however escape legitimate criticism. They are told that they must greatly economise in fuel which would be of vital necessity if they are to hold their own with competitors in future. The number of labourers is also considered excessive in the past, but the Board realises that dismissal might have precipitated a strike resulting in greater loss to the Company. These extra hands are to be absorbed in new works. At present American and British skilled labourers are imported at very heavy cost and the Board hopes that as Indians gain skill and experience, economy would also be effected in this direction.

OBJECTION TO PROTECTION.—The enemies of protection had further pointed out that the agriculturists would suffer heaviest and agricultural implements would cost more than at present and reduction in imports would affect exports of agricultural produce. The Board shows that following their recommendations, rise in cost of agricultural implements would be negligible and that industrial development being the recognised policy of Government every success in obtaining such development would mean fall in imports. For the present at any rate the Board estimates that the total rise to the consumer as a result of its recommendations would be one hundred sixty lakhs which would be shared equally by (1) the general consumer, (2) Industries like Jute Mills, and (3) by Railways, Government and Public Bodies, and this sacrifice India would gladly make to save her basic industry, especially when advantages in the end would more than counterbalance the loss.

The EFFECT ON REVENUE would be an addition of twelve lakhs

this year, and a loss of two and half lakhs next year, and loss of only eight thousand rupees in the third year. Thus, as a result of protection, Government would not have to face any serious fluctuation in its revenue position and this is a favourable point for protection, because in the present state of finances Government can ill afford to lose revenue. So far as protection is concerned, it varies from fifteen per cent to thirty per cent. The Board is in favour of specific duties in preference to '*ad valorem*' rates and proposes such duties in the majority of its recommendations.

Mr. Peterson on behalf of the Tatas had pointed out that Rolled Steel was coming into India at Rs. 150 a ton and that by the imposition of 33 per cent duty the Tatas would be able to sell at a reasonable profit. The Board does not agree with this, and after dwelling at length on various factors concludes that Rs. 180 a ton on an average should meet the cost and ensure reasonable profit to Tatas. If this is so the Tatas should willingly take the figure because the lower their cost of production, the lesser the sacrifice that the consumer would be called upon to make. But if the Tatas prove their inability to sell their products at this figure with reasonable return on capital, then the very sound principle enunciated by the Board should go.

BOUNTIES.—As protective duty on Fish-plates and Rails would have raised the cost of Railways and perhaps also increased Railway rates and fares which are already too excessive, the Board has proposed a grant of bounty to manufacture these articles to counterbalance the lower cost of foreign imports. Bounty is also proposed for the Wagon Industry while twenty-five per cent protection duty is proposed to safeguard the Engineering industry because the existence of the Tatas' Rolled Steel and Engineering and Wagon Industries is inter-dependent. Tin-plates, Wire and Wire-nails and Agricultural Implements also get protection while Locomotive Steel Castings and Enamelled Wares are not considered separate. In short, if Government accepts the fundamental principle of effective protection and undertakes to give effect to it under all conditions, the Tariff Board would have carried out a fiscal revolution in the history of India under British Rule.

NEED FOR PROTECTION.—After observing that it cannot conceive of a stronger case for protection than the Steel Industry, the Board says that 'whatever reasons may exist for withholding Protection altogether there are none for any scheme which at once raises prices to the consumer and at the same time fails to preserve the industry.' Inadequate protection is the most wasteful course imaginable. The Board therefore wants the Government to declare that effective protection of this basic industry is the recognised policy of Government and that this should be embodied in the preamble of the Tariff Bill to ensure continuity of policy which is essential and will encourage more enterprises like Tatas, so that within the next twenty years two to three more firms of the magnitude of Tatas could be established in India to meet the entire demand of the Indian market in respect of Steel products. Due to uncertainty of prices in the future the Board recommends proposals for the next three years only, but insists on a declaration pledging a continuity of policy. But what is of the greatest importance is that the Board urges the Government of India to assume unfettered powers to vary protective duties to meet any emergency such as a drop in prices due to

exchange operations and other causes which might impair or nullify the protection given to our products. To await the sanction of the Legislature before variations are carried out might mean ruin to the industry by the time the Legislature meets. Thus if Government adopts the recommendations that protection must be effective and that the executive should so vary rates as to keep the Tariff Wall intact against fluctuations, the various detailed proposals of the Tariff Board about protection become matter of mere detail which need not be binding in all circumstances. The Board has attempted on data supplied to it to work out such figure for Protection as appeared to it least burdensome to the consumer which would at the same time ensure, according to their calculation, reasonable profit to the manufacturer.

Danger of Dumping

DUMPING.—In a matter of such grave importance and in view of serious warnings given by the Indian Merchants Chamber, Bombay, the report of the Board was published without the announcement of Govt. that they would publish along with the Tariff Board's report its Tariff Bill and assume power at once to collect the additional duty in anticipation of the Legislature's sanction and to adjust those collections according to the final proposals adopted. It was not necessary for the mere introduction of the Tariff Bill that the Legislature should be sitting, because according to the rules the publication of a Bill in the Gazette of India amounts to its formal introduction. As the Bombay merchants intimated already, foreign manufacturers were dumping the Indian market with cheaper products and the formal introduction of the Tariff Bill would have cut short the mischief. Knowing full well that Government would in the main follow the Tariff Board's proposals, foreign manufacturers began, months before the Assembly met on the 27th May, to further dump the market and undersell Tatas for months to come. Reluctance to give prompt effect to recommendations of the Board on the part of Government is perhaps explained by the fact that the Fiscal Commission laid stress on ample time to be given to parties concerned and the public at large to examine the Tariff Board's proposals before final effect is given to them, and the manner in which Sir Charles Innes was heckled in the Assembly last session by Sir Campbell Rhodes and Mr. Pilcher evidently made the Commerce Member nervous lest European interests should become furious at giving even proportional effect to the proposals. So far as the principle laid down by the Fiscal Commission is concerned that the public should have ample time to consider the Board's proposal, the introduction of the Tariff Bill would not have stood in the way of attainment of this object as, in the case of the Finance Bill, Government merely takes power to collect revenue in anticipation of Legislative sanction in order to prevent speculation and loss to Government, and if the Legislature did not sanction a particular proposal the duty collected is always remitted. In this instance also if such course had been followed the dumping of British Goods in the Indian market would have been prevented.

The following important extracts are taken from the Report to summarise the Board's main recommendations.

Summary & Extracts

The report of the Indian Tariff Board regarding the grant of Protection to the Steel Industry is published in three sections. The first deals with the steel industry, the second with the engineering industry, and the third, besides comparing the costs of steel manufacture in India with those in other countries, includes also the locomotive building industry, steel castings, and enamelled ware.

The principal conclusion in regard to the steel industry is that "The Indian market for steel is already large and is likely to grow. In respect of labour India is at present at a disadvantage which will be removed as the workers acquire skill and experience.

"At the present level of world prices steel manufacture in India is carried on at a loss. Unless protection is given there is no hope that it will develop for many years to come, and there is serious danger that it may cease altogether."

Differences in Prices.

The Report declares that "the average price which gives the Indian manufacturer a fair return on his capital has been found to be Rs. 180 a ton."

"The need for protection" says the Report, is measured by the difference between two prices:—

(a) the price at which steel is likely to be imported into India from abroad, and

(b) the price at which the Indian manufacturer can sell at a reasonable profit.

"The prices at which steel is likely to enter India without duty have been found to be as follows:—

	Per ton. Rs.
Bars	140
Structural shapes, i.e., angles, beams, channels etc. ...	145
Rails 30 lbs. and over	140
Plates, ordinary	150
Sheets, black	200
Sheets, galvanised	300

"Except in the case of sheets, the proposals made for the imposition of duties, or the grant of bounties, approximately bridge the difference between the two prices. If, owing to a fall in the price of imported steel, the duties no longer give adequate protection, additional or off-setting duties should be imposed, and the Government of India should take powers by legislation to impose such duties.

Limited Period.

"The operation of the proposals made is limited to a period of three years, both because of the uncertainty as to the future course of world prices, and the probability of a decided drop in the cost of production. A fresh enquiry will probably be necessary in 1926-27.

"The proposals made have been so framed as to interfere as little as possible with those kinds of steel which are not produced in India at present and are not likely to be produced for some time to come.

Specific Duties.

"It is proposed that the following specific duties should be imposed:—

	Per ton. Rs.
Steel:—	
Structural shapes, i.e., beams, angles, channels, etc. ...	30
Ship, tank and bridge plates	30
Common merchant bars and rods	40
Light rails (under 30 lbs.)	40
Black sheets, whether plain or corrugated ...	30
Galvanised sheets, whether plain or corrugated ...	45
Wrought Iron—	
Angles, channels	20
Common bars	35

"The necessity for imposing tariff duties on certain kinds of wrought iron arises from the fact that the commoner qualities can be used for many purposes for which steel is used, and would displace steel if there were an appreciable difference in the parties.

"Iron and steel sections of superior qualities remain subject to the present tariff and will not be affected by the new duties proposed.

"It is proposed to grant bounties on the manufacture of medium and heavy rails and fishplates according to the following scale :—

	Per ton. Rs.
1924-25	32
1925-26	26
1926-27	20

"The present *ad valorem* duty would be converted into a specific duty of Rs. 14 a ton.

"The grant of protection to the manufacture of steel must necessarily increase the costs of many branches of the engineering industry at a time when it is holding its own with difficulty in the face of intense competition from abroad. The adoption of the proposals made will necessitate and increase in the duty on fabricated steel to at least 20 per cent. and possibly to 25 per cent. in some cases.

"The sacrifice which the country is asked to make in order to preserve the steel industry is temporary and the advantages to be gained are more than commensurate. The burden on the consumer is likely to be widely diffused and is not likely to press with undue severity on any one industry, or any one section of the community."

Indian Prospects—Commission's Conditions Satisfied.

In general, the Report says : "The Steel Industry satisfies the three conditions which the Fiscal Commission considered should be satisfied in ordinary cases by all industries before a claim to protection is entertained. It is also an essential industry for purposes of self-defence and of great importance on national grounds. It might, therefore, claim protection even if the ordinary conditions were not fully satisfied.

Natural Advantages

"India possesses a great natural advantage for the manufacture of steel owing to the richness and abundance of the iron ore deposits and the comparatively short distance which separates them from the coal fields.

"The quantities of coking coal available are sufficient for the requirements of the industry for a century or more unless its growth is unexpectedly rapid, and supplies of limestone and dolomite are ample. These materials are not equal in quality to those available in some other countries, but they are good enough for their purpose and are not more expensive than elsewhere.

"India already produces pig iron more cheaply than other countries and the possibility of producing steel of thoroughly sound quality has been proved. It has not hitherto been found possible, however, to combine a high output with satisfactory quality. As soon as this has been done, the future of the Indian steel industry is assured.

Tata Company's Claim

The principal claim for protection came from the Tata Iron and Steel Company on behalf of the Steel Industry. They proposed an all-round duty of 33 per cent *ad valorem* to be imposed on imports of all kinds of steel locally manufactured by the Company at Jamshedpur.

The Report says : "When we endeavoured to ascertain on what basis this figure had been arrived at, no very lucid explanation was forthcoming. Mr. Peterson, giving oral evidence on behalf of the Company, stated that generally the Company were of opinion that rolled steel was likely to enter India at a price, without duty, of about Rs. 150 per ton, and that the Company could sell steel at a reasonable profit 'at or under Rs. 200 a ton." A claim so vaguely conceived clearly required the closest scrutiny before any conclusion be formed as to its merits. This involved a minute examination of the cost of production of rolled steel at Jamshedpur and a review of the fluctuation in the price of imported steel. The results of our investigations will be set forth at length, but in the first instance it is necessary to consider the claim of the steel industry to protection from a more general point of view."

"In paragraph 97 of their report, the Fiscal Commission laid down three conditions which in their opinion should be satisfied in ordinary cases before a claim to protection is entertained. These conditions have been approved by the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly. They are as follows :—

(1) The industry must be one possessing natural advantages, such as an abundant supply of raw material, cheap power, a sufficient supply of labour, or a large home market. Such advantages will be of different relative importance in different industries, but they should all be weighed and their relative importance assessed. The successful industries of the world possess certain comparative advantages to which they owe their success. No industry which does not possess some comparative advantages will be able to compete with them on equal terms, and therefore the natural advantages possessed by an Indian industry should be analysed carefully, in order to ensure as far as possible that no industry is protected which will become a permanent burden on the community.

(2) The industry must be one which without the help of protection either is not likely to develop at all or is not likely to develop so rapidly as is desirable in the interests of the country. This is an obvious corollary from the principles which have led us to recommend protection. The main object of protection is either to develop industries which otherwise would not be developed then with greater rapidity.

(3) The industry must be one which will eventually be able to face world competition without protection. In forming an estimate of the probabilities of this condition being fulfilled the natural advantages referred to in condition (1) will of course be considered carefully. The importance of this condition is obvious. The protection we contemplate is a temporary protection to be given to industries which will eventually be able to stand alone."

India's Mineral Resources.

Continuing, the Report says : "Our enquiries have satisfied us that India possesses great natural advantages for the production of steel and iron and that the first condition laid down by the Fiscal Commission is therefore fulfilled. Of the raw materials required the three most important are iron ore, coking coal and limestone (or dolomite) for fluxing purposes. Large deposits of iron ore exist in many parts of India, particularly in the Central Provinces, but at present by far the most important are those which lie in the so-called 'iron belt' extending over the district of Singbhum and the adjoining Feudatory States of Orissa. The belt contains enormous quantities of extremely rich iron ore in which the proportion of metallic iron frequently rises above 60 per cent. This ore can be mined cheaply and landed at the Iron and Steel works at a cost of between Rs. 3 and Rs. 4 per ton. The Director of Geological Survey has supplied us with extracts from a report by Dr. Fox, an officer of the Department, on the mineral resources of India for a domestic steel industry, in which the iron ore deposits of the country are described. Dr. Fox mentions two estimates of the quantity of high quality iron ore available in the so-called 'iron belt,' both of them in the neighbourhood of 3,000 million tons. Other authorities have taken low figures and, until further exploration has been made no exact estimate is possible, but there is general agreement that the quantity is very large. In other parts of the world equally rich ore is to be found, but it cannot be landed at the iron works at anything like the same price. Conversely, equally cheap ore exists in some countries but of nothing the same quality. The advantage India possesses in the shape of iron ore is therefore very great."

Sufficient Coking Coal.

"The general conclusions which the evidence suggests might perhaps be stated as follows :—

(1) There are sufficient supplies of coking coal available to meet the needs of a steel industry capable of providing for India's own requirements and a certain surplus for export for over a century.

(2) The question whether coking coal exists in sufficient quantities to justify the establishment of large export trade in steel cannot be settled until further surveys and explorations have been made.

(3) The information at present available suggests the desirability of conserving India's resources of metallurgical coking coal. It would clearly be unfortunate if large quantities of very rich ore could not be utilized in the country for want of a suitable fuel.

"The last point is clearly important. It is conceivable that new discoveries may render it possible to utilise in the manufacture of iron coal which is at present classed as non-coking. It is possible also that fresh discoveries of coal may be made in regions where iron ore is also present.

Further, the Report states that "the present pre-eminence of the Singbhum and Orissa iron belt is due not only to the richness and abundance of the ore deposits but also to the fact that they are situated at a distance of about 200 miles more or less from the coal-fields.

Fluxing Materials.

"In respect of fluxing materials India does not possess the same superiority as in ore, but economically is at no disadvantage. Limestone of the best quality is to be found in India, but at such distances from the iron ore and coal as to preclude its use for metallurgical purposes. There are, however, ample supplies of limestone and dolomite within a reasonable distance of the other raw materials.

"Most of the other materials required by the industry exist in India, and the few exceptions are only required in small quantities. We need only mention :—

(a) mangenese, of which ample supplies exist in the Central Provinces, and
(b) refractory materials."

Market for Steel in India.

The Report says: "The market for steel in India is of course not comparable to that which exists in European countries or in America, but large quantities of steel are imported annually. Up to the outbreak of the war the market was steadily growing, and in due course the upward movement will no doubt be resumed. The total consumption of iron and steel in India may be put in the neighbourhood of a million and a half tons, and of steel only at about a million tons. These figures, however, include a considerable amount of machinery, hardware, motor cars, etc., which are not likely to be produced in India for many years to come. Nevertheless, the market is already large, and, with the expansion of demand which may be expected in the next ten or fifteen years, provided there is an adequate extension of transport facilities, there would be room for two or three steel works each with an output comparable to that of the works at Jamshedpur.

Producing at a Loss.

"The second condition laid down by the Fiscal Commission is in some respects the most important of all.....At the present level of prices and with the present cost of production, the manufacture of steel at Jamshedpur is unprofitable and involves a heavy loss. There is every hope that, in the course of three or four years, production costs will be substantially reduced, owing to the adoption of a new process of manufacture and the provision of an up-to-date and efficient plant. But there must be an extremely difficult transition period during which assistance is specially necessary. It is not a question of inability to pay dividends on an excessive capital, but of inability to manufacture and sell steel except at an actual loss. If the efforts of the firm which has been the pioneer of steel manufacture in India were to end in disastrous failure, it would be idle to hope that fresh capital would be forthcoming, and all prospect of further development for the next ten or fifteen years would be at an end."

Future Competition.

"The third question we have to answer," continues the Report, "is whether the steel industry is one which will eventually be able to face world competition without protection. We have no hesitation in answering it in the affirmative. As we have pointed out, India can already produce pig iron more cheaply than other countries. The process of steel manufacture is admittedly much more difficult, and years must elapse before Indian labour acquires the necessary skill and experience. But India's natural advantages are so great that we believe it will not be long before the initial difficulties are overcome, and steel is produced at a cost low enough to enable it to face outside competition in India without protection."

National Defence.

The Report supports the statement that for purposes of national defence protection of the steel and iron industry is important. "On the basis of these statements the case for protecting steel appears to us to be overwhelmingly strong. The extreme importance on national grounds of the existence of steel manufacture in India was demonstrated over and over again during the war, and it is unnecessary to recapitulate

facts which are common knowledge. If, in accordance with the principles laid down by the Fiscal Commission, the protection of steel is not held to be justified, we are at a loss to imagine what industry could possibly comply with them. It is impossible to conceive a stronger case."

General Principles—Why Protection Schemes are Necessary.

The general principles underlying the scheme of protection are given by the Report as follows :—

"(1) The answer to the question whether protection is necessary depends in the main on the difference between two prices :—
  (a) the price at which steel is likely to be imported into India from abroad, and
  (b) the price at which the Indian manufacturer can sell at a reasonable profit.

"(2) If protection is found to be necessary, and the advantages to be derived from it are held to outweigh any objections which may exist, then the measures taken must be adequate to secure their purpose.

"(3) The scheme of protection should be so adjusted as to interfere as little as possible with those kinds of steel which are not manufactured in India at present and are not likely to be manufactured in the near future."

In answer to this, the Report says: "It is indeed obvious that the need for protection exists, in so far as the Indian manufacturer selling his steel in competition with imported steel fails to realise a fair profit or incurs an actual loss."

In referring to the desirability of adequate protective measures, the Report advocates a continuity of policy. "From the date when a new firm decided to establish steel works, five years would probably elapse before steel was actually manufactured, and another five years before the success or failure of the venture could fairly be estimated."

Danger of Cheap Imported Steel

The Report says: "The danger of foreign steel entering India at abnormally low prices is, we believe, a real one. Since 1921 the cheapest imported steel has come from Belgium, though in 1922 at any rate, part of it may have originated in Germany. During the last few months there has been a rapid increase in the French production, and it is quite possible that France may become a more formidable competitor in the world's steel markets than she has hitherto been. The results of the resumption of steel production in Germany on a large scale, if and when a settlement of the reparations problem is attained, might of course be serious, and the menace of the release of the Ruhr stocks has not yet been finally dispelled. Under these conditions wide and sudden fluctuations in the price of steel are not improbable.

"We have considered the legislation adopted in other countries to guard against similar dangers, but we have not found it possible to frame our proposals on the model of any of them. In such measures the executive Govt. is usually empowered to take action when the fall in prices is due to some particular cause, e.g., the depreciation of the exchange, the grant of bounties, or the low cost of production in the country of origin. But, if the end in view is to secure to the domestic manufacturer a reasonable price, the causes which have enabled the foreign manufacturer to send his steel into India at lower prices are really irrelevant. If economic conditions in the world generally were more stable, it might be possible to dispense with additional safeguards or to limit them to particular dangers. But, things being as they are, we believe that special powers are necessary, and that they should be complete and not hedged about with restrictions."

Customs Enquiries

The Report lays down that the only point to be determined by enquiry would be the price at which steel was actually entering India. Arrangements would be necessary at the Customs Houses in the principal ports to record from the invoices the actual prices at which protected goods were being imported.

"The legislation proposed," says the Report, "is often described as anti-dumping, but we have deliberately refrained from making use of that word."

Discriminating Protection

"*On the third point*," the Report says, "the policy laid down for our guidance

is that of discriminating protection which restricts the burden on the consumer to the minimum necessary to attain its object. It follows that those kinds of steel which are not produced in India at present, or are not likely to be produced in the near future, should, as far as possible, be left untouched. We mention the point here because we desire to make it plain that this consideration has been present to our minds throughout our enquiry. To put it very briefly, there is no need for protection unless there is *something to protect.*"

After making a detailed examination of the prices of imported steel past, present and future, and the cost of producing steel at Jamshedpur in 1921 and 1922 (when the average price realised by the Tata Iron and Steel Company for a finished steel was Rs. 159 a ton—which just sufficed to cover the overhead charges and left no profit whatever), and after stating that there was a big fall in 1922-23, the Report says: "It is evident that at the present level of prices and with the present Customs Duties the manufacture of steel in India can only be carried on at a loss."

Lowest Selling Price

The Report then goes on to consider the future cost of production and finds that a selling price lower than Rs. 180 a ton would be inadequate as the basis of protection. That sum therefore is adopted as the basis of the Board's proposals.

Bounties Alone Impracticable

The Fiscal Commission had pointed out that the best means of assisting a basic industry may often be found by means of a bounty rather than by a protective duty. The Report states: "We fear that for financial reasons any scheme which proposed to accord protection to steel solely by this means must be dismissed as impracticable at present.....During the next year the production of steel at Jamshedpur will increase from 126,000 to 420,000 tons, and this must entail a very serious reduction in the revenue at present derived from customs duties on steel. Any scheme of balancing duties against bounties is in danger of breaking down because the extra revenue from which the bounties are to be paid is a vanishing quantity which ultimately disappears altogether."

It is to be noted that the Tariff Board does not make its recommendations to remain in force over a long period, for it holds the belief that in 3 or 4 years' time it will be possible to reduce the cost of steel production in India to a level at which the manufacturer will be able to sell steel at a price much below Rs. 180 a ton, and still make a reasonable profit.

Specified duties—Board's Recommendations in Detail

The Board makes specific recommendations regarding the protection of the steel industry. These are as follows:—

RAW STEEL

Structural shapes:—
Present Duty Rs. 15 per ton or 10 per cent.
Recommended Duty Rs. 30 per ton or 20 per cent.

Plates:—
Recommended Duty Rs. 30.

Bars and Rods:—
Present Duty Rs. 15 a ton.
Recommended Duty Rs. 40 a ton or 30 per cent.

Sheets (ungalvanised)
Recommended Duty Rs. 30 a ton or 15 per cent.

Sheets (galvanised)
Recommended Duty Rs. 45 a ton or 15 per cent.

Rails and Fishplates:—
Proposed bounties on the following sliding scale:—
1924-25 Rs. 32 a ton.
1925-26 Rs. 26 a ton.
1926-27 Rs. 20 a ton.

Wrought Iron:—
Proposed specific duty of Rs. 35 a ton on common iron bar and rod (not coated with other metals.)

The duty on the other qualities will remain as at present.

As the Government of India had already announced that the Law will be attended so as to necessitate the actual payment of Customs Duty on imported stores (with a few specified exceptions) by the Government Departments concerned, the Report states that it is unnecessary to submit any recommendation on this point.

Chief objections—Agricultural Interests Not Deeply Affected

In dealing with the principal objections to protection for steel the Tariff Board states that an increase in the duty on steel bars will undoubtedly tend to raise the cost of such steel as the agriculturist ordinarily uses, but that quantity is very small. The effect therefore would be negligible.

Referring to the objection that protection for steel is contrary to the interests of agriculture because it will involve a considerable reduction of imports into India and consequently of exports from India, and that the foreign market for India's agricultural products would therefore be restricted, the Report says that it is "a general argument against any measure designed to secure the development of industries in India on a large scale and has no special application to steel." Mr. Pilcher in his oral evidence suggested that the reduction of Indian imports, and consequently of exports, was open to objection - (a) because it was produced by artificial means and not the result of natural and healthy development, and (b) because it meant the sudden displacement of a large body of imports. The answer is that the steel manufacturer has no choice. Since large units are essential to cheap production, a policy of slow and imperceptible growth is out of his power. The industry must develop by sudden jumps or not at all."

Effect on other Industries.

The real difficulty was the effect of protection for steel upon other industries. The Report says: "We have to consider the sacrifices which that policy may entail on the community and not the burden which a different policy would bring with it. We are not called upon, therefore, to discuss the remoter consequences which protection for steel may bring in its train. The case might be different if it seemed probable that the cost of steel production were likely to remain at its present level for a long period of years, for existing industries would then have to develop and new industries come into existence on the basis of high steel costs. But we have found good grounds for believing that production costs will fall substantially in the next three or four years, and in that case the burden will be lightened at no very distant date. If our expectations are justified, the industries which use steel as their raw material will be gradually built up on the basis of steadily diminishing steel costs. This is important because it is the primary cost of raw steel which ultimately determines the level of costs in all the dependent industries."

The Report here deals in detail with the effect upon Railway costs and the manufacture of machinery in general, as also jute machinery and tea garden machinery.

The Tariff Board admits that railway costs would be increased by one half of the railway figures in the case of unfabricated steel and two-thirds in the case of fabricated steel. The increase would be small in the case of machinery and also in jute machinery.

Burden Widely Diffused.

The Report says: "We can only refer that steel is not so important a factor in the cost of Tea Garden Machinery as Mr. Pilcher was led to believe." Enough material was not placed before the Tariff Board to show the effect upon coal, jute and tea. It continues:—"The evidence we have obtained suggests generally that about one-third of the burden will fall on the Railways, other Government departments and public bodies, one-third or something less on the principal industries, and the balance on the minor handicrafts and the general consumer. So far as we can judge, the burden will be widely diffused and is not likely to press too heavily on any one section of the community," though the Tariff Board states that it has not desired to minimise the consequences of what it has proposed. The Report draws a picture as to what would happen on the other hand if the manufacture of steel in India were to cease. This would throw out of employment a large number of workmen and would also be "a very serious blow" to the coal industry owing to the sudden drop in the demand for coal. Gravest of all would be the shock to public confidence in the future of Indian industries.

System of Bounties for Wagons.

The Second Report relates to Engineering Industries :—Engineering wagon building, tin-plate, wire and wire-nails, and agricultural implements. The Report states: "The proposals we have made in connection with the engineering industry may be summarised as follows :—

"(1) 25 per cent ad valorem duty on fabricated steel generally, but excluding (a) steamers, launches, barges, flats, boats and other vessels, and (b) all vehicles except colliery tubes and tipping wagons.

(2) 25 per cent. ad valorem on switches and crossings.

(3) A specific duty of Rs. 40 a ton on spikes and tie bars."

The Report recommends "that bounties should be granted on the manufacture of wagons in India in accordance with the following scale :—

	No. of wagons for bounty	Amount of bounty per wagon	Cost of bounty.
		Rs.	Rs. Lakhs.
1st year	800	850	6·80
2nd „	1,000	700	7·30
3rd „	1,200	580	6·96
4th „	1,400	500	7·00
5th „	1,600	440	7·04

Tin-plate & Nail Duty.

The Report continues : "Imported tin-plate is at present subject to a duty of 10 per cent on a tariff valuation of Rs. 400 a ton. We recommend that a specific duty of Rs. 60 a ton, equivalent to 15 per cent be imposed. This will mean a duty of approximately Rs. 3 per box instead of the present duty of Rs. 2 per box.

The Report further recommends that a specific duty of Rs. 60 should be imposed on nails.

Agricultural Implements.

The Report recommends "that the present ad valorem duty be raised to 25 per cent on picks, phowrahs or kodalis and hoes. We believe that this amount of protection will suffice to enable the Company to extend the scale of its operations, and in two or three years work up to its full capacity."

सत्यमेव जयते

The Lee Report

(Of The Royal Commission on Public Services.)

A great and portent event in Indian polity in the first six months of the current year was the evidence collected by the Royal Commission on the Public Services and then the famous report that it issued towards the end of May. The commission was appointed by Royal Warrant under the aegis of Lords Peel & Winterton, the Secretary and Under-Secretary of State respectively for India in the last Tory Ministry in England. The appointment of the Commission was secured by European Service-men backed by the strong die-hard elements in India and England who have ever since the Montagu Reforms Act of 1919 been exerting themselves to scrap it outright.

The circumstances leading to the appointment of the Commission and some of the evidences have been given in the previous issue of this QUARTERLY on page 10. The Commission commenced its work on 4th November, 1923 and finished its labours on 27th March, 1924. Only six important centres were visited and it chose to examine orally only 411 witnesses including the officials, out of 1300 persons and associations who forwarded replies to their *questionnaires*. And the most curious feature is that out of these 411 witnesses only 152 were heard in public, the rest having chosen to record their evidence *in private*. The evidence that was thus recorded cannot see the light of day but its character can be guaged by the remarks of the Commission itself. In Chapter XIV at page 61, the report states that "there were likely to be many witnesses, who would shrink from expressing in public opinions which they conscientiously held but which, if published in the press, might involve them in political controversy." This decidedly points to the character of the evidence thus recorded and the number of such witnesses is no less than 259 as against 152 who elected to be heard in public. The Commissioners characterise this evidence given publicly as presenting only 'one-sided picture of the case.'

The genesis of the Commission, as given in the report at page 6, runs as follows: "In the minds of the Services, the uncertainty of the political future of India, combined with attacks upon them in the press and the platform, and their steadily deteriorating financial condition, produced feelings of anxiety and discontent. In Indian political circles, on the other hand, the new system seemed incomplete and slow in operation. It seemed incomplete because the Self-government granted in the 'Transferred' field was limited by the fact that members of the All-India Services engaged therein were still under the ultimate control of the Secretary of State. It seemed slow in operation because the rate of Indianisation adopted since 1919 was regarded as illiberal." It can be seen from the analysis of this statement that the purpose of the Commission was four-fold. Firstly, it had to ensure the immunity of the Services from attacks in the press and platform by making them independent of the popular form of government in India, and secondly, to improve their financial position by making liberal grants in their pay, promotions and pensions. Thirdly, discontent in the Indian political circles

was to be set at rest by giving complete control of services in the Transferred departments to the Ministers; and fourthly, to accelerate the rate of Indianisation of the services.

With these ends in view it is argued that the 'poor,' 'honest' and 'hard-working' Civilian is oppressed with the fear that if the power of control is once transferred to the representatives of the people in India, it was likely, disastrous results would ensue. What those results would be form part of the private evidence. To meet this contingency, it is laid down that "the Secretary of State should retain his control" in respect of All-India Services. It was also feared that 'political developments in India might bring their careers to a premature end.' This has been met by a new provision that a legal covenant, mutually binding between the civilians and the government and enforceable in Civil Courts should be entered into. This contract is to mention even the minutest detail of the pay, promotion, pension, leaves and even return passages and insurance of life. A further safeguard has been instituted in the form of Public Service Commission which has given wide powers of recruitment as well as of hearing and deciding appeals of the Civil Servants against the Government decisions.

The Commission also made liberal recommendations regarding the pay and allowances, pensions and family pensions, passages and provident funds, to allay their discontent in this respect. In achieving this second objective, the Commission has burdened India with an expenditure of 96 to 98 lacs annually, slowly increasing to one crore and a quarter. A close study of the figures and the increases recommended will show that this is an under-estimate, and the additional expense will border on two crores annually. The report states on page 24 that "political opinion (Indian) is strongly in favour of the 'market price' principle and contend that while a high rate of pay may be necessary to attract Europeans, the best Indian candidate could be secured on lower terms. There is much reason in this contention which is pressed with vigour as one of the main justifications for increased Indianisation." This contention is used as an argument for refusing to increase emoluments of Indians! The Report again says at page 28 that "Having regard to public opinion as to the necessity of economising the cost of Public Services, we are not prepared to recommend increase in their (Indian) emoluments. We have therefore adopted a system which will meet the requirements of mainly European married officers."

The report disposes of the third and fourth points, namely, of control by Ministers and rate of Indianisation thus: The difficulty of administering the Transferred Departments with no control over the Services was made plain to the Commission. On page 8, it states clearly that "it has been represented to us that although Ministers have been given in full power to prescribe policy, they might be hampered in carrying it out by the limitations to their control over the All-India Services inasmuch as the members of these Services are appointed by the Secretary of State and cannot be dismissed except by him, whilst their salaries are not subject to the control of the Local Legislatures." The difficulty is met by providing that the personnel required for the transferred branches of administration be recruited and appointed by local governments who are asked to pass legislation to secure

this control. The Public Service Commission is, however, there with its powers of appeal and rights of recruitment.

As to Indianisation, the report starts to consider the question with an impartial mind and states at page 48 that "in the days of the Islington Commission the question was 'How many Indians should be admitted into the Public Services?'; it has now become: 'what is the minimum number of Englishmen which must be recruited?" It further says that "in order to carry out the spirit of Declaration of August 1917, a proportion of 50-50 in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service should be attained without undue delay and that the present rate of Indian recruitment should be accelerated with this object." It is important in this connection to note the 'present' rate. In para 35, it is stated that 'the percentage of recuitment of Indians for the Indian Civil Service was fixed in 1920 at 33 per cent. commencing in the year 1920 and rising by 1½ per cent to 48 per cent to be attained in the year 1930. In the present year 1924, it is 39 per cent." There can be no shadow of doubt that at the 'present' rate 48 per cent is sure to be attained in 1930 taking into consideration the 39 per cent in 1924. But the proposal of the Commission to make it 50-50 and 'accelerate the rate' is given on p. 19. It says that the 'ratio of recruitment should be maintained at 40 Europeans and 40 Indians out of every 100 recruits (the remainder to be filled by promotion from the Provincial Civil Service) at any rate until the 50-50 cadre is attained.' It is expected that the foregoing rate of recruitment would produce a 50-50 cadre in about 15 years from the time of coming into operation of the scheme. Thus if this scheme is brought into operation in 1925, a 50-50 cadre will be reached in 1940 while under the 'present' rate 48 per cent would have been attained in 1930!

It need not be repeated that the interests of the alien bureaucracy are directly in conflict with the progress of Self-Government in India. The recommendations are flank attacks to thwart the realisation of responsible Government. The Government of India are determined to give effect to them. The Labour Government is too engrossed in its own difficult affairs to pay attention to this important development. India is already weighted down with unbearable burden of taxation and this fresh addition of weight is likely to break the back of the camel. A pliant and serviceable tool in the form of a Taxation Committee has thus again been foisted upon the country to devise means for this fresh taxation.

The Taxation Committee.

The Govt. of India resolution of the 29th June says that the question of instituting a scientific enquiry into the system of Indian taxation has recently attracted considerable attention in the country and was discussed on more than one occasion in the Indian Legislature. The Government of India are now in a position to announce that arrangements have been made for such an enquiry. The motive for the appointment is not any need for meeting additional expenditure or any intention to increase the total amount raised by taxation in India; the necessity for the enquiry arises largely from the effect produced by the War on the general level of prices and of expenditure, and consequently on the incidence of taxation in its existing form. The problems arising therefrom are common to many countries, but in India the changes which have been made since the War in the relations between the Central and Provincial Governments and the development of Self-Government furnish reason

for the study of the subject of taxation in general and for the examination of alternative sources from which to raise money to meet the expenditure which is necessarily to be incurred by the various taxing authorities at the present time. The increasing pressure for a more drastic regulation of liquor traffic in particular make the study of alternative sources of taxation imperative, while modifications in the existing system of taxation which may be expected to result from the action taken on the recommendations of the Indian Fiscal Commission and the Tariff Board, will disturb the distribution and affect the real burden of taxation borne by the people of India. The intention of the Government of India to institute this enquiry was announced in the Council of State on the 4th February, 1924, when the proposal was discussed in some detail. Reasons were then given for the opinion of the Government of India that the terms of reference should be comprehensive and that the enquiry should be conducted by a small Committee, equally representative of European and Indian experience and including an officer with wide knowledge of Indian administration, an Indian representative of acknowledged authority in economic questions and an expert on taxation from abroad.

The Personnel & Terms of Reference of the Committee.

Sir Charles Todhunter, Finance Member of Madras, to act as the Chairman of the Committee; Sir Percy Thompson, K. B. E., Deputy Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue in England, Sir Bijay Chand Mahatab of Burdwan, and Dr. R. P. Paranjpye as Members and Mr. W. B. Brett, I. C. S., will act as the Secretary.

The following are the terms of reference of the Committee.

(1) To examine the manner in which the burden of taxation is distributed at present between the different classes of the population.

(2) To consider whether the whole scheme of taxation, Central, Provincial and Local, is equitable and in accordance with economic principles, and if not, in what respects it is defective.

(3) To report on the suitability of alternative sources of taxation.

(4) To advise as to the machinery required for the imposition, assessment and collection of taxes, old and new.

(5) To prepare rough estimates of the financial effects of the proposals.

(6) To include in the enquiry the consideration of the land revenue, only so far as is necessary for a comprehensive survey of the existing conditions.

The terms of reference have been formally accepted by all the Provincial Governments without prejudice to their claims in regard to the distribution of the total revenues. It will be observed that the Committee will have no concern with the expenditure, nor will it be a part of their function to examine the adequacy of the resources of the different governing bodies. Their concern will be primarily with the burden imposed on all classes of the population without regard to the territorial limits. The estimates they will frame will be designed to illustrate the methods of easing where it is too heavy and of increasing it where it is too light. They will indicate theoretically the correct distribution of taxes between Imperial, Provincial and Local Governments, and the most efficient machinery for collection. Whether they follow the same lines of division or not, it will thus be no part of the duties of the Committee to consider the equity of the Meston Award. Similarly, as regards the land revenue, the Committee will not be required to make suggestions regarding the systems of settlement, but it will be within the scope of the enquiry to study the incidence of the land revenue (including water-rates) and to point out any defects from the point of view of canons of taxation or any difficulties in the readjustment of the burden of taxation. It will be within the terms of reference to the Committee to institute such an enquiry into the economic conditions of the people as the Committee may consider necessary for its purpose and to report on the adequacy of the material already available, making suggestions to the best manner in which it may be supplemented and the most suitable agency for a wider economic enquiry.

Committee to Meet in October

It is proposed that the Committee should assemble in India about the last week of October and in the meantime preliminary statistical material is being collected with the assistance of the Provincial Governments for the use of the Committee.

Leaving this aside for the present, the Lee Report is discussed in the following pages from the Indian view point.

The following is a summary of its conclusions.

Its conclusions are based upon the existing Constitutional position, and its proposals for financial relief to the Services are not to take retrospective effect in view of the present state of the finances of India, but are to take effect from the commencement of the financial year 1924-25. i.e. from April 1st 1924.

The COST OF THE PROPOSALS is estimated to be Rs. 99 or Rs. 98 lakhs in the first year. The cost will tend to rise for some years until it reaches one-and-a-quarter crores, but will fall as Indianization makes itself felt. Out of a total estimate of about 1¼ crore it would appear that some 22 lakhs would fall on the Central Budget, the remaining cost being distributed over the provinces.

The Commission emphasises that its main proposals are vitally inter-dependent and unless all are given effect to, violence will be done not merely to the spirit of compromise which inspired the agreed conclusions but also to the whole structure of the recommendations. The Commission further states that in view of the urgency of the case the recommendations should be considered as a whole and acted upon with as little delay as possible.

THE GENESIS.—The report commences with a reference to the genesis of the Commission. The appointment of the Macdonnel Committee by the Secretary of State to inquire into impediments to recruitment in England, and the issue of the O'Donnel Circular by the Government of India regarding the acceleration of Indianization showed that both authorities had been obliged to reconsider the whole question of the Services within four years of the passing of the Reform Act. But the problems were only stated by the Macdonnel Committee and the O'Donnel Circular, and not solved, and the need for a full and impartial inquiry led to the appointment of the present Commission.

Professor Coupland in a note points out that it is clear from the memorandum, and the first Reforms despatch of the Government of India, that the retention of the control of the Secretary of State over the Services under Ministers was a temporary expedient adopted because it was felt that to change the structure of the Public Services simultaneously with a change in the structure of Government might fatally handicap the operation of the new system. Now, however, says Mr. Coupland, both Ministers and the All-India Services under them are suffering from an anomalous and unstable position.

RECRUITMENT FOR TRANSFERRED FIELDS.—To remove this anomaly the Commission recommends that recruitment to the Services employed in the Transferred fields should in future be made by the Local Governments themselves. These services are the Indian Educational, the Agricultural and Veterinary, the Forest Service in Burma and Bombay, and the Buildings and Roads Branch of the Indian Service of Engineers, except in Assam.

Special recommendations are made about the Indian Medical Service. Local Governments should be given full control over the Services thus recruited, and also over the existing Provincial Services, the Secretary of State delegating the necessary powers under Section 96-B (2) of the Act but it should be a corollary that the local Legislatures should pass the Public Services Acts providing satisfactory conditions of service and reducing the risks of political interference. No change would, however, be made in the position of the All-India Service men now operating in the transferred fields, and they would continue to enjoy the present rights and also draw the concessions to be granted to members of the Services in the Reserved field. The All-India Services

employed in the reserved field of administration should continue to be appointed and controlled by the Secretary of State for India in Council. Some members think that such a conclusion followed inevitably from the principles implied in the Government of India Act, while other members, mainly Indian, hold that a transfer is contemplated by the Act.

All however agree that the Secretary of State should for the present retain his powers of appointment and control. These services are I.C.S., I.P.S., the Irrigation Branch of I.E.S., the whole cadre of this service in Assam, and except in Bombay and Burma, the Indian Forest Service.

Professor Coupland in his note explains that the recommendation about the control of the Reserved and Transferred Services is not only in harmony with the general political opinion in India, but is also in harmony with the principles and purposes of the authors of the Government of India Act. It is in consonance with the principle on the one hand, of making the Ministers and Legislative Councils responsible in the fullest practicable degree for the good government of the Transferred field, and on the other with the full responsibility of the Secretary of State and Parliament for the good government of the Reserved field.

In respect of the CENTRAL SERVICES the Commission recommends that all appointments to the Political Department, Imperial Customs Department should be made by the Secretary of State, who should also continue to make, as at present, appointments in Europe to the State Railway engineers, superior revenue establishment, State Railways and superior telegraph and wireless branch. Appointments in the remaining Central Services would be made by the Government of India.

On the question of the reorganization of the MEDICAL SERVICES, the Commission says that no attempt should be made to perpetuate the Indian Medical Service as at present constituted.

The medical needs of the British and Indian Armies in India should be met by the constitution of a R. A. M. C. (Indian), every officer of the new Provincial Civil Medical Service being liable for service with the R. A. M. C. (India) in the event of general mobilisation. The new Civil Medical Service should be constituted in each Province, and recruited by the Public Services Commission through a competitive examination held in England and India, the rates of pay and other conditions of service being fixed by the Local Governments in consultation with the Public Services Commission, the constitution of which is given later.

The Commission considers it vital to the needs and contentment of British Civil Servants to provide a nucleus of British medical officers in the Civil Medical Service. The *minimum of British officers* for each province is to be fixed by the Secretary of State on whom in the last resort should rest the responsibility for the maintenance of this British element. One-half of the number required for the military reserve, whichever is the larger, should be reserved for British officers to be filled by competitive examination for the Civil Medical Service. The deficiency should be made up by increased recruiting from the R. A. M. C. (India) or, if necessary, by special additional recruitment for that purpose. The I. M. S. is to be absorbed by the R. A. M. C., and all concessions granted to the other All-India Services should be extended to the existing members or the members of the I. M. S. in civil employ.

The Commission next makes a most important recommendation for the establishment of a PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION as contemplated by the Government of India Act.

Experience has shown, says the report, that wherever democratic institutions exist, some impartial body is necessary to protect the Civil Services from political influences, and give them stability and security. The Commission points out that since the passing of the Act, prolonged correspondence extending over four years has passed between the Secretary of State, the Government of India and Local Governments without arriving at any decision about the setting up of this Commission.

The Lee Commission is convinced that this Commission should be established without delay and recommends that the Commission should be an All-India body consisting of five Commissioners of the highest public standing detached so far as practicable from political associations and possessing, in the case of at least two, high judicial or legal qualifications. Their emoluments should not be less than those of High Court Judges.

The functions of the Commission would be :—

(A) The Recruitment in India for the All-India Services, Central Services and, if Provincial Governments so desire, also for the Provincial Services. The Commission would be the final authority in determining with the Secretary of State, the Government of India, or the Local Governments, as the case might be, the standards of qualification and the methods of examinations for recruitment in India.

(B) The exercise of functions of "quasi" judicial character in connection with the disciplinary control and protection of the Services.

APPEALS to the Governor-General in Council by an aggrieved officer against such orders of the Local Governments as are declared by the Governor-General in Council to be appealable, should be referred to the Commission, which should report to the Government of India with its recommendations as to action without prejudice to the right of appeal of the aggrieved officer to the Secretary of State, provided the Commission certifies the case as fit for such appeal.

Appeals from the Government of India would first be referred to the Commission who would report to the Secretary of State. In the case of an allegation of a breach of a legal covenant the Commission would certify whether "prima facie" it was a fit case for adjudication by a civil court. If such case was sustained the whole cost of the proceedings should be defrayed by the Government concerned.

The report regards the recommendations in respect of the Commission as one of its cardinal features as forming an integral and essential part of the whole structure of the proposals about the Services. It is therefore urged that effect should be given to them as soon as practicable.

INDIANISATION.—The Commission next makes recommendations on the question of Indianisation. For the I. C. S. it considers it desirable that to promote an increased feeling of comaraderie, an equal sense of responsibility, the proportion of half Europeans and half Indians in the Service should be attained without undue delay. Some members attach particular importance to maintaining the principle of equality in the rate of direct recruitment which should be 40 Indians and 40 Europeans out of every 100, the remaining being promoted from the Provincial Service. The rate of recruitment of 40 Europeans to 60 Indians is expected to produce a half and half composition of the Service in about 15 years.

In the Indian Police Service, the recruitment is to be 50 per cent European and 50 per cent Indian, the latter being composed of 30 per cent taken by direct recruitment and 20 per cent by promotion

from Provincial Service men, of whose fitness for such posts the Commission had convincing evidence. In this Service the composition of half European and half Indian would be attained in about 25 years.

Recruitment to the Indian Forest Service in the provinces where Forests are a reserved subject should be 75 per cent Indians and 25 per cent Europeans. Recruitment for the Irrigation Engineers is to be 40 per cent European and 60 per cent Indian, 40 per cent being directly recruited and 20 per cent promoted from the Provincial Service.

It is pointed out by the Commission that while the question before the Islington Commission was how many Indians should be admitted into the Public Services, the question before the Lee Commission was what is the minimum number of Englishmen which must still be recruited. The Commission hopes that in respect of the provincialised Services, Ministers would still wish to obtain the services of Europeans in the technical departments and the Europeans would show the same willingness to take service under Local Governments as under the Secretary of State.

The proposals for the INDIANISATION OF THE CENTRAL SERVICES are:—

(a) Political Department:—25 per cent. Indian recruitment from the I.C.S., Provincial Civil Service or the Indian Army.

(b) Imperial Customs Service:—Recruitment to be on the present basis.

(c) Superior Telegraph and Wireless Branch:—Recruitment should be 25 per cent in England and 75 per cent in India.

(d) The Commission recommends that the existing training facilities be pushed forward so that as soon as practicable 75 per cent recruitment should be made in India and 25 per cent in England to posts of State Railway Engineers and the superior Revenue establishment.

For the remaining Central Services recruitment should be at the discretion of the Government of India.

PAY & ALLOWANCES.—Coming to the question of the pay and allowances of Service, the Commission observes that the insistent complaint of the Services has been that so little has been done to give effect to the recommendation of the Montagu-Chelmsford report to restore the real pay of the Services to the level which proved attractive 30 years ago. The present pay is far below such a level. Moreover, says the Commission, the existing disparity of remuneration as between a commercial and an official career has become so conspicuous and so discouraging to Civil Servants that something should be done to restore contentment.

Although many non-official Indian witnesses urged a reduction in the basic pay of Indians, the Commission has decided against lowering the basic pay, partly because of the almost unanimous representation by Indian officers that their position was no less embarrassing than that of European officers.

Apart from the Indian Police Service and the Indian Service of Engineers, it is not proposed to increase the basic pay of the Services.

In the I. P. S. the basic pay of the inferior scale should be raised by Rs. 25 a month. The basic pay of the superior scale beginning at the sixth year should be increased by Rs. 50 up to the tenth year, then by Rs. 75 a month to the thirteenth year, then by Rs. 100 a month for the ensuing four years, then by Rs. 75, Rs. 50 and Rs. 25 a month for the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth year of service, thereafter remaining as at present.

In the case of the Indian Service of Engineers it is recommended that technical pay should be reckoned as part of the basic pay. For

services other than the I. P. S,, and the Women's Branch of the I. E. S., rises in overseas pay from Rs. 150 where it occurs should be to Rs. 250 instead of Rs. 200 as at present, while from the twelfth year of service onwards the rate of overseas pay should be raised from Rs. 250 to Rs. 300. In the I. P. S., recruits of which are about three years younger than in other Service, overseas pay should be Rs. 100 in the first three years, Rs. 125 in the fourth year, Rs. 150 in the next four years, Rs. 250 in the next six years, and Rs. 300 in the fifteenth year, and thereafter to the end of the time scale.

The EXCHANGE DIFFICULTY is met by a recommendation that in the case of all Services from the fifth year of service onwards every officer of non-Asiatic domicile should be entitled to remit his total overseas pay through the High Commissioner at 2s. to the rupee, or to draw it in London in sterling at that rate. Indian members entitled to overseas pay should draw the increase proposed, but should have the privilege of remittance only if they satisfy the High Commissioner that they have wives or children in Europe.

Officers promoted to the selection grade in the Indian Police, Medical, Agricultural and Veterinary Services and to the senior and junior selection grades in the Indian Educational Services should draw the maximum overseas pay and receive the sterling advantage described above. The pay of officers holding the lower administrative posts, i.e., Deputy Inspectors General of Police, Superintending Engineers and Conservators of Forests should be fixed at Rs. 2,150 instead of the present incremental pay of Rs. 1,750—100—2,150, but without remittance benefit. With regard to administrative posts above the time-scale whose salary does not exceed Rs. 4,000 a month, the European members of the Commission supported by Lord Lee recommend permission to remit Rs. 400 a month at the 2s. rate. The Indian members, dissenting, think that it would be politically unwise and administratively mischievous to differentiate between the emoluments of Indians and Europeans above the time-scale by supplementing the income of the Europeans and would cause deep resentment among the Indian officers. The Commission recommends that though not to the extent of the other Services, the Women's Educational Service has a claim to some improvement in emoluments.

As regards the Central Services, the report recommends that in principle the concessions proposed for the All-India Services should 'mutatis mutandis' be granted to all European officers in the Central Services appointed by the Secretary of State, and to those European officers who though appointed by the Government of India were appointed on the basis of non-Asiatic domicile.

RECOMMENDATIONS ABOUT OTHER SERVICES are:—

Officers appointed in future to the Judicial Branch of the I. C. S. should not receive judicial pay because this additional attraction is not needed now. It should not, however, be withdrawn from existing recipients. The technical pay of the Superior Telegraph Branch should be reckoned as part of the basic pay. Military officers serving in the Political Department should receive the same pay as officers of the Indian Civil Service in that department. The general principle laid down about specialist officers in the various Services is that if they are holding permanent appointments or if the contract implies permanent employment subject to approved service, their conditions of employment should be revised to accord with those in the corresponding All-India Services.

The PASSAGE DIFFICULTY is proposed to be met by laying down that an officer of non-Asiatic domicile in the Superior Civil Services should

receive four return passages during his service (or standard P, and O. first class B), and when married his wife should be entitled to as many return passages as may be to his credit. One single passage should be granted to each child. The following scale will also apply to officers already in Service:—

Those with less than 7 years' service will get FOUR return passages, those below 14 years THREE, those below 21 years TWO and those above 21 years ONE.

The scheme is to be extended to Indian officers of the I. C. S. who receive overseas pay, but should not extend to their families. The family of an officer who dies in the Service should be repatriated at Government expense even though he has exhausted the full number of passages admissible. Roughly the passage benefit works out at Rs. 50 per month for European and perhaps Rs. 25 for Indian officers, but in order to avoid this allowance being eaten up by other requirements, the Commission asks the Government to establish a passage fund out of which it would pay for the passage of officers. Any surplus of the fund will revert to the Government. Monthly additions credited to pay under this fund would not count towards pension, or leave or furlough allowance.

PENSIONS.—No increase is recommended in the I. C. S. pension having regard to the fact that in 1919 officers contributing four per cent of their salary towards pensions were relieved of the necessity of doing so, and the question of the refund of past contributions cannot be re-opened. As a result of the far-reaching responsibilities brought about by the Reforms the Commission recommends that members of the I. C. S. who rise to the rank of Members of Council should get an additional pension of £50 for every year of service as such up to a maximum total pension of £1,250. Those who serve as Governors should receive an additional £100 annually up to a maximum total pension of £1,500.

Mr. Basu, dissenting on this last point, says that the spirit of comaraderie and equality in the rank of the Civil Service must be maintained. The Commission is aware that the recommendation of the Islington Commission to give a special pension to Lieutenant-Governors was not accepted by the Government but feels that under the Reforms conditions have changed and that it is just and equitable that this fact should be recognized. No change is recommended in the existing scale of invalid annuities so far as the I. C. S. is concerned.

The present pension of the uncovenated services are considered inadequate. It is proposed that the present pension of Rs. 5,000 per annum after 25 years of service rising by Rs. 200 per annum to Rs. 6,000 after 30 years should be increased to Rs. 6,000 and rising by Rs. 200 per annum to Rs. 7,000. The maximum pensions taking account of the additional pension earned by service in the higher appointments would then become Rs. 8,500 (Lower grade) and and Rs. 9,500 (Upper grade) The limit of ten years before which an invalid annuity can be earned in the uncovenanted services should be reduced to seven years and the scale improved. No change is recommended in the pension of High Court Judges and Chaplains.

The Commission further recommends that a new rule should be made to grant extraordinary pensions to officers killed or injured whilst not actually in the execution of their duty but for reasons connected with their official position or actions.

The advisability of substituting a provident fund for pensions and the establishment of a Family Pension Fund for the All-India Services

on the lines of that already existing for the I.C.S. are recommended. Better administration of the I.C.S. Family Pension Fund is urged and it is proposed that the present fund should be closed and a new fund opened divided into European and Indian branches owing to differences in social customs and vital statistics.

SAFEGUARDS TO THE SERVICES.—The report next discusses safeguards to be provided to give a sense of security to the Services. It is recommended that the question of existing and accruing rights and claims of Members of Services arising from the abolition of honour appointments should be referred to the Public Services Commission. Indian Members would limit reference to cases other than those necessitated by retrenchment or curtailment of work. All officers should be allowed to commute up to half their pensions, the rates to be revised year by year on the basis of the rate of interest payable on loans raised by Government in that year. Mutually binding legal covenants enforceable in a civil court should be entered into between officers and the authorities appointing them. Existing members of the Services should also enter into such covenants which should include clauses securing pay, leave rules, passages, remittance privileges, pension rules etc., and the right to compensation in the event of dismissal without due notice or any breach of the conditions of contract as well as the right to retire on proportionate pension in specified circumstances.

With regard to FUTURE RECRUITS it should be laid down that if and when the field of service for which members are recruited is transferred, it shall be open to them :—

(a) either to retain their All-India status ;

(b) to waive their contracts with the Secretary of State and to enter into new contracts with the Local Governments concerned, or

(c) to retire on proportionate pension, the option to remain open for one year from the date of transfer.

PROPORTIONATE PENSION.—The present rate of proportionate pension is considered by the Commission generous enough. The privilege of proportionate pension should be extended to those recruited in 1919 who did not arrive in India before January 1, 1920, but no alteration is recommended in the existing rule laying down that war service of officers prior to their appointment should not count as service for the purpose of this pension.

The extension of the privilege of proportionate pension to the Central Service is not recommended. It is further laid down that existing members operating in the Reserved field should have in addition to their present rights the right to retire on proportionate pension under the circumstances defined for future recruits if and when the field of Service is transferred as stated above.

The Commission further recommends that the Governor-General should consider whether he might not construct pension contributions to the Provident Fund within the meaning of the Government of India Act in accordance with Section 67-A (4) and all Governors should consider the same point in accordance with section 72-D (3) This is to remove the doubt about the non-votability of these contributions by the Legislature.

SPECIALIST OFFICERS on contract for a definite period and discharged for reasons other than unsatisfactory performance of duties have a claim for special compensation which should be granted in consultation with the Public Services Commission. Officers of the All-India Services

not appointed by the Secretary of State should be reappointed by him and granted the same privilege as other members. The report also suggests relief in respect of the calculation for the rent for houses supplied by Government and an officer's liability in respect of house rent is limited to ten per cent of his monthly emoluments, the Government paying the excess in case an officer occupies a private house.

In respect of medical attendance by British doctors the report suggests the grouping of districts and the posting of a British medical officer in one district in each group. If a doctor is sent for from another station or a patient goes himself to the doctor, travelling allowance shall be borne by the Government. Free medical attendance for wives and families should not be provided. The leave rules are considered liberal and are left unaltered.

The report urges that all recommendations should apply to Burma, even though conditions may not fully warrant such an advance, a necessary adjustment regarding the distribution of future recruits to the All-India Services between Burma and India should be made.

TO STIMULATE RECRUITMENT.—The Commission hopes that its proposals provide a reasonable measure of security and financial relief essential to stimulate recruitment.

Well-considered propaganda should be conducted and the India Office should establish some permanent liasion with the British Universities. A full and candid explanation of the present position in India and of the conditions of service under the reformed system with precise details as to pay, pensions and other privileges and the measure of protection and security provided should be made available for prospective recruits.

The age limit for the present year and the probationary period of one year should also be retained. The existing system of open competitive examination for the selection of candidates for the I. C. S. should be continued. The system of short term contract for the All-India Services is considered most unwise.

In a joint note Professor Coupland and Sir Cyril Jackson recommend that the recruitment and control of members of the Educational Service employed in the chief Colleges should remain with the Secretary of State and that to get recruits from Oxford in the same proportion as before, the conditions of examination obtaining before 1919 should be restored. Sir Reginald Craddock has long special notes about the conclusions of the Commission, the conditions in Burma and the emoluments of the Services. Mr. Petrie has also appended an explanatory note.

Indian Notes of Dissent.

Only 2 notes of dissent—on relatively minor points—are appended to the Report. One, by Mr. B. N. Basu, relates to the proposals that members of the Services who become members of the Executive Councils or Governors should receive increased pensions up to £1,200—£1,500 per annum. Mr. Basu opposes this suggested increase for a number of reasons. "There are," he writes, "several things to consider in this connection. There are, firstly, the existence of a feeling of comaraderie and equality in the ranks of the Civil Service who feel that, barring the exigencies of the service, they are all on a footing of equality, a feeling which I should not like to disturb."

The other note of dissent, which is signed by all the Indian Commissioners, protests against the proposal that officers above the time scale, *e.g.*, about Rs. 2,500 monthly, should be granted overseas pay and be permitted to remit overseas pay at the two-shilling rate. The European Commissioners support the suggestion which is personally strongly endorsed by Lord Lee.

New Reforms Rules.

The universal hostility which the Lee Recommendations received at the hands of the Indian public prompted the Govt. to devise and frame rules for the security of Service-men almost behind the people's back and within closed doors. Only in March last drastic steps were taken by the Government of India to meet the coming deadlock over their Finance Bill by a sudden alteration of rules of procedure (see p. 209). Explicit assurances were given by Sir Alexander Muddiman in the Assembly in May (see *post*) that no action will be taken on any part of the recommendations of the Commission until the Assembly shall have discussed them in September. But secretly the Government of India proceeded to frame statutory rules on a matter which expressly or impliedly came within the terms of reference to the Lee Commission and which should be dealt with only as part and parcel of the whole plan of action contemplated on their report.

It is not known as to when the second part of the following rules were made by the Secretary of State in Council, but it was notified that they were to come into operation from the 21st June 1924. There can be no doubt that the Secretary of State in Council, at the instance of the Government of India, proposed to take action on matters connected with the control of the Services, particularly the scope, extent and method of the rights of appeal of the members of the several services by new rules under section 96-B, when he expressly undertook that all the questions connected with such control will be dealt with by him after they have been discussed in the Assembly.

Rules 1 to 15 were framed and have been in force from the 22nd December 1920 and were in fact included in the material appended to the questionnaire of the Lee Commission. Rules 16 to 29 are new and came into operation from the 21st June last. They exhibit the racial and political differentiations that are perpetuated in these Rules in the name of devolution and Provincial autonomy. These Rules have, as is well-known, been preceded by what are known as Fundamental Rules under Section 96-B which, in effect, take the place of the old Civil Service Regulations.

There is a difference between the privileged and guaranteed position of the British recruited services in comparison to the precarious and humble position of the Indian and provincial recruited services doing exactly the same work. Rule 10 says "a Local Government may, for good and sufficient reasons, (1) censure, (2) reduce to a lower post, (3) withhold promotion from, or (4) suspend from his office, any officer of an All-India Service", whereas Rule 13 says that the "Local Government may, in respect of an officer of the Provincial or Subordinate Service, (1) censure, (2) reduce to a lower post, (3) withhold promotion from, (4) suspend and also (5 and 6) remove and dismiss any of them. The humiliating position of a provincial officer as compared to an All-India officer not liable to removal or dismissal by the Government cannot be brought out more clearly.

The new provisions in regard to appeals which are comprehended in Rules 16 to 29 suggest the initial reflection as to why they were not framed till June last and what the Rules were under which appeals from

the services were till now dealt with. Clause 1 of Section 96-B of the Government of India Act has already provided extra special protection for the British recruited officials or other officials appointed by the Secretary of State in Council against all orders of any kind whatsoever by which he may 'think himself wronged'; but no such protection exists in regard to provincial, subordinate and other services. The Provincial Services are to have no right of appeal beyond the Governor-General; the All-India services have an appeal to the Secretary of State.

New Rules under the Reforms Act

The Gazette of India says :—

The following Rules made by the Secretary of State in Council under sub-section [2] of Section 96 B, of the Government of India Act are published for general information. Rules XVI to XXIX and the entry in the Schedules of Provincial Services relating to Burma have effect from the 21st June 1924. The remaining Rules have been in operation with effect from varying dates since the 22nd December 1920.

Classification of officers under Administrative control of Local Governments.

I.—Officers under the administrative control of local Governments, other than officers employed on the administration of Central subjects and appointed by the Secretary of State or the Government of India, shall be classified in the following divisions, namely :—

(1) the All-India Services, (2) the Provincial Services, (3) the Subordinate Services, (4) Officers holding special posts.

Definition of All-India & other Services.

II.—The All-India Services shall consist of :—

(a) all officers serving under Local Government who are members of any of the following services :—

(1) the Indian Civil Service, (2) the Indian Police Service, (3) the Indian Forest Service, (4) the Indian Educational Service, (5) the Indian Agricultural Service, (6) the Indian Service of Engineers, (7) the Indian Veterinary Service, (8) the Indian Forest Engineering Service, (9) officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employ, and any other services declared by the Secretary of State in Council to be an All India Service;

(b) military officers and other officers holding posts borne on the provincial cadres of the above services.

III.—(1) The Provincial Services shall consist of the services shown in the schedule to these rules, and any other service declared by the Local Government to be a provincial service.

(2) The services shown in the schedule shall include all appointments at present included in these services, and any appointments which a Local Government may add thereto :

Provided that if any service not included in the schedule to these Rules is declared to be a provincial service, or if any appointment of a kind not at present included in a provincial service is added thereto, such declaration or addition shall be without prejudice to the rights and prospects of members of provincial services affected who were appointed before these Rules were made.

IV.—The subordinate services shall consist of all minor administrative, executive and ministerial posts to which appointments are made by the Local Government or by an authority subordinate to the Local Government.

V.—Special posts shall include all posts of a special or technical character, not included in an All-India or provincial service, to which appointments are made by the Local Government or by any other authority on behalf of the Local Government and which are declared by the Local Government to be special posts.

Appointment, Promotion, Transfers, etc.

VI.—All first appointments to an All-India Service, other than appointments made by promotion to such service of officers belonging to some other service or of

members of the bar appointed to posts ordinarily held by the members of the Indian Civil Service, shall be made by the Secretary of State in Council.

VII.—Save as provided in the Rules or Orders regulating the recruitment of the All-India Services, no person may be appointed without the previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council to any post borne on the provincial cadre of such service except a person who is either a member of such service or is already holding a post borne on the cadre of such service:

Provided that the Local Government may appoint a member of the Indian Civil Service to the post of Inspector-General of Police or to the post of Director of Agriculture.

VIII.—The Local Government has authority to promote officers of an All-India Service to any post borne on the provincial cadre of such service.

Provided that the prior approval of the Governor-General in Council is required to—

(1) the appointments of officers with less than 25 or 18 years' service respectively to the posts of Chief and Superintending Engineers in the province of Assam, and

(2) appointments except in the province of Madras and Bombay to the posts of—

(a) Chief Conservator of Forests, and (b) Conservators of Forests.

IX.—The power to transfer officers of an All-India Service from any one post to any other post borne on the cadre of such service, or from any one part of the province to any other part, is vested in the Local Government, but may be delegated by the Local Government, subject to such conditions as it may prescribe, to any authority subordinate to it, or in the case of officers holding judicial posts, to a High Court or a Chief Court or the Court of a judicial Commissioner.

X.—A Local Government may for good and sufficient reasons—

(1) censure, (2) reduce to a lower post, (3) withhold promotion from, or (4) suspend from his office any officer of an All-India Service:

Provided that no head of a department appointed with the approval of the Governor-General in Council shall be reduced to any lower post without the sanction of the Governor-General in Council.

XI.—A military officer may not be reverted from his civil employment except under the orders of the Governor-General in Council.

Special Contracts

XII.—The sanction of the Secretary of State in Council is required to any terms in a special contract, by which any right, privilege or concession not admissible under these Rules is secured to an officer.

Authority of Local Government over officers of Provincial and Subordinate Services, and officers holding Special Appointment.

XIII.—Without prejudice to the provisions of any law for the time being in force, the local Government may for good and sufficient reasons—

(1) censure, (2) withhold promotion from, (3) reduce to a lower post, (4) suspend, (5) remove or, (6) dismiss any officer holding a post in a provincial or subordinate service or a special appointment.

XIV.—Without prejudice to the provisions of the Public Servants' Inquiries Act, 1850, in all cases in which the dismissal, removal or reduction of any officer is ordered, the order shall, except when it is based on facts or conclusions established at a judicial trial, or when the officer concerned has absconded with the accusation hanging over him, be preceded by a properly recorded departmental enquiry. At such an enquiry a definite charge in writing shall be framed in respect of each offence and explained to the accused, the evidence in support of it and any evidence which he may adduce in his defence shall be recorded in his presence and his defence shall be taken down in writing. Each of the charges framed shall be discussed and finding shall be recorded on each charge.

XV.—A local Government may delegate to any subordinate authority, subject to such conditions if any, as it may prescribe, any of the powers conferred by rule XIII, in regard to officers of the subordinate services:

Provided that every such officer on whom any punishment is inflicted shall be entitled to prefer at least one appeal against such order to such authority as the local Government may prescribe.

Appeal

XVI.—Every officer against whom an order may be passed under Rules X,

XIII, and XV, and who thinks himself wronged thereby shall be entitled to prefer at least one appeal against such order.

XVII.—Every officer being a member of an All-India Service against whom an order may be passed under Rule X and who thinks himself wronged thereby may appeal to the Governor-General in Council against such order, and if his appeal relates to an order such as is referred to in sub-heads (2), (3) and (4) of that rule and is rejected by the Governor-General in Council, he may appeal to the Secretary of State in Council.

XVIII.—Every officer being a member of a provincial service, or holding a special post as defined in Rule V, against whom an order may be passed under Rule XIII and who thinks himself wronged thereby may appeal to the Governor:

Provided that any officer to whom this rule applies, and who was appointed by the Secretary of State in Council before the commencement of the Government of India Act, 1919, may appeal against any order passed on appeal by the Governor under this rule to the Governor-General in Council and thereafter to the Secretary of State in Council if his salary is not less than Rs. 500 a month:

Provided further that a further appeal under this rule shall lie to the Governor-General from any Deputy Collector to whom, in virtue of section 4 of the Repealing and Amending Act, 1914, the provisions of section 25 of Bengal Regulation IX of 1833 apply.

XIX.—Every officer being a member of a subordinate service, against whom an order may be passed under Rule XIII by the local Government, or under Rule XV by the subordinate authority to whom the powers conferred under Rule XIII have been delegated and who thinks himself wronged thereby, shall have the right of appeal to such authority as the local Government may by rule prescribe.

XX.—No appeal shall lie against—

(a) the discharge of a person appointed by an authority in India on probation, if his discharge is ordered before the termination of his probation.

(b) the dismissal or removal of a person appointed by an authority in India to hold a temporary appointment.

XXI.—Every Government servant desiring to prefer an appeal shall do so separately.

XXII.—Every appeal preferred under these rules shall contain all material statements and arguments relied on by the officer preferring the appeal, and shall contain no disrespectful or improper language and shall be complete in itself. Every such appeal shall be submitted through the head of the office to which the office belongs or belonged and if an appeal lies to the Governor General in Council or the Secretary of State in Council, through the local Government.

XXIII.—Every appeal to the Governor-General in Council, or the Secretary of State in Council, which is not withheld under these rules shall be forwarded by the local Government to the Governor-General in Council with an expression of opinion; and every appeal to the Secretary of State in Council, which is not similarly withheld, shall be transmitted by the Governor-General in Council with an expression of his opinion and the opinion of the local Government.

Provided that appeals to the Secretary of State in Council presented through the Government of Madras, Bombay or Bengal which are not withheld under these rules, shall be forwarded direct to the Secretary of State in Council by the local Government unless the appeal relates to a case which has previously been under the consideration of the Governor General in Council, in which case it shall be forwarded in the first instance to the Governor-General in Council.

XXIV.—Every appeal shall be preferred within six months after the date on which the officer preferring the appeal was informed of the orders against which he appeals:

Provided that the local Government or the subordinate authority, or the Government of India may at their discretion for good cause shown extend the period to 12 months.

XXV.—An appeal may be withheld—

(1) which is an appeal in a case in which under these rules no appeal lies.

(2) which does not comply with the provisions of Rule XXII.

(3) which does not comply with the provisions of Rule XXIV.

(4) which is a further appeal presented after a decision has been given by the appellate authority prescribed in these rules, and no new facts or circumstances are adduced which afford grounds for a consideration of the case:—

Provided that in every case in which an appeal is withheld, the officer preferring the appeal shall be informed of the fact and the reasons for it :

Provided further that subject to the conditions stated in Rules XXII and XXIV, an appeal to the Secretary of State in Council by an officer appointed by him shall not be withheld when the appeal involves a question of the interpretation of an officer's engagement.

XXVI.—No appeal lies against the withholding of an appeal by a competent authority :

Provided that an appeal withheld for failure to comply with the conditions stated in Rule XXII shall not be withheld if it is re-submitted in a form which complies with that rule.

XXVII.—A list of appeals withheld under Rule XXV, with the reasons for withholding them, shall be forwarded quarterly to the Government of India, in the case of appeals to the Government of India or Secretary of State withheld by a local Government, and, in the case of appeals to the Secretary of State withheld by the Government of India, to the Secretary of State for India.

XXVIII.—The Secretary of State may call for any appeal withheld by the local Government or the Government of India which under the rules may be made to him and may pass such orders as he considers fit ; the Governor-General in Council may send for an appeal withheld by the local Government which under the rules may be made to him, and may pass such orders as he considers fit.

XXIX.—Notwithstanding anything contained in the foregoing rules any officer who immediately before the coming into operation of these rules had a right of appeal against a particular order passed by a local Government to the Governor-General in Council and thereafter to the Secretary of State in Council and who had appealed against that order to the Governor-General in Council before these rules came into operation may appeal against that order to the Governor-General in Council and thereafter to the Secretary of State in Council.

The Reforms Enquiry Committee

The Lee Recommendations, the new Rules under the Reforms Act, and the appointment of the new Taxation Committee to find ways & means to raise money which is now far too short to meet the demands of the Service-men, all came in quick succession in remarkable contrast to the Reforms Enquiry Committee which was promised to be instituted by the Secretary of State and the Government of India in February last. At first a great secrecy was maintained about this Committee—the personnel and terms of reference of which were not made public, and questions in Parliament in May last showed that even the Secretary of State was kept in the dark about the matter. At last on May 15th a Government of India Communique was issued which said :—

"As some doubt appears to prevail regarding the precise scope of the enquiry into the working of the Government of India Act which has been initiated by the Government of India in pursuance of the statement made by Sir Malcolm Hailey in the Legislative Assembly on the 8th and 18th February 1924, it is announced that the terms of reference to local Governments which were addressed in the first instance may be summarised as follows :—

1. To enquire into the difficulties arising from or defects inherent in the working of the Government of India Act and the Rules thereunder.

2. To investigate the feasibility and desirability of securing remedies for such difficulties or defects consistently with the structure, policy and

purpose of the Act (a) by action taken under the Act and the Rules, or (b) by such amendments of the Act as appear necessary, to rectify any administrative imperfections.

The Committee appointed by His Excellency the Viceroy have been instructed at the present stage to conduct enquiries into these matters in so far as the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are concerned and to direct their attention in the first instance to the legal and constitutional potentialities of the situation as distinguished from the question of policy and expenditure. They have submitted a report on the latter aspect of the case which is now under the consideration of the Government of India."

The report mentioned in the last part of the communique was considered by the Viceroy's Executive Council, but as yet there was no indication of associating non-official Indians in the Enquiry. The Premier's York speech, the favourable reception of the Sastri-Besant Deputation to the Secretary of State and the latter's favourable reply, and Mr. Roberts' reply in the debate on India in the Commons, all showed that the Labour Party was in earnest in making a further advance in Constitutional progress in India. The difficulties of the Labour Party in England were great, and they feared lest any bold move on their part would be followed by a "White Revolt" in India, imperilling their own all too-precarious position in England. Hence the extremely cautious move on their part. But in face of the determined attitude of the Labour Party and the Indian members of the Assembly, the Government of India appointed a larger committee in June consisting of 3 officials namely : Sir Alex. Muddiman, Sir Muhd. Shafi and Sir H. Moncreiff-Smith, and 6 non-officials of whom one, Sir Arthur Froom, was to represent the European Commerce, and five Indians, namely, the Maharaja of Burdwan, Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Paranjpye and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Mr. Motilal Nehru was offered a seat, but he declined on the ground that the committee had no power to enquire into the defects of the Act itself, as distinguished from its working.

After having put off the institution of this Committee on one plea or another, i. e. from March to June, it was announced by the middle of June that the Committee will begin work from the 4th August! Questions on this delay have been many times asked in Parliament in England without eliciting any favourable reply. The evidences before this Committee, which created a big sensation as one after another of the ex-Ministers divulged the secrets of operation of the Diarchic Govt., will be incorporated in the next issue of this QUARTERLY.

The Legislative Assembly
& The Council of State
May-June Session 1924

The Legislative Assembly

MAY—JUNE SESSION 1924

The special session of the Legislative Assembly called to consider the Steel Industry Protection Bill commenced on May 27th. at the Council House, Simla with a fairly crowded House. One feature of the session was that the Assembly met with a new Acting President in Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (in the absence on leave of Sir Frederick Whyte) and a new Leader of the House in Sir Alexander Muddiman. Prominent members on the non-official side were all present, with a few exceptions. Quite a large number of new members were sworn in including Sir Alexander Muddiman, Sir B. N. Mittra, the Acting Industries Member, and Mr. Bhore, the Education Secretary, Exactly at 11 A. M. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad entered the Chamber wearing the wig and the black robe. He took the oath of office and was followed by Sir Alexander Muddiman and Sir B. N. Mittra both of whom were applauded as they rose to swear. Several other members, mainly official, then took the oath of allegiance. The session was anticipated to last for 5 days, but a slight difference of opinion amongst some of the leading Swarajists took a day more to compose, and the secret manœuvres of the Government in the matter of the Reforms Enquiry Committee led Sir Sivaswamy Iyer to press the Lee Recommendations to the fore and a discussion of this matter took another day.

The Assembly sat on the following dates during this short session and discussed questions as follows:—

27th May—Assembly opened for the May session—Sir Alex. Muddiman made an important statement on the Lee Report.
Sir Charles Innes introduced the Tariff Bill.

30th May—Another statement by the Home Member on the Lee Recommendations was made in reply to searching questions.
Select Committee Report on the Tariff Bill presented.

2nd June—Discussion on the Tariff Bill.

4th June—Discussion on the Tariff Bill continued. Important statements on the Reforms Committee and the Lee Report made by Govt. in reply to questions.
Pt. Motilal Nehru's Amendment proposed and accepted.

5th June—Discussion on clauses of the Tariff Bill which was finally passed with Mr. Nehru's Amendment.
Further statement by Govt. on the Lee Report.

9th June—Debate on the Lee Report. Sir Sivaswamy Iyer's resolution for postponement of giving effect to the recommendations carried—Pt. Malaviya's amendment to shelve the report defeated.

11th June—Assembly dissolved after declaring that the Council of State had passed the Tariff Bill.

A detailed summary of the proceedings is given in the following pages. Onthe 27th. Members took their seats after being sworn in.

Tributes to Sir Ashutosh Mukherji.

Dr. GOUR then rose and feelingly referred to the death of Mr. S. C. Bose and of Mian Asjadullah, members of the Assembly, and also to the death of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, for some time member of the old Imperial Council, and requested the President to convey the sense of loss felt by the House to the families of the deceased.

Dr. Gour also took the opportunity of congratulating Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Alexander Muddiman and Sir B. N. Mitra on their well-deserved appointments. Mr. Shamlal Nehru welcomed the appointment of Sir Alexander Muddiman because Sir Alexander had said at a banquet in Delhi that he was all for peace. He hoped that Sir Alexander would give them peace, but if there was to be war, the new Home Member would find the Swarajists in the thick of the fight.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer and Mr. B. C. Pal also joined in the tribute to Sir Ashutosh's services.

Sir ALEXANDER MUDDIMAN associated the Government with the expressions of regret. He said that he heard the news of Sir Ashutosh's death with a great shock and regret. He had known Sir Ashutosh for many years as the most industrious man he had ever come across. He particularly appreciated Mr. Shamlal Nehru's remarks, and said: "I assure him that my habits are exceedingly peaceful (laughter) and I hope we shall not be led to war, but if war comes, it will be conducted on the basis prescribed by the League of Nations (laughter). There will be no gas (renewed laughter)." He congratulated the President on his appointment.

Sir CHIMANLAL SETALVAD said that in Sir Ashutosh the country had lost a great lawyer, a great educationist and a great patriot. He thanked the members for the kindly reference to himself and assured them that he would do his best to maintain the privileges, the dignity, and above all, the independence of the House. He would conduct the proceedings of the House according to his best light, but the House must remember that human beings are not infallible, not even the President of the Assembly (laughter).

Release of Mr. Hazrat Mohani.

At question time, replying to Syed Murtuza Sahab, Sir Alexander Muddiman said that the Government had decided not to accept the resolution of the Assembly about the release of Mr. Hazrat Mohani, in view of the remissions ordered by the Bombay Government and the reduction in the sentence ordered by the High Court, Bombay. When pressed by Mr. Patel and Mr. Jinnah as to why effect had not been given to the resolution, the Home Member said that the Government of India thought that the case had been already met by the Bombay Government.

Government of India and the Lee Report.

Sir ALEXANDER MUDDIMAN then made the following statement about the Public Services Commission's Report and the Government's intentions regarding it: "The Report of the Royal Commission on the Superior Services in India is now in the hands of the Hon. Members. When they have had an opportunity of perusing it, they will no doubt observe that the recommendations of the Commission are unanimous in all the main points. A wide field is covered, including the Indianisation of the Services, the establishment of a Public Service Commission, and the control by Ministers of the Services, which, the Report recommends, should be recruited provincially in the future, and the remedy of the grievances of the Services. I should

point out to the House that the Report is of an urgent character that its main recommendations are inter-dependent, and that this inter-dependence was the basis of its unanimity.

"The Assembly has already been assured that the Government propose to give an opportunity to the Hon. Members for expressing their views. But the House will, no doubt, understand that neither the Government nor the Secretary of State can suspend the consideration of the Report. In the meanwhile, however, if, after the Hon. Members have an opportunity of examining the Report, there is any strong feeling in the House in favor of a discussion during the current session, the Government will be glad to give an opportunity for this, and will consider what arrangements could be made, although, of course, it will not be possible for them to express their definite views at such short notice. Hon Members will understand that the Provincial Governments are vitally interested in many of the recommendations, and their views must be obtained, while the Government are anxious to obtain the general views of the Assembly at the earliest possible date. It may be necessary for the Secretary of State to take decisions on matters of urgency, and in this connection I must refer the House to what my predecessor said in July, 1923, and again, in March 1924. I will quote what he said last July: 'We cannot here, either as an Assembly, or as the Government of India, limit the constitutional and statutory powers of the Secretary of State in this respect, and if there are matters pressed upon him by the Royal Commission which require immediate orders, then it will be necessary to recognise his power to take a decision in advance of any discussion by the Assembly. For the rest, we shall be quite prepared to allow the Assembly an opportunity of discussing the main recommendations of the Royal Commission. We shall meet any views it may advance in discussion in the usual way, and shall forward its recommendations to the Secretary of State. I take this opportunity of announcing that the Secretary of State and the Govt. of India are of the opinion that whatever measures of relief recommended by the Commission may be finally sanctioned, they should have effect, as recommended by the Commission, from the first April, 1924."

Mr. RAMACHANDRA RAO said that the Govt. should not force the House to discuss the Report during the present session at such short notice, but asked that the House should be made aware of matters of urgency in respect of which the Secretary of State might not like to wait till the discussion by the Assembly in September, so that the House might discuss such urgent issues during the current session.

The Home Member said that he never intended to force the House to discuss the Report, but had only said that, if the House was anxious for an early opportunity, it might be given an occasion during the current session to discuss the issues involved in the recommendations.

Dr. GOUR wanted an assurance that the wish of the House would be conveyed to the Secretary of State that no action would be taken before the Assembly had discussed the Report. Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Patel wanted the same assurance. As no reply was given from the Government Benches, some members shouted: "Have the Government no answer to give?"

The PRESIDENT asked whether the Government undertook to convey such a feeling.

Sir ALEXANDER MUDDIMAN expressed readiness to convey the wish expressed by certain members (Voices: 'No, by the whole House'). The Home Member refused to accept such a radical proposition. He said that if the members were anxious, they could move a resolution to that effect.

Dr. GOUR wanted permission to table such a resolution, and hoped that the Home Member would help him to get a day allotted. Mr. Patel

said that otherwise the House would be forced to move an adjournment. Mr. Jinnah asked whether the Home Member would convey the feeling as expressed by a large number of non-official members (Shouts : 'ALL non-official members').

Sir Alexander Muddiman undertook to send the communication as representing the opinion of a large body of non-official members.

The Tariff Bill

Sir CHARLES INNES moved the consideration of the Tariff Bill. He commenced his long and comprehensive speech by paying a tribute to the work of the Tariff Board against criticisms about delay. The Board, in being called upon to go into the question of the steel industry, was faced with an investigation into the most difficult and complicated question that the Board would ever have to deal with. Personally, he considered that eight months were by no means too long a period for a report which covered so wide a range. Indeed, he knew that but for the extremely hard work, the Board could not have finished the report within that period. He added that opinions might differ as to the soundness or otherwise of the Board's conclusions, but every one must acknowledge the great ability, care and impartiality which the Board brought to bear in the most intricate task. One difficulty with which the Board was faced was that the steel industry is at present represented by a single firm, namely, the Tata Iron and Steel Company. That Company is passing through a transitional stage, when labor is being trained and the maximum production has not yet been attained. Quality has still to be combined with quantity. Unfortunately, this condition has been reached at a time when world conditions were most difficult, and there was fierce competition owing to the contraction of the steel market. It was only natural that there should be a general desire to see the Company pass through the transition to assured prosperity. On the other hand, it must be realised that protection imposed a burden on the country, and that it created vested interests who later opposed taking it off. Protection must be adequate, but not higher than the end in view. That was the establishment of the steel industry, a healthy steel industry, but the Company must co-operate. The Tariff Board could not accept the figures given by the Company, and found that capital expenditure had been inflated and had to be reduced by four crores. Their object was to ensure that the general tax-payer should not pay for the mistakes and misfortunes of Messrs. Tatas, and their proposals, drastic though they were, did not place the Company on velvet. On the contrary, they enjoined on the Company rigid economy. If the Legislature was called upon to ask the consumer to bear a burden of a crore and a half annually, it was up to the Company to co-operate with the Legislature.

Continuing, Sir Charles Innes said that it did not need much argument to state that the industry needed Protection at present. On the one hand, some time must elapse before the cost of producing steel can be brought down in India to its true economic level ; on the other hand, the powerful and efficient steel firms of England, Scotland and the Continent are fighting for their very existence in a contracted market. Unless, therefore, Protection is given, Messrs. Tatas would be squeezed out. The Board definitely dissociated itself from the view that the cost had been raised to an unjustifiable level by the failure of technical management at Jamshedpur, and came to the conclusion that during the transition period it will be impossible to manufacture steel in India except at an actual loss. The Government, remarked the Commerce Member, accepted this conclusion of the Board when Protection was decided upon.

The next important questions were the extent, form and period of Protection. The Board had not only to consider the case of the steel industry, but of many other subsidiary industries, and recommended Protection for them as well. Moreover, the question of machinery would also have to be taken up soon. It might be taken as certain that once the stone of Protection was thrown into the pond, more ripples would be started. That, it was possible not to foresee. In determining the amount of Protection the Board kept a reasonable criterion before them of making up the gap between the selling price in India and the price of imported steel. After showing the various increases recommended in the duties, the Commerce Member said that if they were converted to 'ad valore' duties on the present tariff valuation, they ranged between fifteen to twenty-eight per cent., and he well remembered the hesitation with which the Government went up to ten per cent. in 1922. The increases proposed were in no case less than 50 per cent., in some case 100 per cent., in others 150 and in one case nearly 200 per cent. Looking to other countries, particularly Australia, Sir Charles opined that the Tariff Board had gone as high as it could, considering the interests of consumers.

Specific and 'ad Valorem' Duties

He next defended the adoption of SPECIFIC duties in preference to AD VALOREM duties. The latter had a serious defect when prices were fluctuating. They are the highest when prices are high and Protection least needed, and lowest when prices are low and Protection most needed. The Fiscal Commission favored the grant of a bounty to basic industries, and the Associated Chambers of Commerce and the Bengal Chamber had also urged the grant of a bounty in the case of the steel industry. The Government had tried to bridge the gap between the Indian and import prices. On an average, this difference was likely to be, for the next three years, Rs. 35 a ton. The production of steel calculated is 250,000 tons this year, 335,000 tons next year, and 100,000 tons the year after. The bounty required would thus be Rs. 87½ lakhs, 117 and 140 lakhs in the first, second and third year. It had been urged that such a bounty would restrict the burden to the minimum possible, and that after three years, the bounty could be taken off. Firstly, he did not know where Sir Basil Blackett would find that money from; seconoly, the suggestion that the bounty could be taken off after three years betrayed a fundamental misconception about the end in view. The object was not only to protect the industry but also to attract capital, so that internal competition may be developed behind tariff walls. He was at one time attracted by the idea of combining tariff duties and bounties, and had the matter examined in his office, with the exception of fabricated steel, on which a bounty is impossible. His office proceeded on the assumption that the duties be raised to fifteen per cent. and the balance of Protection be found by bounties. This was found to be impracticable. It was found that it would be found impossible to balance the duties against bounties, for they should get less Customs revenue than they did at present, and apart from the general burden on the consumer of 15 per cent. duty, they should have to find additional taxation rising from 36 lakhs in the 1st year to nearly 60 lakhs in the third year.

On the question of the period of protection, both the Tariff Board and the Government, he said, were in a dilemma. The Government agreed with the Tariff Board that, at present, they could give Protection only for three years, and at the end of that period a fresh enquiry would be necessary. At the end of that period another

Bill must be placed before the Legislature, for, if this Bill lapsed, the Government would get no Customs revenue at all from iron and steel; but at the same time to attract new capital to steel works which could not be attracted by the grant of Protection for merely three years, the Government had defined its policy in the Preamble of the Bill that the policy of the Government and the Legislature is to protect the steel industry, even though the precise measures proposed for the application of that policy could, for special reasons, be guaranteed only for three years.

Powers of the Executive.

Sir Charles Innes next referred to the unfettered power which the Government was assuming to impose off-setting duties to maintain the effectiveness of Protection. This proposal was due to the general instability about world conditions and prices. The proposal, he said, was one which had caused the Government more anxiety and perplexity than any other. Of course, similar wide powers had been conferred on the President of the United States and the Tariff Board of Australia. It was an integral part of the Indian Tariff Board's proposals. It was difficult to see a satisfactory alternative to it. There were administrative difficulties. The power would make trade nervous and keep it in a state of uncertainty when what trade needed above all was security, and as little interference from the Government as possible. He also foresaw constant pressure on the Government for the exercise of this power. He assured the House that the power would be used with discretion, and ordinarily, after careful investigation by the Tariff Board.

Burden on the Tax-Payer.

The Commerce Member then said that the Tariff Board's calculation, that the effects of their proposal on the consumer would be the imposition of a burden of a crore and a half, was near the mark, and the calculations of the Board about the distribution of the burden on Railways between revenue and capital expenditure had also been found correct. He pointed out that the Government's proposals about wagons had been couched in elastic terms. The term "bounty" was not quite applicable to the proposal in respect of wagons. What was proposed was to call for tenders and to accept Indian tender, even if it was higher than that of foreign manufacturers, to the extent to which the bounty was proposed. Thus, no bounty would be actually paid, but, in practice, the Indian manufacturer would get an advantage. The Railway Board was busy working out the details of the scheme. The accusation might be made that the Tariff Board had cut their proposals too fine, and that prices had gagged since the Board reported. Hard facts were, however, otherwise. The Tariff Board's first report was received in February last. Exchange figures showed that they had dropped considerably since January and slightly since February. He also quoted that the prices of Belgian steel had risen during the last three months. Thus, conditions since February had changed in favour of the industry.

The Government, he said, had treated the Tariff Board's scheme as one organic whole, and he asked the House to accept it as a whole. He did not claim that the proposals would enable the Company at once to pay large dividends, but proposed to give a stimulus to economical and efficient management. The Government had power in reserve, and would keep a careful watch on import prices, but the Government was not willing to go beyond the substantive proposals for Protection submitted after careful and prolonged enquiry by an impartial Board.

He hoped that the House would take the same view. The interests of the consumers were in the hands of the House, and they would be incurring a heavy responsibility by imposing a greater burden than was necessary.

Concluding, the Commerce Member said that when he moved the resolution of the Government last year, he was called in India for his speech on that occasion a degenerate Indian civilian and a callous opportunist; he was held up to scorn in the House of Commons. Nevertheless, he stood unrepentent and unshamed and took full responsibility for his share in the decision arrived at by the Assembly, and was quite satisfied that the attitude of the Government was, in all the circumstances, the right one. As for Protection to the steel industry, he said, it would be a national calamity if the steel industry collapsed (applause), and hoped that the House would accept the careful and comprehensive scheme of the Tariff Board.

The Debate on the Bill.

When, after lunch, the Assembly resumed discussion on the Tariff Bill, the President, at the outset, dealt with various amendments. He made it clear that no motion could be made except in the nature of the proposed grant, that amendments must be within the scope of the Bill, and that they must not introduce into the Bill new or foreign subjects. He declared that Mr. Chimanlal's amendment for Nationalisation of industries was entirely outside the scope of the Bill because it introduced a new subject, namely, Nationalisation, and also various matters relating to the welfare of Labor. The President ruled Mr. Patel's amendment also out of order, because it introduced an additional subsidy. Referring to Mr. Dutt's amendment, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad pointed out that Nationalisation of Messrs. Tatas was, in effect, taxing Tatas. Turning to Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar's amendment, the President maintained that there was an authority other than the Government. A proposal of the kind could not be accepted except on the recommendation of the Crown.

Mr. JINNAH suggested that the President need not give a ruling on the various amendments at this stage, because the whole Bill might be referred to a Select Committee.

The President insisted that the ground should be cleared before the Select Committee discussed the Bill. His rulings were not final and he was prepared to hear the arguments in favor of several amendments. A good deal of discussion ensued on the relevancy of the amendments and whether the President at that stage could rule certain of them out of order.

Pandit MALAVIYA reiterated that at that stage there could only be a general discussion, and it was only after that that the question of amendments could come in.

Sir SIVASWAMI IYER also doubted the correctness of the course which the President adopted, but he pointed out that the President's ruling as regards some of them would go a great way in influencing the course of the deliberations in the Select Committee.

Mr. JINNAH, with the help of the Standing Orders, pointed out that after the motion that the Bill be taken into consideration, any member might move an amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

Sir CHARLES INNES supported the ruling that the Assembly was not empowered to increase the demand for grants, and amendments to increase taxation were not in order. Lastly, Sir Alexander Muddiman observed that whichever motion was adopted, the principle of the Bill

must be affirmed. The House could therefore proceed with the general discussion on the Bill.

Mr. W. S. J. WILSON (representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce) was the first to speak. He begged the House to forget the fact that he was a shareholder of the Tata Company. He was there to do his duty to his constituents, which were fifteen Chambers of Commerce, with the exception of those in Bombay. It was his view that they should not allow this great National industry of the Tatas to close down, or be taken over by some foreign Company, but he reiterated his protest against the haste with which the Bill had been introduced, and that in a special session. He complained of the insufficient time given to the members to study the report. It might be said that the Tatas required immediate assistance, and he had no doubt they did, but in his view immediate assistance could be given a great deal more promptly on a bounty basis than it was likely to be on a Tariff system. There were three means by which assistance could be given ; Tariff, Bounty, and Loans. He dismissed the last as impossible. He remarked that the last would cause a great upheaval. He preferred the second means, namely that of bounty. If it was a protective duty, then he feared they could not achieve the object, because in Ports like Karachi, Bombay and Tuticorin, or in Burma, the duty would operate harshly. The import price of steel at present was 140 rupees. According to the Tariff proposal, the price in Bombay would be 180, PLUS 35 freight, that is, 215. Then, in Karachi, including freight, it would be 251. The same was the case with Tuticorin and Burma. If the House insisted on protective duties, then they must have a graduated scale so as to relieve certain places like those referred to, but that was not the suggestion before the House. Moreover, the protective duties would penalise the whole steel trade and increase the cost of living, the cost of transport, and the cost of all purchases and of all domestic improvements in Municipal and utilitarian concerns. The country would, for this purpose, have to be taxed one and a half crores. Mr. Wilson, therefore, proposed the system of bounty. If the bounty suggestion was accepted, it would be less than one and a half crores. At present 140 rupees was the price of steel. The present Tariff duty was ten per cent, namely, the cost of one ton of steel was Rs. 154. The Government proposal was to put up the Tariff, bringing the price to Rs. 180. So, the difference was Rs. 26. If they gave Messrs. Tatas Rs. 26 per ton, then the amount required from the coffers of the State was 52,00,000, as against the Government figure of one and a half crores. This fifty two lakhs could easily be got by reducing military expenditure, because the army required a great deal of steel. Moreover, the bounty system would give a stronger stimulus to the steel trade than Protective duties, and therefore, he asked the House to accept his suggestion.

Dr. GOUR demanded that continuity of policy must be explicitly embodied in the Bill, and a longer lease of life must be given to it and not confined to three years.

Mr. JOSHI, while supporting the motion for reference to the Select Committee, said that they must develop the steel industry in the interests of the people, but the best method of protecting the industries of any country was to nationalise them. He favoured the bounty system to increase in the import duties. He severely criticised the management of the Tatas in regard to labor whose grievances were not even heard. Mr. Joshi also criticised the Tariff Board for not paying sufficient attention to the interests of laborers at Jamshedpur.

Mr. C. S. RANGA IYER said that Sir Charles Innes had found himself

between the devil and the deep sea, i.e., between Free Trade England and Protectionist India. He recalled how the foreign Government had crushed Indian industries and dumped India with her goods. He pointed out that England also had to protect her industry before she adopted a policy of free trade. Mr. Gandhi declared himself as a confirmed Protectionist. The speaker thought that the Preamble was not properly worded.

Mr. PATEL was convinced that in view of the fact that Belgian structural steel was coming to India at Rs. 100 a ton, the Protection proposed was very inadequate. He was in favor of nationalising the industry; but if this was not acceptable, then the Government must give up half-hearted Protection which would not save the industry, and would unnecessarily put an enormous burden on the consumer. He agreed with Pandit Malaviya that the Bill was a standing invitation to European capitalists to come and start Iron works in India. So long as the Government in India was run by foreigners, such capital could not be prevented from entering the country, unless there was a National Government or the steel industry was nationalised. He entirely agreed with Mr. Josbi to secure the recognition of the Labor Association at Jamshedpur and the setting up of a Conciliation Board; but if the Government did not accept it, would Mr. Joshi or Mr. Chamanlal like the Bill to be dropped? The Tata works would then close and thousands of laborers will be put out of employment. Was there any member in the House who opposed Protection as such? They must remember that there was no solution of the problem unless the Government and the Legislature agreed in fiscal matters.

Mr. JINNAH in supporting the motion for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee said that without Protection the great industry of the Tatas would perish. Except a few voices every one else was agreed on the principle of giving Protection. All those who still opposed Protection must be living out of date. He opposed the bounty proposal of Mr. Wilson.

Sir BASIL BLACKETT replied to some of the points raised in the debate. If Mr. Wilson's view was to be carried to its logical conclusion, then the Government should have to abolish all Customs duty on imported steel and all other Customs, on the ground that the Government took more out of the consumer than came into the exchequer. If the Government had to accept the doctrine of discriminating Protection in any form they could not improve the method chosen by the Tariff Board, the method of both bounty and tariff. The Bill was not in the interests of the Finance Member, because the Tariff Board's estimate of additional Customs duty was slightly higher than was likely to prove the case. Nor was the Bill introduced merely to benefit the Tata Company. No Government could be expected to introduce a piece of legislation purely to enable a Company to pay dividends to its shareholders. A Company like Messrs. Tatas was not in need of spoon-feeding by the Government, but they were convinced of the need for Protection of the steel industry in general. "We are introducing the Bill because we are convinced that, on the whole, it is desirable, in the general interests of India, to build up not merely the steel industry, but build up an industrial system in India and thereby remove the difficulties of the present lop-sided development of India. We want to encourage the development of industries, and we want to develop other steel industries to compete with Messrs. Tatas. It is true that the Bill is limited to three years, but that is because of the uncertainties as

to what will be the ultimate cost of production. Three years hence it would undoubtedly be necessary to have another enquiry, and there is the fear that Protection will drop, because the Finance Member would lose a large amount of revenue if the Bill is not replaced by another".

Concluding, Sir Basil Blackett emphasised that Protection must not be the end in view, and urged progress in banking and in education. As regards reference of the Bill to a Select Committee, Sir Basil said that the Government would not oppose the motion.

Mr. CHAMANLAL was surprised at the nauseating atmosphere of mutual congratulation in which they were living. The whole day the Swarajists and the Independents were all engaged in congratulating the Government over a programme of exploiting the common people. He described the Tariff report as a "Hush Hush" report. It was directly in the interests of the capitalists as against the people of India. He agreed with Mr. Wilson, for one, that a protective duty would increase the cost of living all-round. The Tatas wanted Protection because of the fault of the management and the fault of technical advisers. Why should poor Indians pay for the faults of others? The interests of the laborers at Jamshedpur had not been looked after, and they had not been protected; for example, the last strike settlement was never carried out. The Assembly consisting of representatives of the people should not become a gramophone of the capitalists. If they gave Protection, they would go down in history as oppressors of the poor and protectors of the rich.

Sir PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS paid a tribute to the able, impartial and colorless speech (laughter) of Sir Charles Innes. He was surprised that in view of the existing depression Mr. Wilson, representing fifteen Chambers of Commerce, should have got up in the House and said that the Bill had been brought forward too early. On the other hand, if there had been any further delay, it would have been disastrous. Mr. Wilson had not shown that other countries like Japan and America had adopted bounties for Protection purposes. Mr. Wilson had proposed to pay bounties either out of the surplus, or by reduction in military expenditure. The speaker's opinion was that if there was a surplus, it should go to reduce existing taxation. As for the cut in military expense, he was glad that the European commercial community's representative was at one with Indians for such a reduction, which must come soon (laughter). Reduction in the military Budget was desirable, irrespective of the fact that it was required for bounties or for any other purpose. He then urged that the assurance that the three years' period did not mean that at the end of it Protection would be withdrawn should be made clear, and the continuity of the policy of effective Protection should be explicitly set forth in the body of the Bill itself.

Mr. NEOGY then moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. He said that the rulings of the Chair about certain amendments had strengthened his case for sending the Bill to a Select Committee. He said that a good deal of points had to be discussed and cleared. He did not know what the report of the Mercantile Marine Committee was, but the effect of the proposals of the Tariff Board on the ship-building industry of India must be considered, and he hoped the Government would circulate confidentially among the members of the Select Committee the proposals of the Mercantile Marine Committee which might have a bearing on the subject.

Pandit MALAVIYA expressed gratitude to the Government for

bringing forward the Bill, but he wanted to be sure that before the country was called upon to bear the burden, provisions should be made to guard against foreign competitors leaving their countries and establishing themselves in India within the Tariff walls. Protection must be given only to those industries in the case of which capital, control, and management were mainly in the hands of Indians. The Preamble of the Bill was wrong, and he wanted that instead of stating it, their aim was to foster and develop the steel industry. Pandit Malaviya said that he had heard that a Company with twenty crores of capital had almost been started to compete with Messrs. Tatas, and that its shareholders were not Indians. This was a great danger, and an instance in question was the establishment recently of a big match producing company in India. The Bill might specifically lay down that Protection is given to the Tata Steel Company, because according to its preamble any manufacturer, be he American or English or Belgian, who established his works in British India would be entitled to Protection.

Sir CHARLES INNES replied that if the Preamble was not sufficiently clearly drafted to ensure continuity of policy, and to invite new capital to the industry, then it could be easily done in the Select Committee. Referring to Dr. Gour's observations, Sir Charles Innes declared that he could not agree to any sort of Protection to the locomotive industry. Alluding to the speeches of Mr. Chamanlal, Mr. Joshi and Mr. Patel for the nationalisation of the industry, the speaker remarked that it was an entirely unsolicited testimonial to the efficiency of the Government. (Laughter). But it was impossible for the Government to run the steel industry. The Government was perfectly satisfied with the scheme of Protection embodied in the Bill, If carried out it would suffice the steel industry to tide over the difficulty that lay ahead, although it would not enable that industry to pay large dividends. The issue before the House was whether it was prepared to preserve the existing steel industry. The House must present a united front, although there might be differences of opinion as to the form that Protection should take. The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, in a representation received last night, had strongly supported Protection, and remarked that it would be nothing short of a calamity if it was not given. The difference was only about the form.

Personnel of the Committee.

Mr. Neogy's motion to refer the Bill to the following Select Committee was carried: Sir Charles Innes, Sir Basil Blackett, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. B. C. Pal, Mr. K. Rao, Mr. Fleming, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Pyare Lal, Mr. Muhammad Yakub, r. Gour, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. Lokhare, Mr. J. Mehta, Mr. Chamanlal, Mr. Joshi, Dr. S. K. Datta, Mr. D. P. Sinha, and Mr. K. C. Neogy, to report on or before the 30th May. Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Gour and Mr. J. Mehta declared that they were shareholders of the Tata Company and wanted to let the House know of it before they were appointed to the Committee.

The motion for referring the bill to the Select Committee was then put and carried unanimously. This is the first time that the Swarajists agreed to sit on a Committee.

The House then adjourned till the 30th May.

The Legislative Assembly reassembled on May 30th. with Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in the Chair. About an hour was occupied in answering questions by non-official members. Several questions were raised by Haji Wajiuddin and Khan Bahadur Sarafaraz Hussain mostly relating to railway grievances. Mr. Bhore replying to Haji Wajiuddin said that the Government of India have no information as to the amount or value of the property lost by pilgrims on the S. S. FRANGESTAN, apart from what has appeared in the press. Messrs. A. Neezazee & Company instructed their Jeddah agents to give at their discretion certain sums of money to the pilgrims wherever it was considered necessary, and His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz is reported to have offered to make the pilgrims his guests on the journey to Mecca. No cases of destitution or starvation have been brought to light. The question of Government aid did not, therefore, arise.

Sir Alexander Muddiman, in answer to Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan regarding the proposed legislation to apply Muhammadan Law to the Khoja Shia Isna Ashra community, said that it was understood from the President of the Jamiat that certain memorialists had requested Mr. M. A. Jinnah to introduce a private bill on the subject. The Government are awaiting action on the part of Mr. Jinnah, and have informed the memorialists accordingly through the Government of Bombay.

Supplementary Questions

A number of members raised a volley of supplementary questions.

Sir B. N. Mitra referred Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan to an answer given by the Hon. Mr. A. C. Chatterjee regarding accommodation to Assembly Members in Longwood Hotel, in Simla. The supplementary questions indicated a complaint on the part of the members that while the Hotel was purchased by the Government for the very purpose of accommodating members, some quarters had been let out to Government officers. It further appeared that members of the Central Legislature were asked to pay double the amount of rent charged to officers. Replying to all these questions, Sir B. N. Mitra stated that members of the Legislature occupied the quarters only for a very short period and that it was considered reasonable that on this account they should be charged a higher rate than officials who may occupy them for many months at a time. Moreover, most of the officials occupy the quarters only on condition that they may be required to vacate at short notice.

Indian Debate in the Commons

Replying to Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, Sir Alexander Muddiman stated that the Government had no reason to believe that there was any truth in the statement in the London cable to the FORWARD of Calcutta of the 18th April that the Liberal amendment asking for a Commission of Enquiry was not moved as a result of active canvassing by Sir Malcolm Hailey.

The Public Services Commission

Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao asked:—

(A) Will the Government be pleased to say whether the establishment of a Public Services Commission, contemplated in Section 96-C of the Government of India Act, has been considered, and whether any action in this direction is intended to be taken; (B) Will the Government be pleased to state what effect has been given to each of the recommendations made in paragraphs 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 26,

and summarised in paragraph 35 of the Crewe Committee Report on the Home Administration of Indian Affairs?

Sir Alexander Muddiman replied: (a) The Hon. Member is referred to the reply given in this House by my predecessor to Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary's question No. 162 on the 12th February, 1923. The desirability of establishing a Public Services Commission under the provisions of Section 96-C of the Government of India Act will be considered in connection with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Services on this question.

In the second part of the question, I am asked for information as to the extent to which certain recommendations of the Crewe Committee have been given effect to. I would preface my remarks by the observation that the report of the Crewe Committee is dated June, 1919. The Government of India Bill of 1919 had been introduced in Parliament, but the Joint Select Committee had not then begun to sit. That is, the recommendations in the report were made on the basis of the amendments to the Government of India Act contained in the Bill introduced in Parliament in 1919. That Bill was based upon the proposals in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, modified according to the later recommendations of the Government of India, which were based largely upon the opinion elicited in India by the publication of the report. Now, take the recommendations of the Crewe Committee, contained in the paragraphs mentioned in the question, as summarised in paragraph 35:

(1) Paragraph 14: This recommendation was made with reference to the proposal in paragraph 277 and 279 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, as to the constitution of the Council of State and methods of securing that essential Government legislation is carried. As the Hon. member is aware, those proposals were not finally accepted. Under those proposals, any Certification or Legislation would have been by the Governor-General in Council. So far as Certification or Legislation under the provisions of Section 62 B of the Government of India Act is concerned, Certification is by the Governor-General, and this is, therefore, a matter in which the Governor-General in Council is not primarily concerned. The Governor-General in Council is, however, aware that the Secretary of State has intimated that in this matter he prefers to rely on the discretion of the authority concerned as to whether there shall be any report for his previous approval before Certification is resorted to rather than to issue rigid instructions.

(2) Paragraphs 15 and 16: The Crewe Committee, apparently, in these paragraphs contemplated the growth of a Convention under which when the Government of India were in agreement with the majority of the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly, which would presumably, under the Act as finally passed, interpreted as applying to non-official members of the Indian Legislature, the Secretary of State would, save in exceptional circumstances, assent to their joint decision. I invite a reference by the Hon. Member to later pronouncements on the same question contained in the Report of the Joint Select Committee in their remarks on Clause 33 of the Bill of 1919, and on the Rule under Section 33 of the Act of 1919. As regards these proposals, the Hon. Member is, no doubt, aware of the Fiscal Convention which is in course of being established. That may be regarded as the extent of definite action taken upon this proposal.

(3) Paragraph 17: I will attempt to give such information as is available in regard to the proposals in this paragraph in my reply to the Hon. Member's next question, which raises this point in a more detailed form.

(4) Paragraph 18: With the exception numbered below, the position as regards this recommendation is the same as regards the recommendations in Paragraphs 15 and 16 of the Report. Under Clause (7) of the Provincial audit resolution, relating to expenditure on Provincial Reserved subjects, when the cost of revision of the permanent establishment exceeds 5 lakhs a year, the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council is not required if the resolution recommending the changes is passed by the Legislative Council. This is a definite delegation of the powers of the Secretary of State in Council in conformity with the principle recommended by the Crewe Committee.

(4) Paragraph 26: If the Hon. Member will refer to such provisions of the Government of India Act as are contained in Section 67B, Section 68 sub-section (2), and Section 69, sub-section (1), he will find that the proposal has been given effect to. There has been no case since the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, in which His Majesty in Council has signified his disallowance of any Act of the Indian Legislature. In only one case, the provisions of Section 67-B. sub-section (2) regarding the assent of his Majesty in Council applied. Such assent was, in fact, accorded in the Order of His Majesty in Council published in the notification by the Government of India in the Legislative Department, No. 77, dated 26th April, 1923.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

After question time, the President announced that he had received notice of a motion for adjournment from Mr. M. K. Acharya for the purpose of discussing the action, as announced by the Home Member, in respect of the report of the Lee Commission, before affording the Assembly an opportunity of discussing the report. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad added that as the Leader of the House had already promised special facilities for a full discussion of the report on a special day, there was some difficulty about the adjournment of the House which could give only two hours.

Mr. ACHARYA stated that he would be satisfied if Sir Alexander Muddiman would communicate to the House the particular points on which immediate action was likely to be taken.

Sir ALEXANDER MUDDIMAN replied that he had no intention whatever of trying to rush the House into a discussion of a general character. The Government were guided in publishing the report at the time of the Legislative Session by the earnest and real desire of getting the report to the members as soon as possible. He had carried out the wishes of this House in communicating to the Secretary of State that no action should be taken till the Assembly discussed the report. But there were really certain urgent matters. For example, he was told that there were at present pending questions of appointment, and whether those appointments should be made under the new rules. However, the Home Member promised to make a detailed statement as soon as he was in a position to do so. It would probably be in a day or two.

Dr. GOUR at this stage drew attention to the statement made by Professor Richards in the House of Commons that no orders would be passed without the report being discussed in the Legislative Assembly.

Mr. JINNAH then asked the Home Member if the was in a position to make a statement as to what he himself considered were the urgent matters contained in the report.

Sir ALEXANDER MUDDIMAN replied that he was not in a position to make a statement.

Dr. GOUR emphasised that the Secretary of State should not exercise his statutory powers in regard to this report until the Assembly had discussed it. Mr. ACHARYA did not press his intended motion.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE REPORT,

The Steel Industry Protection Bill, as amended by the Select Committee, was then reported to the Assembly. A number of alterations had been introduced in the Bill. The Preamble had been amplified, and ran thus :—

"Whereas it is expedient, in pursuance of the policy of discriminating Protection of Industries in British India with due regard to the well-being of the community, to provide for the fostering and development of the steel industry by increasing the import duties leviable on certain iron and steel articles, and by enabling bounties to be granted to manufacturers in British India of certain such articles, and to determine the duties and bounties which shall be payable in respect of such articles during the first three years of the application of that policy to the said industry".

Sir CHARLES INNES, in presenting the Report, pointed out that the Bill, as it emerged from the Select Committee, was practically the same as the original Bill, but the Committee had decided to drop the duty on tin plates The Government, however, reserved the right of moving an amendment to restore Protection. The Committee has clarified the Bill in regard to the Preamble as well as on some other points.

The Assembly then adjourned till the 2nd June when the report was to be discussed.

The President then announced the receipt of a reply from the Secretary of State communicating to the House his appreciation of the resolution of the 14th February conveying greetings to the Labour Party and adding that he was circulating it to his colleagues.

The following is the report of the Select Committee :—

Before discussing the details of the Bill, we proceeded, in the first place, to a discussion of the desirability of applying to the steel industry certain general principles, without prejudice to the question of the admissibility of those principles in view of the scope of the present Bill. The first subjects discussed were the questions of Nationalisation, the option to purchase, profit-sharing and control by the Government and the Legislature, and it was decided by a majority in each case that none of these principles should be introduced into the Bill.

Recognition of Labour Associations

Another such question which we considered was the desirability of making some provision to the effect that the right of any company or firm to enjoy the benefit of the Protection conferred by the Bill should be conditional upon the recognition by the company or firm or associations of their employees, and upon its agreement to submit all labor disputes to arbitration. It was decided by a majority that such a provision should, if possible, be inserted in the Bill. On a ruling being given that a definite amendment on these lines would be outside the scope of the present Bill, a majority of non-official members of our Committee desired an expression of their opinion, that the acceptance of the principle of Protection renders even more urgent than before the necessity for legislation in regard to trade unions and trade disputes, which, we are given to understand, is at present engaging the attention of the Government.

Proposals for Restriction

We also discussed, again, without prejudice to its admissibility in connection with the present Bill, the question of the advisibility of restricting the benefits of Protection which the Bill is designed to afford, to companies or firms having a certain minimum proportion of Indian capital and a definite Indian element in their management. The majority of us are prepared, in this Bill, to recommend the insertion of any definite provisions in this regard. The majority, however, of non-official members of our Committee incline to the opinion that the possibility should be seriously considered at an early date of securing for Indian capital a substantial share in the industries benefiting by State assistance on relative advantages of attaining and in view solely, by a system of bounties, instead of by a combined system of duties and bounties, as contained in the Bill. A majority of us are of the opinion that the former course is impracticable, if only by reason of the additional revenue from other sources which it would be necessary to raise in order to carry it out, and that even if practicable, it would not, for many reasons, be so satisfactory in operation as the latter.

Period of Protection

We further considered the question of the duration which should be given to the provisions of the Bill, and the majority of us are of the opinion that it is desirable to state somewhat more clearly in the Bill that although the actual rates recommended in the case of duties or bounties respectively should only subsist for three years, there is no intention of abandoning at the end of that period the policy of discriminating Protection itself. We have accordingly amplified the the Preamble, omitted a sub-clause in clause 1 of the Bill, added to clause 2 an additional sub-clause providing that protective duties specified in Part 7 of Schedule 2 shall remain in force for three years only, and inserted, after clause 4 of the Bill, a new clause laying a statutory obligation upon the Government to hold an enquiry during the course of the year 1926-27 as to the extent, if any, to which further Protection is needed by the industry, and as to the amount of duties and bounties which will be necessary in order to confer that Protection.

Adequacy of Duties.

In regard to the general question as to whether the rates of duties and bounties provided in the Bill are adequate, more especially in view of the possibility of a considerable drop in the prices of steel imported from countries with a depreciated currency, we are satisfied that the rates proposed are generally sufficient. Any attempt to base the scale in accordance with the price of the cheapest grades of steel would place an unfair burden on the consumer. We think that the only possible remedy for grave fluctuations of prices is the application of a system of off-setting duties, for which the Bill provides.

The Locomotive Industry.

We next turned our attention to the question of according Protection to the locomotive industry in India. A majority of our Committee consider that a further careful examination of this question is necessary, and should be undertaken by the Government with a view to deciding whether this industry fulfils the conditions requisite to enable it to qualify for such protection.

Burma's Claim for Exemption.

We then examined various claims which were put before us for exemption from the provisions of the Bill. The first claim was advanced on behalf of Burma. We are, however, again, by a majority, of the opinion that the claims of Burma are no greater than those which might be advanced on behalf of other parts of British India, and we consider that it would be wrong in principle to attempt to differentiate in the matter of Customs duties between different parts of British India.

Exceptional Treatment Impossible.

We next discussed a suggestion that increased duties should not be leviable on constructional and other steel ordered from abroad for specific works under contracts entered into before the publication of the Tariff Board's Report. The consideration of this question involved the consideration of the claims on behalf of the Bombay and Calcutta Municipal Corporations for the exemption of large quantities of steel for which orders have been placed. We were, by a majority, of the opinion that unless the operation of the Protective scheme is to be indefinitely postponed, it would be impossible to make exceptions in particular cases, and further, that if any such exceptions were recommended, it would be difficult to draw distinctions between numerous claims which would undoubtedly be made.

Details of the Bill

We then proceeded to a consideration of the details of the Bill. We have adopted a suggestion to amplify the meaning of the expression "Discriminating Protection" by inserting words indicating that the policy has been adopted subject to the consideration that due regard will always be had to the well-being of the community. The other amendment which we have suggested in the Preamble is referred to above. We have made slight amendment in Clause 3 to provide for the fact that, in case of certain company-managed railways, the steel rails and fish plates are made to specifications, which are approved, but not actually prescribed by the Railway Board. We have made only one alteration in the schedule, namely, the omission of item No. 155 in the list of articles liable to protective duties. The effect of the alteration will be to leave tin plates in the position in which they were before, that is to say, they will be liable to a duty at 10 per cent. AD VALOREM under item 61 of Part IV of the schedule.

We have carefully considered the chapter of the Tariff Board's report which relates to the protection of the manufacture of tin plates, and the majority of us think that the difficulties experienced by the only Company, which it was proposed to protect, are due to excessive capital expenditure, and are not such as to warrant assistance from the general tax-payer. We have carefully considered all the amendments of which notice has been given. Our conclusion on many of these is set out in the foregoing paragraphs of this report. With the exception of one such amendment, namely, the omission of item No. 155 in the list of protective duties, to which we have already referred, we have rejected all these amendments either unanimously or by a majority. In regard to a series of amendments suggesting that various bodies should be constituted for the purpose of advising the Government in the matter of getting duties, we desire to say that we consider that the body most fitted to advise the Government in any such matters is the Tariff Board which has formulated the present proposals, and is familiar with all aspects of the subject. In regard to the amendment which sug-

gests the reduction of duties on galvanized sheets, a majority of us consider that the revenue which would be sacrificed would be out of proportion to the advantage which would be derived by certain sections of the community. In addition to the amendments of which notice has been given, we considered certain other suggestions for the amendment of the Bill. In the first place, we rejected a proposal for the exemption from protective duties of articles specified in items Nos. 143, 146, and 153 (b) i.e., various agricultural implements, wire nails and light rails. Our reason is that we consider it necessary to protect various Indian Companies which have recently commenced manufacture of these articles.

We regret that our colleague Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was prevented by illness from attending our meeting."

The Report is signed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir Charles Innes, Sir Basil Blackett, Pandit Motilal Nehru, and Messrs. W. S. J. Wilson, V. J. Patel, Bepin C. Pal, M. Ramachandra Rao, E G. Fleming, Piyare Lal, Muhammad Yakub, H. S. Gour, A. Rangaswamy Iyengar, K. G. Lohokare, Jamnadas M. Mehta, Chaman Lal, N. M. Joshi, K. C. Neogy, Devaki Prasad Sinha and S. K. Datta.

Minutes of Dissent.

There are TWELVE MINUTES OF DISSENT attached to the Select Committee's Report on the Steel Protection Bill. First of all, Messrs. V. J. Patel, N. M. Joshi, Jamnadas Mehta and Devaki Prasad Sinha in a note state that 'no proposals for the protection of an industry can be complete unless they include some to protect the rights and interests of the workers employed in that industry. The need for including clauses to secure recognition for Labor Associations for establishing proper machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and employees, and making the grant of bounties conditional upon the employers' satisfying the Government that the labor employed was fairly treated, is specially felt in this case, as the Tata Company has been refusing for some time to recognise the Jamshedpur Labor Association, and some of the serious grievances of the workers at Jamshedpur still remain unredressed. Our contention is borne out by Mr. C. F. Andrews who recently, at the request of some of the Directors of the Company, had gone to Jamshedpur and has reported in favor of unconditional recognition of the Jamshedpur Labor Association, and urging the fulfilment of the terms of the last strike settlement at Jamshedpur'.

Nationalisation Scheme.

Mr. JAMNADAS MEHTA in another note states that the Select Committee have throughout carried on their deliberations under the consciousness that only such modifications of the Bill could be effected as were assented to by the Government. This is a position very far removed from fiscal autonomy, and practically the whole fight for achieving it remains to be fought. He considers that the Tariff wall proposed in the Bill is inadequate, both as regards rates and duration. He urges that the duration of the Bill at any rate ought to be extended up to the 31st March 1930. He adds that some scheme of Nationalisation of the industry, or of profit-sharing by the State and by workmen, would be a most equitable arrangement. The refusal of the Select Committee to exempt the steel imports of the Bombay Municipal Corporation for the construction of the Tansa pipe line betrayed a thorough disregard of the special equities of the case.

Mr. N. M. JOSHI also thinks that the best method of protecting an industry, at least a basic industry like that of steel manufacture,

is to take it under the control of the State, so that it will be run in the interests of the community which will share both in its adversity and prosperity and will have control over it. Moreover, Nationalisation is free from several disadvantages incidental to a system of high import duties.

Mr. B. C. PAL also joins Mr. Joshi in holding that the State has a right to claim, in return for the help which it offers to these industries on capital enterprises, a fair share of supervision in the interests of the general tax payer of their work and of their profits over and above a certain percentage. The State has no right to give Protection to any industry without providing for adequate guarantees that these industries shall secure the fundamental rights of the laborers employed by them.

The Case of Burma

Both Mr. Fleming and Dr. S. K. Datta in a very strong note disagree with the finding of the Committee with regard to the case of Burma, and submit that this Province should be excluded from the operation of the Bill.

The Bounty System

Then come Messrs. W. S. Wilson, E. G. Fleming, S. K. Datta, D. P. Sinha N. M. Joshi, and K. G. Lohokare with another very short note stating that they consider that the Protection proposed should be effected by means of bounties only. Mr. D. P. SINHA, whose constituency is Jamshedpur, in a separate explanatory note states: "I shall be very sorry if the Tata Iron and Steel Company go to the wall, but I do believe that the needs of the poor and the demands of the consumers generally are more important than the necessities of one Corporation or Company. All my proposals therefore are for the protection of the consumers. As for the Tata Iron and Steel Company of Jamshedpur, I consider bounties the proper remedy. Over and above the grant of bounty, the Government of India should guarantee to Messrs. Tatas the market provided by the State, and all articles of iron and steel purchased by Government Railways or public bodies should be those manufactured by Indian companies, provided the prices charged are not exceedingly high. Protection once given tends to expand and to make itself perpetual. This is what the history of other countries teaches us. There are also other political evils which Protection brings in its train, and which we would not like to see transhipped to this country."

An Invitation to Foreign Firms.

Mr. LOHOKARE, in another long explanatory note, says that the Bill offers to foreign manufacturers practically an invitation to come and exploit India and be in possession of such a basic industry as steel manufacture. The Bill proposes to shelve the assurance of the Hon. Mr. A. C. Chatterji in March 1922 that no concession should be given to any firms in regard to industries in India unless such firms have rupee capital and have a proportion at any rate of Indian Directors, and unless such firms allow facilities for Indian apprentices to be trained in their works. To allow the Bill to pass without any adequate provisions for a proportion of native capital and management in the country to be fostered by the tax-payers' money is to create a most disadvantageous burden to the country.

Home Rule the only Solution.

Mr. PATEL in a long note gives detailed information about the proceedings of the Select Committee. He says that the proceedings of the

Assembly and the Select Committee had proved to him that any fiscal proposal emanating from the Government places the Assembly on the horns of a dilemma. It must be either accepted as it stands or rejected. Thus nothing could be done without the approval of the Government. He instances the rejection by the Government of the proposals for the Nationalisation of the industry and the sharing of profits by the State. This, he says, was rejected by the casting vote of the Chairman of the Committee. He instances the refusal of the Government to accept the proposal, carried by 11 votes against 4, for improvement in the conditions of Labor, the rejection of the proposal that the Government should have the option to acquire the concern at Jamshedpur after a certain period, and the opposi ion of the Government to prevent foreign capital from getting the benefit of Protection. He also quotes figures to show that the Protection proposed is inadequate, but neither the Assembly nor the Select Committee could remedy these defects without Government's consent. Therefore, says Mr. Patel, the only remedy is Responsible Government.

Re-Circulation of Bill.

Mr. S. K. DATTA is opposed to a Protective Tariff. But if Protection cannot be given by bounties at the present stage, he suggests that the Bill, as amended by the Select Committee, be circulated among Local Governments, Local Legislatures and Local Bodies to give an opportunity to the consumers to have their say.

Duty on Galvanised Sheets

Mr. K. C. NEOGY regrets that the Select Committee has not accepted his amendment to include galvanised sheets below one forty-secondth of an inch in thickness from the scope of the enhanced import duties. This, he says, would leave galvanised sheets of corrugated variety of less than 23 standard gauge, which are of very general use for building purposes even among the poorest classes, subject to the existing duties. He realises the position of the Government in opposing the loss of ten lakhs by reducing this duty, which would consequently make difficult the financing of bounties, but then, says Mr. Neogy, an increase would be justified more on the ground of putting the Government in funds than as a measure of Protection.

Labor and the Consumer

Mr. CHAMANLAL remarks that the natural advantages for the steel industry in India, admitted by the Tariff Board, coupled with the atrociously low wages paid to labor at Jamshedpur, should make it possible for the Tata Steel Company to compete with foreign competition, but he remarks that though natural advantages are undoubted, yet these advantages are lost owing to the "higher cost of subsequent processes".

This, then, is the conclusion, that because of the lack of efficiency in technical management of the higher processes, the consumer and the taxpayer are called upon to pay the price of sustenance and support to the great capitalists of India. He is unable to support the Bill without the safeguard of Nationalisation, taking his stand upon the interests of the taxpayer and consumer who are, he fears, being delivered into the hands of monopolists, whose concern is not the well-being of the community, but the security of their profits. Finally, he says that the Bill defeats its own purpose, because it seeks to protect the industry without at the same time protecting thousands of workers engaged in the industry.

The Assembly re-assembled on the 2nd. June when the most important item of the day was the discussion of the Tariff Bill.

State Management of Railways

The whole of the morning was taken up with the question whether the discussion of the Tariff Bill should be resumed immediately, or the the Bill be circulated for public opinion. The preliminary hour which was spent on interpellations did not provide much interest, except the question regarding State management of the East Indian and the Great Indian Peninsula Railways. The Assembly accepted a resolution on the subject last year, but nevertheless attempts seem to have been made by the Govt. to arrange, if possible, for the eventual transfer to companies.

Mr. HINDLEY, Railway Commissioner, was getting into dangerously deep waters over the supplementary questions, and Sir Charles Innes had to rush to the rescue by declaring plainly that the Government was not bound to accept the Assembly's recommendations.

At question time, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas asked the Government as to where exactly their efforts stand in the direction of devising a satisfactory form of company domiciled in India to take over the E. I. Railway and G. I. P. Railway.

Mr. Hindley replied that the project had been held in abeyance pending the question of separation of Railway from General Finance.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas: What relation does the separation of Finance bear to the question of Railway Management?

Mr. Hindley: In the event of separation of Railway Finance, probably some of the objections to State management would disappear.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Is it a fact that some of the staff of the E. I. Railway have been asked to take long furlough in view of the decision to convert them into State-managed lines?

The President: That question does not arise.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao asked if the question of management of these Railways had been finally decided, and whether it was subject to further criticism.

Mr. Hindley: For the time being, the decision is final. (Laughter.)

Sir Charles Innes added that the Government had made arrangements to take over the E. I. Railway in July, 1925. The Government left the door open to negotiations for real private companies, but these negotiations had not been pursued because the question of separation of Railway Finance from General Finance had not been solved.

Marine Committee Report

Sir Charles Innes replying to Dr. Gour stated that the Government hope to publish the Mercantile Marine Committee Report shortly after the work on the Steel Protection Bill was completed.

THE TARIFF BILL—Motion for Circulation

After spending an hour on questions and answers, the Assembly proceeded at 12 Noon to consider the report of the Select Committee on the Tariff Bill. Of seventy-eight amendments to the Tarfff Bill on the paper, Dr. Datta's, to circulate it was the first to be discussed.

DR. S. K. DATTA moved the circulation of the Bill, as amended by the Select Committee, for eliciting public opinion. He said that since the issue of the Tariff Board's report and the publication of the Tariff Bill a very short time had elapsed, and the public had not been able to form an opinion on it and fully realise its implications. He felt that the point of view of the consumer had not been placed before the Tariff Board. The agricultural community forming the bulk of the population whose implements would hereafter cost more than before, the general public using iron and steel, and the Indian States must be given time to voice their feelings before Protection was given. Moreover, India must guard against the evils which had followed

in the wake of Protection. In the United States the workers and masses had suffered seriously. He urged the House to support his motion which was nothing more than a plea for justice.

Mr. LOHOKARE seconded the motion for circulation. He said that the 78 amendments tabled suggested that the Bill had several features which required further consideration. He particularly drew attention to the danger referred to by the minority report of the Fiscal Commission, that foreign manufacturers might reap the benefit of Tariff walls at the cost of the Indian consumer by establishing industries in India.

Mr. SHAMLAL NEHRU said that the House had nothing to do with Indian States, and must decide now one way or other as to whether Protection was to be given or not.

Sir CHARLES INNES said that Dr. Datta's speech was not relevant to the subject under discussion, because Dr. Datta spoke as a free trader while the policy of Protection had already been accepted by the House by referring the Bill to the Select Committee. By going back upon Protection now, the House would be simply stultifying itself. "As for further consideration", said the Commerce Member, 'there never has been a Bill presented to the Legislature after such careful preliminary investigation and preparation as the Tariff Bill. The Tariff Board's proposal had received uniformly favorable reception in the press in India, and right through the country the policy of Protection has been accepted. The proposal for the circulation of the Bill is nothing more than a dilatory motion. If you postpone it now, by the time you meet after six months, there may be no steel industry to protect."

Mr. JINNAH characterised the motion for circulation as mischievous. He was sympathetic towards the demands for protection of labor, but this could not be adequately provided for in this Bill, and must be dealt with by separate legislation.

Mr. D. P. SINHA retorted by describing the Tariff Bill as entirely mischievous.

Mr. RANGA IYER and Dr. GOUR opposed the circulation, pointing out that the House itself was a forum of public opinion, and they had the approval of their constituents to support the Bill.

Baba UJJGAR SINGH BEDI said that the bulk of the country was uneducated and must be given time to consider the Bill.

At this stage Mr. RAJ NARAIN moved for closure. Pandit Malaviya and Sir Purushottamdas represented that further discussion should be allowed on this vital question. Mr. JAMNADAS MEHTA pointed out that the debate had lasted only an hour and a quarter and wanted the Chair to protect the minority. The President allowed discussion to proceed.

Mr. MEHTA said he had his suspicions about the Bill as it came from a Government which had done nothing to foster industries. In fact his suspicion was thickened by the manner in which the Government had hugged all the proposals of the Tariff Board. It looked as if Sir Charles Innes had written the report, and the Tariff Board signed it. He said that it was the resourcefulness of Messrs. Tata's propaganda that was appealing to the patriotism and ignorance of the House by raising the bogey that if Protection was not given immediately, Messrs. Tatas would collapse. If he was convinced that this would be so, he would pass the Bill to-day; but the Tariff Board's report showed that there was no such danger, and the House could very well wait for two months to find out whether the Protection proposed was adequate, which may be very much doubted.

Mr. RAMACHANDRA RAO pointed out that the Bill had come

out of the Select Committee practically unaltered and should not be circulated.

Sir Purushottamdas THAKURDAS referred Dr. Datta and others who spoke on behalf of the agriculturists to the conclusive replies given by the Tariff Board to these arguments. The circulation of the Bill would mean indefinite postponement of Protection. He wanted the House to give its opinion here and now whether it wanted or not to place the burden on the consumer of this generation so that the future generation might reap its benefit.

Motion Rejected

Closure was again and again applied, and the House finally decided and carried the closure by 46 votes against 34. Dr. Datta's amendment for the circulation of the Bill for public opinion was put and rejected by 51 votes against 21.

Points of Order.

When the Legislative Assembly met again after lunch, the President asked the House to proceed with the discussion of the amendments.

Mr. DEVAKI PRASAD SINHA at once raised a point of order. He quoted May's Book on Parliamentary Practice, and moved that the President do leave the chair. His objection was against the ruling of the Chair earlier in the day that on a motion for circulation of the Bill no member was entitled to go into a question of principle on the Bill.

The PRESIDENT ruled this motion out of order.

Thereupon Mr. SINHA raised another point of order. Here again Mr. Sinha relied on May's Parliamentary Practice, and moved for a ruling from the Chair that no member who had interest in the Tatas' concern should be allowed to vote on the amendments.

The PRESIDENT thought that it was too late to make the motion, because considerable voting and discussion had already taken place.

Sir Alexander MUDDIMAN said that the matter was not to be decided by the Chair, but in the first instance by the members concerned.

Sir Charles INNES pointed out that when the Select Committee was being appointed some members, who were later put on it, had declared themselves that they were share-holders in Messrs Tatas', but no objection was then raised, and those members were put on the Committee.

Messrs. V. N. MUTALIK and JOSHI supported Mr. Sinha's proposition.

Mr. PATEL quoted the practice followed in the Bombay Corporation and pointed out that it was a point for the Chair to decide.

Mr. JINNAH emphasised that when he was put on the Select Committee he drew the attention of the House to the fact that he was a share-holder but none had objected to it. He was the last person to exercise his vote in his own interest, and he personally would on this Bill not exercise his voting powers but he doubted if the member who brought the motion and those who supported it were actuated by the same high principles of policy. Mr. Kabiruddin supported Mr. Jinnah.

Sir MUHAMMAD SHAFI pointed out that the Bill before the House was not a private one but a public one. It was not a bill dealing with Tata Company direct, nor was it a Bill dealing with that Company alone. It embodied a very important principle which was one of general applicability. The intention was to protect the steel industry in general, including Messrs. Tatas.

Pandit MOTILAL NEHRU said that he had no interest in Messrs. Tatas and considered that it would be a salutary rule if those interest-

ed in the concern abstained from voting, but he did not like the circumstances in which the question had been raised.

Mr. WILSON pointed out that he was interested in many concerns some of which might be granted Protection. He was in the Associated Chambers of Commerce, and he must express the views of his Chamber even on questions in which he might happen to be interested.

Sir PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS said that he did not want to take part in the discussion as he was a Director of the Tata Company, but he must point out that he could not give up his right of expressing an opinion on the particular policy on which the Tariff Bill was based.

Mr. CHAMANLAL stood for the establishment of a healthy convention.

Sir ALEXANDER MUDDIMAN made it clear that the procedure of the House of Commons was that such a point could not be raised on the ground of order, but the motion could be moved after voting had taken place, asking that certain votes be disallowed.

Dr. GOUR said that the members, whether interested in Messrs. Tatas or not, had to discharge their duties to their constituents.

Sir BASIL BLACKETT said that the present Bill was not a matter of direct pecuniary interest but a matter of State policy. It was a Government Bill and the fact that it concerned the Tata Company was only incidental.

Mr. YAKUB and Pandit MALAVIYA opposed Mr. Jinnah's objection. The latter pointed out that the discussion of the objection would require separate consideration, and that he was sure that no one doubted that the members interested in Messrs. Tatas would not let their judgment be influenced by their personal interest.

The PRESIDENT said that he could not uphold the objection of Mr. Jinnah as the Bill was not a private measure but one involving a question of public policy. Morever, the House had already allowed members who are share-holders to sit on the Select Committee.

The House then proceeded, after spending an hour and a quarter over this discussion, to consider the amendments of Mr. Doraiswamy Iyengar and Mr. A. N. Datt which were ruled out. The discussion centred round the proposal of Mr. Archarya that Government before imposing off-setting duties should cosult the Tariff Board. Sir Charles Innes and Sir Basil Blackett promised that the Tariff Board had not yet been given statutory recognition, that the Government intended to consult the Board before imposing off-setting duties, but that the reserve power to act quickly was essential in the circumstances of the case.

Mr. JINNAH characterised the amendment as futile, and it was rejected.

Mr. RAMA AIYANGAR moved an amendment making it lawful for the Government to constitute a Tariff Board consisting of one official and two non-officials.

Pandit MALAVIYA and Mr. Rao supported the motion.

Mr. ACHARYA pointed out that they wanted to give statutory recognition to the Board.

Sir Charles INNES said that the Tariff Board had been constituted on a temporary basis to find out whether it would be needed as a permanent institution with enough work to do. He could not commit the Government to the acceptance of the amendment.

The PRESIDENT pointed out that the amendment only made the

constitution of the Board lawful and not obligatory.

Sir Charles INNES said that then he would object to the insertion of the enabling provision.

Sir Basil BLACKETT opposed the motion because it would prejudice the final decision of the Government about the permanency and constitution of the Board.

The amendment was put and negatived.

An Exemption Proposal

Mr. WILSON, representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, moved for the exemption from protective duties of constructional and other steel arriving before the first November, 1924, if the Collector of Customs is satisfied that the contracts for them had been entered into before the publication of the Tariff Board's report and definitely ear-marked for specific constructions and not for ordinary sale by importers. Mr. Wilson and his supporters, Messrs. H. G. Cocke, Patel and Abul Kasim pointed out that it was only fair that those contracts entered into when the report of the Tariff Board was not known should be exempted: Moreover, there were contracts entered into before even the Board was constituted and the Government should not now penalise them. Mr. Wilson pointed out that his amendment excluded private as well as municipal properties.

Mr. PATEL argued that the Bill was for Protection and not for increasing revenue. He believed that the Government was going to realise more than double the revenue contemplated. There was therefore room for exemption.

Mr. JINNAH objected to the amendment on the ground that if the duties were now raised on goods for which contract was entered into say, in 1921, it was only as an incidence of the contract from the consequences of which they could not escape.

Sir Basil BLACKETT and Sir Charles INNES opposed the amendment as introducing a new principle in Customs methods, and mischievous in results. The Commerce Member dissented from Mr. Patel in the view that the Government would get double the revenue anticipated.

The amendment of Mr. Wilson was rejected.

The Case of Bombay

Mr. PATEL'S amendment to exclude the Bombay Corporation orders in steel was supported by Mr. Wilson, Mr. J. Mehta, and Mr. Dumasia. Mr. Jinnah opposed the amendment, as its acceptance would amount to asking the general taxpayer to pay eleven and half lakhs which the Bombay Corporation could very well afford to pay.

Pandit MOTILAL wanted the House to treat the Bill as a taxation measure and said that there was no case for exemption.

The House rejected the amendment.

The PRESIDENT ruled out of order the amendments of Mr. Mehta and Mr. Datta for extending and limiting the operation of the Bill.

The House then rose at 7-15 P.M. to meet again on the next day.

The Assembly met again on June 4th to continue further discussion on the Tariff Bill.

At Question Time.

Quite a large number of questions had been tabled regarding the **Reforms Enquiry Committee**. Sir Alexander Muddiman referred Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Ramachandra Rao and Mr. D. P. Sinha who asked questions about it, to the communique issued by the Government on the subject. He said that question as to whether the witnesses be called for oral examination and as to whether the enquiry be held in public, were matters to be determined by the Committee itself. He was not prepared yet to announce the personnel. Replying to Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar the Home Member said that he could not promise that the memorandum prepared on the report of the Preliminary Committee presided over by him would be published. He thought that there would be no objection to supplying it to the members of the Legislature, but he wanted time to give a final reply.

Answering to a question Sir Alexander Muddiman announced that Sir Sivaswami Iyer had sent in a resolution about the **Lee Commission** and the Government was giving the Assembly Saturday next to discuss it. Mr. Patel asked the Home Member his promised statement about matters requiring urgent decision by the Secretary of State. The Home Member said that the resolution of Sir Sivaswami related to procedure and in fact wanted Government not to take action till the Assembly had discussed the report in September. He did not want to anticipate his reply on Saturday. Mr. Patel repeatedly urged the Home Member to give the Assembly information about urgent points so that the members might come prepared with them. The Home Member was further pressed by Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar to adhere to his undertaking to the House to supply them with information on urgent points. Sir Alexander Muddiman said that he had just received information and had not had time even to read it. He promised to inform the House the next day.

Replying to Mr. Dunichand who drew the attention to the criticism of the **Jail administration** made by Mr. Gandhi in his famous articles: "My Jail Experience", Sir Alexander Muddiman said that jail administration was a provincial subject and that the Government did not propose to institute an enquiry into the actions taken by the local Governments on the Jail Committee's recomendations. Further pressed in turn by Dr. Gour, Mr. D. P. Sinha and Mr. Jinnah the Home Member promised to communicate the question asked to the Bombay Government and said that he would take time to get information from the local Governments regarding effect given to the Jail Committee's recommendations.

Replying to Mr. Ramachandra Rao's question the Home Member said that the **Poll tax in Kenya** which is paid by every male adult other than a native resident in Kenya has been levied since 1st of January 1923. The Government of India have taken no steps in the matter as the ordinance under which the tax is levied makes discrimination against Indians. They have no information as to the number of Indians sent to prison for failure to pay the tax.

Sir Alexander Muddiman replying to Mr. Devaki Prasad Singh's question regarding **the Cabinet Committee on India** said that the Cabinet Committee on Indian affairs is one of several Cabinet Committees appointed by His Majesty's Government in accordance with the recognised procedure to deal with matters of current departmental administration. Such committees for example have been appointed to deal with Home Affairs, Unemployment, Housing etc. The composition of these committees is confided to Members of the Cabinet with the occasional *ad hoc* inclusion of other Ministers or officials. The membership is not disclosed unless for special reasons. The Cabinet so directs their purposes and functions of the more important sections of administrative problems and as occasion may require to report their conclusions to the Cabinet for final decision. The action taken by such committee is made public by the cabinet alone and is not made public unless the Cabinet so directs after taking final decision thereon.

Sir B. N. Mitra who was the spokesman of Government to defend the dimissal of Mr. Subba Rao of the Postal Department cut a very sorry figure against Swarajist onslaught as to whether subscribing to non-co-operation newspapers, wearing of Khadi, and association with Non-Co-operators could constitute an offence. Sir B. N. Mitra while admitting that these in themselves did not constitute an offence added that Government had put their interpretation while the House was free to put its own. This made many members angry and the President intervened and stopped a volley of supplementary questions.

DISCUSSION ON TARIFF BILL

Discussion was then resumed on amendments to the Steel Protection Bill. Clause 2 being passed on the 2nd, the House proceeded to deal with Clause 3. After a few amendments had been ruled out of order, Mr. Patel's amendment for safeguarding labour next came up for consideration, Mr. PATEL submitted that the protection of capital and labour must go together and that the Tariff Act of Australia contained provision about labour.

The PRESIDENT ruled out Mr. Patel's amendment and did not allow Mr. Joshi to reinforce Mr. Patel's argument that the motion was in order. This further embittered the House but the next step of Sir Chimanlal in stopping Pundit Malaviya from supporting Mr. Patel in pointing out that amendment for laying down that bounties shall be given only to those firms which possess at least two-thirds Indian capital made the House burst with indignation and Pandit Malaviya as their spokesman recorded a protest against this arbitrary ruling. Pundit Motilal and the Home Member said the motion was in order. The President then yielded and there followed a five hour's discussion on this vital question.

Sir Charles INNES informed the House that Government consideration of the legislation about labour unions and labour disputes was already in an advanced stage but he could not state the specific date by which the Government would be ready with the Bill.

Mr. JOSHI wanted to support Mr. Patel but the President ruled that none except the member proposing the amendment would be permitted to state his view. The President ruled Mr. Patel's motion out of order being outside the scope on the Bill.

Mr. PATEL was next called upon to explain why his next amendment for giving benefit of protection only to those concerns with at least two-thirds of the capital invested in India. Mr. Patel emphatically declared that the object of the Bill without limitation as proposed by him would be more to benefit the foreign capital than Indian. He regretted that the important consideration put by the Fiscal Commission for preventing foreign capital from reaping the fruits of protection had been ignored by the Tariff Board.

Pandit MALAVIYA rose to support Mr. Patel.

The PRESIDENT said he had ruled that no one except the mover of an amendment should submit his explanation.

Pandit MALAVIYA wanted to submit certain points asking the President to reconsider his ruling.

The PRESIDENT:—Order, Order.

Pandit MALAVIYA:—Before you shut me out arbitrarily I want to submit reasons why you should reconsider your ruling.

(Shouts of hear, hear, and excitement.)

Mr. JINNAH intervening explained that Pundit Malaviya wanted that the matter raised by Mr. Patel was of such vital importance that the President might be pleased to show latitude and let other members address the House. The PRESIDENT.—"He did not put it that way."

Pandit MALAVIYA was then called upon to speak. He said that Mr. Patel's motion was quite in order and that a large number of members of the Assembly thought that if they could not insert a provision like the one proposed by Mr. Patel they would rather wreck the Bill (hear hear). He pointed out that the Overseas Trade Insurance Act passed by the House of Commons in 1920 contained provisions hat the benefit of the Act were not to be given to aliens but only

to companies possessing British Capital and British Directors. The insertion of similar provision in the Tariff Bill could not be out of order.

Dr. GOUR supported Pundit Malaviya.

Sir Charles INNES drew attention to the standing order preventing insertion of amendments foreign to the scope of the Bill. This provision, he said, was intended to prevent a popular House like the Assembly from coming to vital decisions without due consideration. Moreover, as protection proposed was for three years and as it would take five years for any steel work to be started, Mr. Patel's amendment would be only a useless gesture. He promised that the Government would take up separately the question of securing substantial Indian capital in concerns getting State assistance.

Pandit MOTILAL NEHRU decined to believe that it would take 5 years to manufacture steel. He agreed that the question of labour was so big that it required separate legislation but he thought that the safeguards about the capital were very desirable and quite in order because it proposed to limit the scope of the Bill.

Sir Alexander MUDDIMAN ventured to suggest that as Mr. Patel's amendment proposed to limit the bill, it was in order whatever might be the merits of the proposals. He asked the President to give his decision on the point of order.

Mr. JINNAH supported Sir Alexander's views.

The PRESIDENT then climbed down and ruled Mr. Patel's motion in order amidst loud applause He however declined to reconsider his decision not to allow any discussion on the Labour question.

To Exclude Foreigners.

Mr. PATEL then moved that the words "on being satisfied that at least two-thirds of the capital invested in the business concerned is Indian" be inserted in Clause 3.

The discussion was then initiated by Mr. PATEL who pointed out that protection would be fatal to the consumer without the provision that it shall extend only to Indian capital. Sir Sivaswamy Iyer began to find fault with the proposal. He wanted Government to examine the question as a whole and considered Mr. Patel's proposals as unacceptable because it laid down a definite proportion of Indian capital. Mr. Ramachandra Rao and Mr. Jinnah also fell into the trap that exclusion of foreign capital would mean virtual monopoly to Tatas who, warned Sir Basil Blackett, would mercilessly extort an extravagant price from the Indian consumer in absence of competition. But these arguments left the majority of non-official members unmoved. Pundit Malaviya put the position in a nut-shell. He said protection involved weight on the Indian consumer, and should the consumer bear the weight to enable foreign capitalist to get dividends? As for the Tata monopoly Government could lay down the condition that protection would be conditional upon efficient and economical running of the Tata Works. Sir Basil Blackett and Mr. Wilson warned that without foreign capital India could not develop industrially. Pundit Malaviya replied that India had only filled the coffers of British people by paying interest for a century. Sir Basil retorted that India had also become richer by using that capital. The Pundit was not to be browbeaten and effectively answered that only that portion of India had become rich which the Britisher was exploiting. The Finance Member did not dare interrupt any more after that.

Mr. JAMNADAS MEHTA put the position more frankly. He said:

"I refuse to let Indian resources any more to be mortgaged to foreign exploiters."

Mr. LOHOKARE supported Mr. Patel and drew attention to the serious danger of foreign capitalists exploiting India within the Tariff wall.

Sir SIVASWAMI AIYER expressed full sympathy with the motion under discussion but had his doubts whether it was the right way of dealing with the subject. He pointed out that even the minority report of the Fiscal Commission did not fix any proportion about Indian capital and asked if it would be wise without proper consideration to fix arbitrarily that the Indian capital must be at least two-thirds. Why not fifty per cent? Moreover, all they could do now was to lay down that the grant of bounties should be given only to firms possessing two-thirds Indian capital. They could not prevent any concern establishing itself and getting advantage of the tariffs, except by confining the Bill to the Tatas but the discussion on the previous day had shown that the bill was not meant for Tatas only and was part of a general policy of the Government. He thought that the question deserved separate treatment and if the Government gave an assurance that they would undertake legislation about securing a substantial share to the Indian capital he would be satisfied. But if something must be done then he would prefer the alternative proposal of Mr. Patel that the grant of State assistance be regulated by terms to be decided upon by the Assembly.

(The Assembly rose at this stage for lunch.)

When the Assembly met after lunch, Mr. C. DORAISWAMY IYENGAR was the first to speak. He had given notice of an amendment that any bounty that is payable under this Act shall be allowed only to those concerns the proprietors and directors of which were Indians to the extent of at least three-fourths of their number and the chief controlling and managing authority of which is entirely Indian. He did not move this amendment at that stage as he waited to see the fate of Mr. Patel's amendment. He gave his whole-hearted support to Mr. Patel's amendment and said that his own amendment was in effect on the same principle. Indeed he had the support of no less than Professor E. T. Shah for the terms of his own amendment and that fact, he thought, ought to silence those oppositionists to the amendment who still held that there were many difficulties to be faced before the Government could agree to a definite proportion of capital being Indian.

What is Indian Capital?

Mr. R. D. BELL (Secretary, Indian Fiscal Commission) agreed that India was poor. Assuming that there was enough capital in India, where was the confidence that it would be forthcoming? Indeed when Tatas started their concern they had to go out because there was no confidence among Indians in them. That being the case it was rather hard to stipulate that a certain percentage of capital should be Indian. Moreover what was meant by Indian capital? Whether it meant capital in India or money belonging to Indians only? This had not been made clear. If the amendment was to be passed it would only help Tatas and no other steel industry in India, whereas the Bill was one of general applicability. The scope of the Bill would therefore be altered and in fact the necessity of recasting it would arise. Considering these insuperable difficulties he advised the House to reject the amendment.

Mr. M. K. ACHARYA said that these difficulties were meant to be overcome and some means must be found by the talented member on the Treasury benches to solve the difficulties.

Mr. D. P. SINGHA, though he was a Free trader, generally agreed with the observation of Mr. Bell and the difficulties pointed out.

Sir SIVASWAMY AIYER supported the amendment (laughter and applause) because he thought that thereby they could minimise the mischief of the measure. He quoted the opinion of certain witnesses before the Tariff Board and believed that there was a real danger of foreign concerns planting themselves and lest this should happen he thought it necessary to support the amendment.

Sir B. N. MITRA in a short (maiden) speech urged the House to accept Sir Charles Innes' assurance that the question of capital would be separately considered. He said that the Tariff Board wisely avoided giving opinion on the question of capital and that as pointed out by the Fiscal Commission, there was nothing to prevent the foreigner from investing his capital through an Indian intermediary.

Mr. JOSHI said that Indian labour had nothing to choose between Indian and European capitalist. The speaker's nationalist sentiment would lead him to support solely such industrial pursuits as would conduce to the development of the country, but if by thus allowing no scope for choice the country was to go without industry he would rather consent to the choice than have no industry at all. He therefore opposed the amendment.

Mr. RAMACHANDRA RAO admitted that some check was desirable but the best way was to ask the Government to bring in a comprehensive measure. Mr. Patel's amendment he said involved the danger of making the Tatas monopolists in the Indian steel market.

Mr. J. MEHTA welcomed Mr. Patel's amendment which he said was a barbed wire entanglement against foreign capital and held out the hope that Indian resources were going no longer to be mortgaged to the foreign exploiter.

Mr. JINNAH warned the House that the amendment would defeat the object the House had at heart. It would destroy the hopes of encouragement of internal competition which was essential in the interest of the consumer. He appealed to the Government that their intentions were still suspected and that they should expedite legislation on the subject of capital. He was sure that the House did not want to exclude companies already established in India with foreign capital. (A Voice "No".)

Sir BASIL BLACKETT said that the subject of prevention of foreign capital was one which could not usefully be tackled by way of amendment to a particular Bill. There was no limit to the amount of capital that could be usefully expended in India on development. Ever since he came to India he had not observed any free flow of foreign capital into India. Indeed he had heard some Swadeshi suggesting that he should go to England for loan in order that he might not ruin the Bombay market. He had no desire to do so and trusted that Indian capital would readily come forward. One of the difficulties of continuing even the Government's present programme on capital development in India was the limitation of capital available in this country. He was very glad that this year they were able to avoid sterling loan. Their policy should be not to borrow in England, but in India. But foreign capital was a danger only if it exploited the resources of the country into which it came and at the same time killed internal competition, preventing the establishment of indigenous industries. Otherwise he maintained that foreign capital was an unmixed good. If without foreign capital the Industry of India was not developed then there would be nothing for the foreign capital-

ists to drain away. The only justification for a bill to protect steel industry must be such that in the long run it would increase the national dividend of India. How could they do that if they prevented foreign capital coming to India. Thereby they would only reduce and not accelerate the progress of Industrial development. The result would be that Indian consumers would be at the tender mercy of one single iron steel company which, however entirely Indian it might be, would not and could not eventually reduce the price of steel. It would be therefore quite contrary to the whole spirit of the bill. At the same time Sir Basil Blackett asked the Assembly to accept the assurance of Sir Charles Innes that legislation would be brought in to secure Indian capital. On what particular date it would be it was difficult to say this moment, but the Government would be ready to consider with a committee of the Legislature or in such form as would appeal to the Assembly in general the whole of the difficult question of foreign capital with a view to legislate, if necessary, by amendment of the Indian Companies Act. The Finance Member therefore asked the House to reject Mr. Patel's amendment.

Mr. WILSON thought that the amendment instead of fostering the development of steel industry would undevelop it. He opposed the amendment, both on the ground of principle and practice. In practice it would be impossible to work it. If money was required for an industry they would have to go even to the devil (laughter) and the investor should have an open market. The Bill was a straight-forward Bill and the amendment, if accepted, would defeat the objects of the measure.

Mr. DUMASIA said it would be an evil day if foreign capital was prevented from coming into India. Indian capital had already been taken away by currency legislation and now for the development of Indian industry they had to depend on foreign capital.

Mr. PATEL would not exclude foreign capital, but he thought that there must be an indigenous national control of whatever money came from outside. He advised the House to accept the amendment of Mr. Lohokare on the agenda that bounties should be given to those concerns which had a rupee capital, had Indian directorate, and provided facilities for Indian apprentices to be trained in their works.

Pandit Madan Mohan MALAVIYA replying to the Finance Member's speech remarked that if foreign capital had to come to India, England had become richer by getting interest for the past 75 to 100 years.

Sir BASIL BLACKETT :—Is not India richer also?

Pandit MALAVIYA :—India is not richer for Indians but may become richer only for the purpose of Englishmen. He also complained that huge cash balances were held in England which could very well be transferred to India to help Indian market. Pundit Malaviya suggested an amendment for securing a majority of Indian Directors and a major share of Indian capital but for excluding existing firms with non-Indian capital from such discrimination. He emphasised that the burden of protection was to fall on the consumer and that he could be called on to undertake that burden to enable foreign capital to exploit them. As for the bogey of Tata monopoly they could follow English Overseas Trade Insurance Act and lay down that protection was conditioned by a reasonable economy and efficiency on the part of the company receiving benefit. He pointed out that even if the Indian Companies Act were amended, there would be nothing to prevent the Companies registered under the English Company Act from establishing themselves. He threatened wreckage of the Bill if the Government did not accept some reasonable motion.

Sir Charles INNES observed that the question of determination of proportion of Indian and foreign capital required the most careful preparation and a large number of amendments showed that there was no clear idea about it in the House. Mr. Patel's amendment was not only useless, but also illogical because it would discriminate against one form of protection, namely bounty, and would not touch those enjoying tariff duties on behalf of the Government. He would only say that they were prepared at once to take up the question in consultation with the Advisory Committee attached to his department. He warned the House that adoption of Mr. Patel's amendment would place the Government in a serious position and appealed to all moderate minded persons to support the Government in defeating the amendment

Pt. Nehru's Amendment.

Pundit MOTILAL NEHRU was the last non-official to address the House. He knew that if the Assembly insisted on Mr. Patel's amendment, the Government would not accept it and the Bill would be practically thrown out. It appeared that in this matter the noose was round the neck of the House and that further the string was in the hands of Sir Charles Innes (laughter) but he (Mr. Nehru) wanted that the Government should commit itself to the principle, enunciated by the Hon'ble Mr. Chatterjee in the Fiscal Commission Report, namely, that no concession should be given to any firms, except to such firm as had the rupee capital and had a proportion at any rate of Indian Directorates and allowed facilities to Indians for training in their works. If the Government would recognise this principle which was indeed flexible, then the distrust and the suspicion in the House would greatly disappear."

He therefore moved in place of Mr. Patel's amendment the following amendment to the clause.—" Provided that nothing in section four shall apply to any company, firm or other person who starts the business of manufacture in steel rails, fishplates or wagons, after the passing of this Act, except under such conditions as to maintain the proportion of Indian capital and Indian element in the management as may be determined by the Governor-General-in-Council in concurrence with the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Sir Charles INNES said that he could not straight off agree to the amendment so suddenly put forward by Pundit Motilal Nehru. He wanted time to consider it before he could reply on behalf of the Government. He therefore moved that the debate be adjourned till the next day.

Sir Chimanlal SETALVAD in adjourning the House till the next day pointed out that as there had been full discussion on this question the Govt. would be allowed to reply next day as to how far they were prepared to agree to Mr. Nehru's suggestion and if it was not accepted the voting on the amendment would take place.

The House then adjourned.

On June 5th the discussion on the Tariff Bill was resumed after question time.

The discussion was initiated by Pundit MOTILAL NEHRU who moved an amendment embodying an understanding with Government laying down that bounties be granted in future only to those companies which register themselves with Rupee Capital and possess a proportion of Indian Directors to be fixed by Government. This was all Punditji could get from Government and also succeeded in making the Commerce Member agree to appoint an 'ad hoc' committee elected by the House to examine the whole question of foreign capital. Mr. Patel was very much displeased with this compromise. Pundit Malaviya also did not like it and many other Swarajists were against leaving it to Government's sweet will to fix the proportion of Indian directors. But the majority of them, realising that nothing could be done without Government consent, agreed with Pundit Motilal and only seven joined Mr. Patel in recording an opposition.

Pundit MOTILAL NEHRU moved that Clause 5 be renumbered as Clause 6 and after the Clause 4 the following Clause be inserted :—

"Notwithstanding anything contained in Section 3 or Section 4, no bounty in respect of steel rails, tin plates or wagons shall be payable to or on behalf of any company, firm, or other person not already engaged at the commencement of this Act in the business of manufacturing anyone or other such articles, unless such company, firm or other person provides facilities to the satisfaction of the Governor-General in Council for the technical training of Indians in manufacturing process involved in the business and in the case of a company unless—

'(a) it has been formed and registered under the Indian Companies Act 1913, and

'(b) it has a share capital the amount of which is expressed in the memorandum of association in Rupees, and

'(c) such proportion of the Directors, as the Governor-General in Council has by general or special order prescribed in this behalf, consists of Indians."

Then followed a discussion as given above after which the Pandit's amendment was carried, only seven, including Mr. Patel, dissenting.

Agricultural Implements.

Captain HIRA SINGH then moved the omission of protective duty on agricultural implements. He was supported by Mr. D. P. Sinha, Mr. Duni Chand and Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar.

Sir Charles INNES pointed out that the Tariff Board had emphasised that the weight of protective duty on agriculturists would be negligible while the grant of protection to Steel industry made it necessary to extend protection also to certain subsidiary industries to provide an outlet for Tata products.

After further discussion the President took vote on the motion whether the item raising the duty from 10 to 25% and whether certain agricultural implements should remain part of the schedule or not. The House divided and by 48 votes against 37 rejected protection to industry concerned with agricultural implements and making the duty revert to 10%.

Pandit Motilal and some other Swarajists remained neutral.

The adoption of this amendment was the first defeat of the Government in respect of the various provisions.

Tin Plates.

Dr. GOUR moved to restore protection to Tin-plates which had been rejected in the Select Committee on the main ground of excessive capital expenditure. His amendment was in effect to increase the import duty from ten to fifteen per cent. Tin-plates were used for many requirements of the poor people.

Mr. WILSON in opposing the amendment said that a case had not been made out for protection of the Tin-plate industry. He thought that the Tin-plate Company was extravagant and had been over-capitalised. Moreover the company was under contract to supply 21,000 tons out of the 28,000 tons of its total produce to the Burma Oil Company at an unfavourable rate.

Sir SIVASWAMY IYER supporting Dr. Gour's amendment said that the House must not take into consideration the only Tin-plate Company in India but must bear in mind any other company that might be started.

Sir CHARLES INNES said that he had a soft corner for Tin-plate industry and if Dr. Gour had not brought forward this amendment he himself would have moved one to that effect. The only countries in the world which had made success of the Tin-plate industry were England and the United States, and India had every chance to make it a success.

Dr. Gour's amendment was put and carried and the protective duty to Tin-plate restored.

Exemption for Burma.

Mr. FLEMMING moved for the exclusion of Burma which, he said, was unanimously demanded by both the people and the Government of Burma. His province was very backward in respect of all development, whether of transport of roads or irrigation and when the province had laid before it a programme of expansion the rise in price of steel as a result of protection would hamper that development. The proposal was however rejected.

Changing the Preamble.

Mr. CHAMANLAL had an amendment in his name proposing to change the preamble of the Bill, laying down "in favour of nationalisation." He announced that Mr. R. D. Tata, with whom he had held conferences recently had authorised him to state that he (Mr. Tata) was quite prepared to give recognition to the labour association at Jamshedpur and agree to the appointment of a conciliation board (Applause.)

Sir ALEXANDER MUDDIMAN interrupting pointed out that the preamble could not be beyond the actual provisions of the Bill.

The PRESIDENT ruled the motion of Mr. Chamanlal out of order.

"Discriminating."

Mr. C. DORAISWAMI IYENGAR moved an amendment to the effect that the policy of Government must be one of 'unqualified protection' instead of 'discriminating' protection.

Sir CHARLES INNES opposed the amendment as the policy of discriminating protection was the one recommended by the Fiscal Commission, accepted by Government more than a year go, and agreed to by the Select Committee on this Bill.

Sir BASIL BLACKETT urged the House not to indulge in any further junior wrangling over a small and unnecessary amendment when the policy set down in the Bill was that adopted by the Assembly. The amendment was negatived.

Mr. C. S. RANGA IYER, in moving another amendment, objected to

the language of Sir Basil Blackett who had characterised the discussion on the previous point as junior wrangling. Mr. Iyer's present amendment was for an addition to the preamble to the effect that the policy of Government must be one which should subordinate Imperial interests and British interests to Indian interests. In explaining his point of view Mr. Iyer referred to the past history of Fiscal Policy and described it as pro-British and anti-Indian.

The PRESIDENT asked the Member to leave the past and talk of the present. Mr. Iyer retorted that it was difficult to separate the present from the past.

When Mr. Iyer further developed his arguments for the addition of the words he suggested, Sir Charles Innes on a point of order pointed out that there was nothing in the Bill which subordinated Indian Interests to Imperial Interests. The amendment appeared to him more as a political manifesto than a sober preamble to the Bill. Mr. Iyer maintained that there was nothing in his amendment offending against the Bill. The President ruled the amendment out of order. After other amendments had been ruled out of order the preamble to the Bill was agreed to without any change.

THE BILL PASSED.

Sir CHARLES INNES then moved that the Bill as amended be passed.

Sir SIVASWAMY IYER congratulated Sir Charles Innes on the skill, ability and unfailing tact, humour and spirit of compromise he displayed in piloting the measure which he (speaker) regarded as marking an era in the history of British administration and in the economic history of British India. Pandit MALAVIYA, in endorsing Sir Sivaswami Aiyer's views, recapitulated the points he had raised during the discussions, especially in regard to checking foreign capital from coming to India. The President objected to the Pandit's recapitulation of these points. At this stage Panditji insisted on having his say and maintained that he was in order. He believed he could not support the Bill as it was but in the hope that the Government would on some future occasion move in the desired direction, he agreed to the passage of the Bill.

After a few more speeches, the Bill was finally passed.

The "Split" in the Swaraj Camp.

The Tariff Bill was the occasion of a bitter controversy within the Swaraj camp which seemed at one time to threaten a split, adroitly evaded by the sectional leaders, but not so as to obliterate a line of cleavage which has since become very clear. On June 4th there was, according to previous arrangement, a preliminary discussion of Pt. Motilal's amendment in committee and the Govt. signified their intention of accepting it with some minor alterations. On June 5th, while the House was engaged with 'Questions & Answers,' Pt. Motilal was seen conferring with the Commerce Member, and this made the Swarajist suspicious. Mr. Patel referred to this matter during the discussion on Pt. Motilal's compromise with bitter sarcasm and Pt. Malaviya and other Swarajists also held a mild opposition to the idea of leaving into the hands of Govt. to look after Indian interest in the directorates of companies. Hardly had Pt. Motilal moved his amendment, Mr. Patel rose and questioned its validity. It could not come until the 4th clause had been disposed of, and the Assembly was still at the 3rd clause. Mr. Jinnah however read some Standing Order to the effect that the Chair could disturb the order of the amendments at its discretion. Pt. Motilal was thereupon allowed to complete his speech and Sir Charles Innes then supported the amendment. The House finally voted, except

for Mr. Patel and half-a-dozen Swarajists, in favour of the amendment, as it was the best compromise that Pt. Motilal could secure without jeopardising the passage of the Bill.

Before the Tariff Discussion.

When the House met on June 5th, the usual one hour's interpellation was gone through.

At Question Time.

Sir Henry MONCRIEF SMITH replying to a question by Devaki Prasad Sinha regarding the amendments to the Indian Legislative rules or other Statutory rules said that the Under-Secretary of State's pronouncement was not in the sense suggested by the member who has apparently been misled by an inaccurate press report. The following is the actual text of the relevant part of the Under-Secretary of State's reply which has been communicated officially to the Government of India. "The desirability of consulting the Indian legislature before changes are made in these and other Statutory rules is always considered when the proposed change could suitably be made the subject of consultation." This statement of fact is true. The Government of India are not prepared to give any undertaking that henceforward no changes in the Statutory rules relating to the Central Legislature will be made without giving it an opportunity for expressing opinion on the proposed change.

Replying to Mr. Sinha in regard to the naturalisation of Indians in the United States Mr. BRAY said that the Government of India have moved his Majesty's Government to take all diplomatic action possible towards alleviation of the resultant hardships. Only one case of refusal of an actual application for naturalisation. The number of past naturalisation affected by the ruling is of course large. The Supreme Court of the United States of America delivered its ruling on the 19th February 1923. The Government of India first heard of an Indian being refused naturalisation on the 21st February 1923. They addressed their first letter to His Majesty's Government on the subject on the 12th March 1923, exactly three weeks after the delivery of judgment at Washington.

The Lee Report—the Home Member's Statement

Before the House proceeded to discuss the Tariff Bill, Sir Alexander Muddiman made his promised announcement on the Lee Report.

Regarding those important matters contained in the recommendations of the Lee Commission report which in the opinion of the Secretary of State was urgent, Sir Alexander stated that there was nothing this Government or the Assembly could do which would bind the Secretary of State in the exercise of his statutory powers. Sir Alexander then drew attention to the recommendations relating to the recruitment in the Transferred fields and in the Central services. It might be necessary, he said, to pass immediate orders dealing with recruitment at any rate in individual cases falling under these heads. Referring to items dealing with pay and pensions, the Home Member said, it was made clear by the Secretary of State on 20th May in the House of Commons that he intended to comply with the wish expressed by the Assembly that no orders should be passed on these points without the report being discussed by the Legislature. The Secretary of State regarded the recommendation dealing with the case of Military officers serving in political department as urgent. Recommendations dealing with the question of passages were under the consideration of the Secretary of State who must retain liberty of action in the matter. Recommendations 48 to 50 were under examination by the Secretary of State. They refer to the Family Pension Fund and independent acturial investigation of the Indian Civil Service Family Pension Fund and the closing of the existing Pension Fund. The Home Member pointed out that this was all the information he could lay before the House.

After Sir Alexander Muddiman had made the statment of 'urgent matters contained in the Lee Commission's report', volleys of questions were raised from all sides of the House demanding further information.

Mr. Chamanlal asked: Are we to understand that no action will be taken on the Report until this House had discussed the report?

Sir Alexander: I made a very definite announcement to the contrary.

Mr. Chamanlal: May I take it that beyond the 'urgent matters' mentioned by the Home Member, no action will be taken on any other part of the report?

Sir Alexander: That is the natural presumption.

In answer to Mr. M. K. Acharya, Sir Alexander Muddiman stated that he had not had any application from members of this House for a special day, except the one given (Saturday) for the motion given notice of by Sir Sivaswami Iyer. If any other member of the House wanted to give notice of resolutions he would have no objection. Dr. Gour asked: What would be the financial results of the proposals mentioned by Sir Alexander?

The Home Member said he could not make any statement at that time.

Dr. Gour further asked: Have you received any reply to our representation that no action should be taken by the Secretary of State without previously consulting the Legislatures.

Sir Alexander: The Secretary of State has pointed out that he is committed to certain things as I have already read.

On June 6th. the Assembly met for a short sitting to consider some minor Bills.

Sir Chimalal SETALVAD presided. The sitting was concerned with the consideration of the Indian Soldiers' Litigation Act Amendment Bill, and the Indian Stamp Act Amendment Bill as passed by the Council of State, the removal of Import duty on Sulphur and the circulation of Dr. Gour's Bill about the Age of Consent.

At Question Time.

An hour was spent in interpellations. Replying to Mr. Neogy, Sir Basil Blackett said that suggestion that the issue of currency notes be left to the Imperial Bank was possibly premature but was one which would receive full consideration. The general subject of bank rates and money stringency was engaging his earnest attention.

Messrs. Joshi and D. P. Sinha asked whether the revision of the Franchise with a view to its extension to labour was examined by the Muddiman Committee and whether it could come up before a new Committee. The Home Member replied that the revision of franchise would not be considered, but the powers relating to Franchise would come under review when the new Committee met.

Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan asked: Will the Government be pleased to state if either of the undermentioned posts has been abolished as recommended by the Inchcape Committee, *viz.* the Resident in Waziristan, the Political Agent for Wana. Mr. Dennis Bray replying said that neither posts has yet been abolished. The Indian Retrenchment Committee recommended that the question of abolition in Waziristan have settled down. The Government of India will give full consideration to this suggestion when the time comes.

Sir BASIL BLACKETT then moved that the Bill amending the Stamp Act as passed by the Assembly be taken into consideration. The Bill proposed to validate instruments inadequately stamped between 30th September 1923 and 1st January 1924.

Mr. DORAISWAMI IYENGAR had tabled an amendment for extending the period from 1st January to 1st July, but moved an extension till 1st April which, he said, the Finance Member had agreed to. Sir Basil Blackett accepted the amendment because he said he wanted to save the time of the House (Laughter). The Bill as amended was passed.

The Bill amending the Indian Soldiers' Litigation Act as passed by the Council of State was then agreed to. Captain Hira Singh welcomed the Bill and urged retrospective effect. The Home Member promised consideration later.

Sir CHARLES INNES moved a resolution for the removal of Import duty on Sulphur. Mr. RAMA IYENGAR proposed an amendment urging that the existing duty on flower of sulphur which brings to the public revenue about Rs. 25,000 annually should be retained as the tea industry which used this sulphur was rich and did not need any help.

Mr. SHAMLAL NEHRU supported the amendment and said that the tea industry was making a huge profit and even if it did not, it should not be protected. Sir CHARLES INNES opposed the amendment because sulphur referred to by Mr. Rama Iyengar was used by tea industry and also by other industries. The tea industry had its ups and downs. The amendment, he said, was ungenerous.

The amendment was put and declared lost.

Dr. GOUR'S Bill for raising the Age of Consent as amended by the Select Committee was then circulated for public opinion.

The House then adjourned till the 9th June.

The Lee Report.

On June 9th. ths Assembly met to discuss the Lee Report.

Mr. K. C. NEOGY was in the Chair, in the absence of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. Attendance in the House was full, the galleries being packed by the wives and friends of the European Service-men, and the proceedings though lively at first soon settled down to formal speeches. Pt. Motilal Nehru was absent through illness, and Mr. Jinnah and Mr. B. C. Pal had already left Simla. The debate in the afternoon came suddenly to a termination, the House consenting to Mr. Venkatapathi Raju's motion to adjourn further discussion till the September next.

Sir Sivaswamy's speech was cogent, short and weighty. He asked postponement of giving effect to the Lee recommendations till the Assembly had considered them in the September session. Promises had repeatedly been made, both by the Government of India and by the Secretary of State in Parliament that the Assembly would be given an opportunity of discussion before action was taken. That was a special session, and the report which was difficult to digest had been sprung upon them.

Pandit Malaviya's amendment on behalf of the Nationalists, who had come determined to vote down Sir Sivaswamy's motion and substitute for it Pt. Malaviya's, promised to evoke a warm debate, but the Home Member's early climb-down turned the scale on behalf of the Government.

AT QUESTION TIME

Replying to a question of Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh as to whether any instructions issued to local Governments in or about 1921 regarding the steps to be taken to counteract the movement for the boycott of foreign made cloth in India, the Home Member said that instructions of a confidential nature were issued regarding which he was not prepared to make any further statement.

Replying to a question by Mr. M. K. Acharya, Mr. Hindley said that so far as the State Railways were concerned, the number of appointments made in the Engineering Stores and Traffic departments during 1923-24 were as follows :—(1) Engineering Department—Hindus 25, Muhammadans 2, Anglo-Indians 12. (2) Stores department—Hindus 4, Muhammadans 3, Indian Christian 1, and Anglo Indians 8.

No similar information for Companies' lines was available.

THE O'DWYER LIBEL SUIT

Motion for Adjournment

After question time, Mr. NEOGY, the Chairman, informed the House that he had received notice of a motion for the adjournment of the House from Mr. B. Das in the following terms :—"That this Assembly records it sense of disappointment and expresses its indignation at the judgment of Mr. Justice McCardie in the O'Dwyer libel suit against Sir Sankaran Nair, in which His Lordship exonerates the conduct of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer for their part in the Punjab tragedy, for which the latter was punished by the Secretary of State for India."

Ruled out of Order.

Mr. Neogy ruled the motion out of order. Under Clause 5 of Rule 12, a motion for adjournment must not deal with a matter on which a resolution could be moved. Under Rule 23, no resolution could be moved in regard to any matter which was under adjudication by a Court of Law having jurisdiction in any part of His Majesty's Dominions, and the judgment referred to in the notice of the motion was appealable, and therefore should not be made the subject of a discussion in the House. Apart from that, under standing order 29, any Hon. Member must not, in his speech, reflect upon the conduct of any court of law in the exercise of its judicial functions. Parliamentary practice in these matters was very definite, and no motion could be moved in the House of Commons on the conduct of the Judges of the Superior Courts of the United Kingdom. Moreover, the primary object of a motion for adjournment was to draw the attention of the Government to a matter of urgent public importance so as to influence the decision of the Government in an urgent matter in regard to which a resolution with proper notice would be too late. Such was not the case now.

Mr. DAS represented that while Sir Sankaran Nair could appeal against the judgment, could the Secretary of State appeal against it? He thought that the Judge went beyond the point of reference before him, and had thereby roused the old Punjab sores. As an appeal had not so far been made by the Secretary of State, the House had power to discuss the subject.

The Chair again ruled the motion out of order.

SIR SIVASWAMY'S RESOLUTION

Sir SIVASWAMY IYER next moved his resolution :—

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he will be pleased to convey to the Secretary of State the opinion of this House—

(1) That it is impossible for this House during this session to devote to the Lee Commission report which was published on the 27th May the attention that it requires for a careful and thorough examination of its proposals in all their aspects and bearings and that for this purpose it is absolutely necessary to afford further time to this House till the September Session.

(2) That the interval of three months asked for by the House of the consideration of many important issues involved will neither cause any hardship to the Services which will obtain any financial relief that may be eventually decided upon with effect from the 1st April 1924, nor affect public interest by impeding recruitments for the Services during the interval which may proceed on the existing lines.

(3) That any attempt to give effect to the recommendation of the Commission without giving any adequate time to this House and the country to form an opinion upon the proceedings of a far-reaching character with inevitable repurcussions on other departments and Services is bound to be resented as exhibiting supreme disregard of Indian public opinion and to provoke feelings of widespread discontent.'

Sir SIVASWAMY IYER said that the recommendations of the report were of a wide and far reaching character. The House was under a serious disability because the conclusions were not all supported by the Commission with reason and the evidence before the Commission which could have led them to come to their decisions had not been published. A leading Anglo-Indian paper had gone to the extent of describing the Lee Report as a treaty between India and the Services. He strongly demurred from this view. The report required careful examination at the hand not only of the Government of India but also of the Provincial Governments and Legislatures. While some amount of financial relief to the Services might be necessary, a difference of opinion could reasonably be expected as to how much it should be. The estimate of the Lee Commission about the burden on the country was rough and did not take into account some items of relief proposed to be granted.

Sir Sivaswamy Iyer's next point was that the increase given to the Services would react on the other departments and would prove infectious. Already the Under-Secretary of State had told the House

of Commons that the Indian Military Officers' pay and some allowances to the married officers were being considered and that he hoped to come to the conclusion soon about them. Considering that the Military Officers were greater in number than the Officers of the Civil Services, the result of this revision might involve a heavier burden than that of the Civil Services. There was thus the necessity for a conscious and careful examination of the report.

Continuing, Sir Sivaswamy Iyer briefly objected to some detailed recommendations, such as : home remittances, the invidious distinction between Indian and European officers, commutation of pension to the extent of one half instead of one-third, house rent etc. He strongly opposed the proposal to keep the Irrigation branch of the P. W. D. and the Forest services in all the provinces as reserved. Speaking from his own administrative experience he had no hesitation in urging that the forest and irrigation branches should also be transferred. As for recruitment in 'security' services he wanted that the period for equalizing Indian and European element in the cadre should be shorter than that proposed by the Commission. He wanted to attain equality in 10 instead of 15 years, but this could only be achieved by stopping European recruitment. He welcomed the Lee Commission's proposal to separate the Civil and Military Medical Services but he had the strongest objection to entrusting military work to the R. A. M. C. which was not open to Indians and was responsible to the War Office and not to the Government of India. He approved of the proposal about the establishment of a Public Services Commission. In conclusion he warned against the unpopularity which an attempt to rush through decisions on vital questions would involve. (Applause).

Home Member's Statement.

Sir ALEXANDER MUDDIMAN rose to make a statement of the Government's attitude in the hope that it might shorten the discussion. His speech was unwontedly conciliatory and sweet. He hastened to give a pledge to the House that no decision on the question of principle or policy would be given before the House discussed the Report in September. He emphasised that the Lee Report was not concerned with relief to the Services alone. It had three bases, namely : provincialisation, Indianisation and relief to service. He agreed with Sir Sivaswamy that the recommendations were of great importance and of a far-reaching charact r. The Government of India wanted to know where they stood with regard to the Services and the important question of future recruitment. He admitted that neither the House nor the Government had had sufficient time to consider the report and added : "I am prepared to give on behalf of the Government and also the Secretary of State a pledge that no decision on any questions of principle or policy shall be arrived at till the House has had an opportunity in its September session of examining this report (Applause) but on the understanding that the House passes Sir Sivaswamy's resolution substantially in terms of that resolution."

This meant that retrospective effect be given to them as from 1st April 1924.

Pt. Malaviya's Amendment.

Pandit Malaviya then moved his amendment to express the inability of the House to take the report into consideration at present because:

(1) The questions raised cannot be supported when, on the all-important question of Self-Government, in accordance with the demand of the Assembly in February

last, no satisfactory response has been made, and both questions ought to be determined simultaneously;

(2) According to the report of the Commission itself, the proposals in it are vitally inter-dependent, and therefore, whenever they are examined, they must be examined as a whole;

(3) That in any case, neither the Secretary of State nor the Government of India should take action on the report until the Assembly has been given adequate opportunity of discussion.

Pundit MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA in moving his amendment said that the two questions of further classification of services and advance of the constitutional Government were inter-dependent on each other and that one could not be dealt with by disregarding the other. The Lee Commission had ignored the possibility of further extension of responsibility to be introduced in the Central Government and of further autonomy to be established in the provinces. If a further classification of Services was made, it would become an obstacle in the inclusion of more subjects as transferred. The Lee Commission did not give sufficient time and attention to the very important question of constitution which it had to deal with. Within a period of less than five months, the Commission had dealt with 1300 replies to their questionaire and examined 411 witnesses. In the case of all the previous Commissions several volumes of evidence were published but in the present case the publication of evidence was withheld, 152 witnesses gave their evidence in camera, and if they wanted to influence public opinion with their views they ought to have had the courage to express them in public. The evidence that had been recorded by the Commission would affect constitutional advance as the question of the services and that of the constitution of the Government were very closely intermixed and the Secretary of State should be requested to publish the evidence of the 152 witnesses who had given their views in camera. They had no reason to justify the idea whether the evidence was valuable or not. The report of the Commission had come in rather prematurely and the Services, which were the best paid in the world, and which had their emoluments raised only in 1919, could wait until the Government had had its report on the question of constitutional advance, and both the reports could then be considered simultaneously.

The House then rose for lunch.

When the Assembly met after lunch, Mr. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR supporting Pandit Malaviya's amendment said that it was perfectly germane that the Government should consider the Lee Commission's report only in the light of the resolution that was passed by the House in February last, asking for the establishment of Self-Government in India but also in the light of the enquiry that was now proceeding to investigate the defects in the working of the present constitution. The House should not commit itself to any undertakings. The question that the allowances would have to be given with retrospective effect was one of finance and expenditure upon which the Government should not expect the House to be committed. Questions of constitutional importance were involved in the recommendations of the Lee Commission. For instance the question in regard to passage allowance was not merely a question of allowance but it sought to make a votable item a non-votable one and to that extent attempted to take away the power of the House. In regard to control of expenditure similarly the Commission's proposal that appointments to services in the customs departments should in future be made by the Secretary of State would deprive the House of its right of voting certain items which would be made non-votable. The question of appointment of the proposed Public

Services Commission also involved a constitutional issue. As it was now proposed the Public Services Commission when constituted would only deal with powers which were now vested in the Secretary of State while the contention of the House had always been that the Legislature's control over the Services should be complete. The recommendations of the commission should therefore be examined in the light of the principles of responsible Government on which alone provincialisation and Indianisation should be based and not on the most unsatisfactory constitution to the re-examination of which every body was agreed.

Rai Bahadur RAJ NARAIN opposed Pandit Malaviya's amendment and supported Sir Sivaswamy Iyer's resolution. He said that it was difficult to say how the questions of Services and constitutional advance were inter-connected. When the Lee Commission report would come up for consideration again in September next, the House could lay it down that the decisions arrived at by it on the recommendations of the Commission would not prejudice the amendment which it might make in future to the provisions of the Government of India Act.

Mr. PATEL said that part two of Sir Sivaswamy's resolution agreeing to give retrospective effect was the price which the Home Member was asking the Assembly to pay for the postponement of the resolution. Pandit Malaviya had urged that the question could not be discussed apart from constitutional advance and the Secretary of State might be a reasonable man to agree to it. (Laughter). But there were some members of the Assembly like himself who wanted to throw the report into the waste paper basket. Considering that the last Assembly had censured the appointment of the Commission by passsing a motion of adjournment and had also rejected the grant for the Commission, the present Assembly which claimed to be more representative than the last and had rejected the Finance Bill last March must take up an attitude consistent with its past actions. "You must take up a manly stand. I am grieved to find that this Assembly is going down. (Cries of No, No). Facts are facts. The only sensible thing to do is to do nothing with the Report. There is the country which is not fully represented here and which will repudiate these proposals. There is the Indian National Congress representing the country. (Laughter) You may laugh at it, but there it is. I beg of you not to pass the resolution now but let the whole matter stand over till September."

The CHAIRMAN asked whether Mr. Patel would move for the adjournment.

Mr. PATEL:—No, I won't. (Laughter.)

Mr. Patel's opinion was that the report was fit only for the W. P. B., and he did not trouble himself about it but simply suggested a way out.

Sir Purshothamdas THAKURDAS pleaded that in September the House should give its opinion on the report on its merits as to whether the services were paid adequately or not irrespective of the question of constitutional advance. If part two of Sir Sivaswamy Iyer's resolution was objected to similar objection could be taken to Pundit Malaviya's amendment committing the Assembly to a particular point of view without fully considering the report.

A member asked whether the Home Member attached any importanc to Paragraph 2 of Sir Sivaswamy's resolution for giving retrospectiv effect to the report.

Sir ALEXANDER MUDDIMAN:—I do, Sir. I attach great importance to it that it is the one safeguard that the Services have got.

Sir BASIL BLACKETT said that it would be wise on the part of the House not to attempt to prejudice the Lee Commission Report before it had read it. The Government of India would wait for three months as relief would be given from 1st April 1924.

A member asked whether the Secretary of State had already decided to give effect to the report from 1st April.

FINANCE MEMBER:—Oh, Yes. So I understand. Continuing, the Finance Member hoped that the report would be considered on its merits, but if it was to wait till Swaraj was obtained by Fabian methods and if three months were to be devoted to the manly action of throwing the report into waste paper basket, then obviously there was nothing for the Government of India but to treat this manly action in the same way as they treated their manly action in March last. After delivering this threat the valiant knight was quick to climb down "for the Services" He was anxious that the Report be discussed on its merits after careful consideration to find out in what respect the recommendation may be accepted and in what respect that may be contravened. He therefore appealed to the House not to stultify the whole matter by accepting Pundit Malaviya's resolution. He announced that he was authorised by the Home Member to say that the Government would have no objection to an adjournment of the discussion till September on the propositions before the House.

Mr. RAJU thereupon moved an adjournment of the discussion.

Mr. RAMACHANDRA RAO wanted the Home Member to move the Secretary of State to publish the evidence submitted before the Commission. The Home Member evaded the point, and pointed out that the House could not expect the evidence given by bankers, business-men and others in confidence to be disclosed. He would however consider the question of publication of a part of the evidence. Mr. Rao pointed out that the House had absolutely no material in support of the figures regarding the cost of living taken by the Commission.

Dr. GOUR suggested that the associations and witnesses who gave evidence in private be asked whether they had any objection to the publication. The Home Member said he would undertake the task.

Pundit MALAVIYA hoped that an adjournment would give him opportunity to reply to the Finance Member's remarks in September.

The motion for adjournment was then put to vote and carried by the House with only one dissentient voice.

The Assembly then adjourned.

On JUNE 11TH. the Assembly met again merely to hear that the Council of State had passed the Tariff Bill. The comparative absence of supplementary questions and the thinness of the House enabled the Assembly to get through questions at record speed. Some feeble efforts were made to get informations from the Government but they gave curt replies. Had the Government forbidden subscriptions to the Dyer Fund by officials? Yes, was the Home Member's reply, but the circular was confidential. On the Reforms Committee, he had nothing to add to previous answers. Regarding the Lee Commission's Report, the Assembly would have an opportunity of discussion in September, and in the meantime, the Government of India would consider the Report and invite opinions from Local Governments. Orders would be passed immediately after the September Session, emphasised the Home Member. The Secretary's announcement that the Council of State had passed the Tariff Bill without amendment then brought the Session to a close.

The Council of State.

The special session of the Council of State opened on the 27th. May with the new President, the Hon. Mr. M. S. D. Butler in the chair.

Reforms Enquiry Committee

At question time the Hon. Mr. CRERAR, replying to Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, regarding the Reforms Enquiry Committee referred him to the communique issued on the subject on the 16th and 23rd May. The appointment of that Committee, he emphasised, was made by the Governor-General in Council.

Answering a supplementary question of Mr. Raza Ali, the HOME SECRETARY stated that the appointment of a Committee of this nature did not require the sanction of the Secretary of State.

Mr. RAZA ALI asked: Am I to understand that this sanction was not obtained.

Mr. CRERAR: If Mr. Raza Ali means whether the formal official sanction of the Secretary of State was obtained for the appointment of this Committee, then the answer is in the negative.

Tribute to Sir A. Mukherjee

Sir D. P. SARBADHIKARI then made a feeling reference to the sudden death of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee and the House expressed their sense of loss which the President was asked to convey to the bereaved family.

Coinage Amendment Act

The Secretary announced that the Governor-General had given his assent to the Coinage Amendment Act and the Income-Tax Act.

Lee Commission's Report

Mr. CRERAR then made a brief statement of the Government's position regarding the Lee Commission's Report as a similar statement was made by the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly.

The Hon. Mr. KARANDIKAR stated that the silence of the members at this time should not be taken as their acceptance of the report of the Commission. Sir DEVAPRASAD stated that the Council of State should not be excluded from any debate that might arise on the recommendations of the Report. Mr. RAZA ALI emphasised that the Council was not bound to put on record its considered opinion on the various recommendations of the Report during this session. He took it that only an additional opportunity had been afforded to them to discuss the Report if they wanted to avail themselves of it.

Mr. CRERAR pointed out that the Government of India and the Secretary of State were desirous of obtaining the views of the Legislature at as early a date as possible. It might be necessary for the Secretary of State to take decisions on matters of urgency. The Secretary of State and the Government of India were of opinion that, whatever measures of relief recommended by the Commission might be finally sanctioned, they should have effect as recommended by the Commission from 1st April, 1924.

Steel Protection Bill

Sir MANECKJI DADABHOY then referred to the Steel Protection Bill. He understood that a non-official motion would be made in the Assembly for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee and that the Govern

ment would, in all probability, accept the motion. If that was so, he requested the President to communicate to the President of the Assembly if it was practicable that the members of this Council be associated with the Select Committee so that there might be a joint Select Committee.

Sir MUHAMMAD SHAFI pointed out that the Bill was not before this House at present. Therefore no motion of any kind could constitutionally be made in this House for reference to a Select Committee of the Bill which was only before the Legislative Assembly. The difficulty might be met if the non-official members of this House could induce their non-official friend of the other House who was making the motion to propose a joint Select Committee.

Indian Stamp Act

Mr. A C. McWATTERS Finance Secretary, then moved for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for modifications of certain provisions of the Indian Stamp Act, 1899.

Indian Soldiers' Litigation Act

Mr. CRERAR, the Home Secretary, moved for leave to introduce the Bill to amend the Indian Soldiers' Litigation Act of 1891.

On JUNE 4TH was held the second meeting of the special session of the Council of State.

Colonies' Committee.

Sir NARASIMHA SARMA had to answer most of the interpellations as they referred to the subject of the Indians Overseas. Replying to Mr. Raza Ali (on behalf of Mr. Karandikar), the Education Member said that the Colonies' Committee had so far devoted themselves to the preliminary investigation of the question of restrictions on immigration into Kenya and would shortly make representations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Government of India did not consider it necessary to add to the personnel of the Committee. The scheme of emigration put forward by Sir Joseph Nunan and his colleagues was still under consideration by the Standing Committee on Emigration, but it was not contemplated to consider the whole emigration question or recast the Indian law on the point.

Recent British Guiana Riots.

Replying to Mr. Natesan on the recent riots in British Guiana, Sir NARASIMHA SARMA stated that the results of enquiry instituted by the British Guiana Government had not yet been communicated to the Government. It was, therefore, not possible to give an authoritative version of the causes of the riot, but from information so far available it appeared that there was a strike of wharf laborers in George Town on the 31st March and on the following day there was disorder in the city. The authorities having restored order prohibited assemblies and crowds in order to prevent a recurrence of the trouble. The events of April 1st produced excitement among the Indian laborers on the plantations across the river, among whom there was evidently some dissatisfaction with regard to wages. There was some trouble on April 2nd, but the situation was well in hand. On the 3rd, a large crowd composed mainly of Indians and some Negroes, including men, women and children, marched in procession towards George Town. They were stopped at the Penitence Bridge and asked to disperse. The authorities however offered to let a deputation of five Indians and five Negroes to enter the Town. The crowd, it was understood, would not disperse. The Riot Act was read, but evidently without effect, and the Police were attacked with stones and sticks. It would

appear that a crowd had also collected at the rear of the police in the town, and finding themselves menaced both in front and behind, the Police opened fire. 11 Indians and one Negro were killed and 16 Indians and five Negroes were wounded. Among the killed were two women and one boy of 15. A Commission to enquire into and report on the conditions of employment and rates of wages to stevedores, wharfmen and other laborers engaged in the loading and unloading of vessels had also been appointed.

Answering the supplementary questions raised by Mr. Natesan Sir B. N. SARMA admitted that there appeared to have been dissatisfaction as to the inadequacy of wages and that this must have been one of the causes leading to the riots. It was true that the cost of passages from British Guiana had become very high, but the Government of India could not agree to the statement of Mr. Natesan that the British Guiana Government were contrary to the agreement in not providing facilities for the repatriation of Indians. The Education Member further stated that the Government of India's attention had not yet been drawn to the report in an English paper in the Colony that the Indian Associations there are opposed to emigration from India because of the recent riots, low wages, etc.

Sir NARASIMHA SARMA stated to Sir D. P. Sarvadhikari that the Government of India could not proceed with an enquiry into the wages and other conditions in British Guiana unless they knew the result of the enquiry already instituted into the causes of the riots by the British Guiana Government. The Government of India were not aware of any correspondence between the India Office and the Colonial Office concerning Sir H. Lugard's scheme about the Kenya Highlands.

(*For fuller account, see the section 'Indians Overseas.'*)

Question of Reforms

Mr. CRERAR, Home Secretary, in answer to Mr. Karandikar, stated that the Government of India had not been asked by the Home Government to see if the Indian representatives could go to London to confer with the Government there on the question of Reforms.

Tariff Boards Report.

Mr. CHADWICK stated that the Government of India did not propose to lay on the table the correspondence that passed between them and the Secretary of State regarding the Tariff Board's Report.

Lee Commission's Report.

Mr. CRERAR, in answer to Sir D. P. Sarvadhikari, said that the Government of India were anxious to obtain the views of the Legislature at the earliest possible date on the Lee Commission's Report. This would give an opportunity for discussion if any member would desire to move a resolution.

Congratulations

Sir MUHAMMAD SHAFI offered the congratulations of the House to the President on the distinction of Knighthood conferred on him. He also congratulated the Rev. Mr. E. M. Macphail on the honor C.I.E. and felt pleased that his services to the cause of Indian education had been appreciated in that signal manner. Both Sir Montagu Butler and Rev. Mr. Macphail acknowledged the congratulations and thanked the House.

Import Duty on Sulphur.

The Hon. Mr. CHADWICK, Commerce Secretary, then moved a reso-

lution recommending to the Govt. the recommendations of the Tariff Board for the removal of the import duty on Sulphur be accepted.

The motion was carried, and the House adjourned.

On JUNE 6TH the business of the Council of State also was confined to answering questions and laying on the table the Steel Protection Bill, as passed by the Legislative Assembly.

Questions and Answers

Replying to Lala Ramsaran Das, the Hon. Mr. CHADWICK stated that the Khyber Railway was intended to be completed in October, 1925, but it was hoped that it might be possible to open it for traffic earlier. The total cost of construction up to 30th September, 1924, was Rs. 1,59,55,000, The Military Department had not borne the total cost of the Railway.

Mr. RAZA ALI asked with reference to Lord Olivier's letter to Mr. Satyamurti, recently published in the papers, whether any correspondence had taken place between the Secretary of State and the Government of India contemplating the abolition of communal representation. and whether the Government were aware that the publication of the letter had created considerable alarm among the communities concerned, and what steps were proposed to be taken to remove it.

Mr. CRERAR (Home Secretary) replied: 'No correspondence has taken place between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, nor have the Government of India any reasons to suppose that any proposal for the abolition of communal representation is in contemplation. The Hon. Member has doubtless seen the report in Reuter's telegram of the statement made by the Secretary of State in the House of Lords on the 30th instant to the effect that His Majesty's Government has not hitherto taken into consideration for a moment any modification of the question of communal representation. I may add that the Government of India have no intention whatever of railing the question. No representations on the subject have been received by the Government of India, but they are aware that the publication of the letter referred to has given rise to discontent and apprehension which the statement now made should completely allay."

THE TARIFF BILL

The COUNCIL SECRETARY laid on the table the STEEL PROTECTION BILL, as passed by the Legislative Assembly.

Mr. CHADWICK gave formal notice of his intention to move that the Bill be taken into consideration. If it was the wish of the Council that the Bill be taken into consideration at an earlier date than the usual limit of three days, the Government would have no objection.

Dr. Dwarakanath Mitter, Sir Manekjee Dadabhoy, Mr. Sethna and a few others pointed out that as only three changes had been made in the Bill as originally laid before the Assembly, and as the members of the Council were more or less acquainted with the nature of the changes, the Bill might be taken into consideration the next day (Saturday), but Sir Umar Hayat Khan, Mr. Bell, Sir Arthur Froom, and Lala Ramsaran Das maintained that it would not be consistent with the dignity of this House that they should rush through a most important piece of legislation, in view of the divergent views expressed.

Sir MUHAMMED SHAFI suggested that the best course would be to request the President not to suspend the rules, but to follow the ordinary rules. The President agreed and adjourned the Council till the 9th.

ON JUNE 9TH the Council of State took into consideration the Steel Protection Bill, passed by the Legislative Assembly. There appeared on the agenda 16 amendments to the Steel Protection Bill, 8 of them being by Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, all of which were withdrawn.

Stamp Act Amendment Bill.

After question time, Mr. McWATTERS moved for the acceptance of the change made by the Assembly in the Stamp Act Amendment Bill. The change was in respect of the period of time which was extended further by three months. Lala Ramsaran Das, Mr. Raza Ali, and Dr. Dwarkanath Mitter supported the motion, the first two pointing out that when such a motion was made in the Council it was opposed by the Government, and that it was only when the lower Chamber had effected the change that this House was asked to agree to it. However, they all supported the motion because it was helpful to those concerned. Mr. McWatters' motion was passed.

The Steel Protection Bill.

Mr. CHADWICK, Commerce Secretary, moved for the consideration of the Steel Protection Bill. He traversed the main grounds covered by Sir Charles Innes in the Legislative Assembly.

Mr. BELL, of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, strongly opposed the bill and criticised the Board and the Select Committee in unmeasured terms. He spoke on behalf of European Commerce and strongly opposed Protection. Sir Arthur Froom, however, of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, also representing European Commerce, supported the Bill. Rev. Dr. Macphail, also opposed the Bill on the specious ground that the Indian poor will suffer, and said that he disliked giving so much power (for Protection) to a bureaucratic Government! Another opposition came from Sir Umar Hayat Khan, as was natural, wherever Indian interest was concerned.

Sir D. P. SARVADHICARY then began to move his series of amendments which were all opposed partly by official and partly by non-official members. They were however all withdrawn.

Mr. DAWN (European, Burma) then moved that the Bill shall not apply to Burma. Mr. Vedamurti (Nationalist, Burma) opposed it, and said that his province wanted it. Finally the Bill was passed.

Bill Passed Unaltered.

Several speakers congratulated Sir Charles Innes on the happy ending of an onerous task. Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy paid an eloquent personal tribute to Sir Charles Innes for the courageous stand he made against attacks. He hoped the House would give a warning to the Tatas for putting their house in order and belie the fears that have been expressed about their management. He hoped that the Government would safeguard the interests of the tax-payers.

The Lee Report.

Mr. CRERAR, Home Secretary, announced that the Government would accept Sir D. P. Sarvadhikari's resolution of postponing the consideration of the Public Services Commission Report till the Legislature had time to consider it in September. He assured the House that the Government would not give effect to any part of the recommendations of the Lee Commission Report, but the Government would like to make it clear that whenever the recommendations were given effect to it would be from April, 1924. With this reservation the Government would accept the resolution, if moved.

Sir D. P. SARVADHIKARI was satisfied with this assurance, and withdrew the resolution. The House then adjourned to a day to be announced later.

The Swarajist Split

The Tariff Bill, as has already been stated, gave rise to a difference of opinion in the ranks of the Swarajists in the Assembly which threatened a split in the camp. This difficulty however was finally solved, and on the close of the Assembly session Mr. N. C. KELKAR, Chief Whip of the Swaraj Party, issued a statement to the Press with a view to correct certain reports about the Swaraj Party of the Assembly and the action taken by it. "Members of the party who were elected to the Select Committee of the Tariff Bill agreed to serve on the Committee in accordance with the unanimous decision of the Executive Committee of the Party. Technically, the Executive Committee had no power to permit members to serve on any Committee under the existing rules, but in view of the recent developments and the joint manifesto of Mr. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, it was generally understood that the rules in that respect required revision and alteration. The Executive Committee acted in anticipation of the alterations which have now been made and recommended to the General Council for confirmation.

Free Vote on Tariff Bill.

'Having regard to the well-known differences of opinion existing between eminent economists and in all the legislatures of the world on the question of Free Trade or Protection, it was decided at a meeting of the Nationalist Party, which consists of all Swarajist members and some Independent Nationalist members of the Assembly, that the Tariff Bill should be discussed on non-Party lines, every member being at liberty to support or oppose the Bill or any amendment thereof, according to his own independent judgment. It is thus clear that the diverse views expressed in the course of the debates were not due to any split in the Party or breach of Party discipline, but the members, in expressing their own views and voting in support of them, were acting within their rights and in conformity with the decision of their Party.

Motilal-Patel Differences.

'The amendment proposed by Pandit Motilal Nehru to the amendment of Mr. V. J. Patel was previously approved by a majority of the Nationalist Party, without, however, taking away the liberty of action originally given to members in this matter. A meeting of the Party was duly notified to be held at the time and place when and where official members were to discuss Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment with him. Before meeting the official members, Pandit Motilal Nehru explained the position to the members of the Party, and took their authority to settle the amendment with the Government members on certain lines. The amendments so settled were again put to the meeting of the Party, and approved by a majority. It was then proposed in the open House by Pandit Motilal Nehru and carried by an over-whelming majority of all Parties in the Assembly. This procedure, so far from being contrary to the policy of the Swaraj Party, was in strict accordance with the principles laid down by the General Council of the Party in a resolution passed at Cocanada, under which the Leader of the Party was to put himself in communication with the Government, if necessary. In the present case, the principle of the amendment was accepted by the Government, and discussion only referred to the details, which were eventually agreed to by a majority of the Party. There is no rift or split in the Swaraj Party of the Assembly. It stands as united as ever, the members having full confidence in their Leader, Pandit Motilal Nehru."

Swarajists in the Assembly.

Change of Policy & Programme.

The Swarajists went into the May—June session of the Legislative Assembly with notice of the following resolutions to be moved by them.

Pandit Motilal Nehru gave notice to move that :—

This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to convey to His Majesty's Government through the Secretary of State (a) that this House considers the response made to its resolution on "full Responsible Government" adopted on the 18th February, 1924 as wholly inadequate and unsatisfactory and is emphatically of opinion that a substantial acceptance of the said resolution alone will meet the requirements of the situation, and (b) that this House dissociates itself from all activities of and representation by persons and deputation from India in any way inconsistent with the said resolution.

Notice was also given of the following resolutions to be moved by the members of the Swarajya Party at the Assembly recommending—

(1) Release or prisoners convicted or under-trial on political offences, (2) Legislation at an early date with a view to introduce total prohibition of liquor and intoxicating drugs within local administrations, (3) that local administrations should take steps forthwith to organise hand-spinning and hand-weaving on a large scale to relieve unemployment, (4) to grant to local bodies the right to determine the number and location of liquor-shops within their respective areas, (5) the purchase of hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar in all cases in which Government departments require use of cloth, (7) that early steps be taken to amend the election-rules of the Legislative Assembly and Provincial Councils so as to remove disqualification to vote or stand for election from persons convicted of political or other offences, to any term of imprisonment.

Another resolution of the Party for which notice was given is :

That, in view of the unjust and humiliating treatment of British Indians in the Dominions and Colonies within the British Empire, this Assembly recommends the prohibition in Government departments of the use of all articles made or manufactured within the British Empire, outside India, except in cases in which such articles cannot be had in any other country.

These of course could not be taken up during the short session of May as it was a special session convened to pass the Traffic Bill alone, but they gave an idea of the future line of work of the Party in the Councils. The first resolution about the National Demand shows the steadfastness of the Party to pursue their demand for a Round Table Conference, and the second part which dissociated them from the Sastri-Besantite Deputation to England shows how great the difference still lies between the Swarajists and the Liberals. The other resolutions show that the Swarajists aim at carrying the Congress-flag into the Assembly, for they look more like Congress resolutions than anything moved in that August body heretofore. These are to be discussed in the September session of the Assembly which promises to be more lively and sensational than even the last Budget session.

The enigmatical differences between the two leaders of the Swarajya Party in the Assembly during the Tariff debate, namely, Messrs. Nehru and Patel, though explained away by the Chief Whip, Mr. Kelkar, kept people on the tip-toe of expectation of further split, and the opportunity was seized by the Anglo-Indian press to sow the seeds of party dissension. The statement of Mr. Kelkar was ridiculed as transparent bluff. There seemed undoubtedly to be a confusion of aims of the party, but before

leaving Simla, the Assembly Swarajists met in a conference and framed new and revised rules for their guidance in the light of new experiences gained and new flaws discovered in the course of their work.

The following Rules were passed at the meeting of the Assembly Swarajya Party held at Simla on 13th June 1924.

Whereas in view of recent developments in the political situation in India, and also of the experience of work gained in the different Legislative Councils, it has become necessary to revise the rules governing the policy and programme of the Swarajya Party in the Legislative Assembly, it is resolved that the following rules governing the members of the Party in the Legislative Assembly be recommended to the General Council of the Swarajya Party for confirmation.*

Constitution of the Party

1. The Swarajya Party in the Assembly shall consist of :—

(a) Members of the Swarajya Party and others who have been elected to the Assembly on the Swarajya Party ticket :

(b) Members of the Assembly who though not originally elected on the Swarajya Party ticket may hereafter subscribe to the policy and programme of the Party in the Assembly and agree to abide by these rules.

2. All members of the Party shall be bound by the rules made and instructions issued for their guidance in the Assembly by the General Council of the Swarajya Party or such committee as the General Council may appoint in that behalf.

3. It shall be open to the Party to combine with other parties or members of the Assembly, to form with them a bigger party to act in concert as one party either on all or specified occasions as may be agreed upon.

4. No agreement or arrangement with any other parties or members of the Assembly or any such combination as is referred to in Rule 3 shall be made if it contravenes any of these rules unless such agreement or arrangement is approved by not less than a three-fourth majority of the whole Swarajya Party in the Assembly.

5. Notwithstanding any such combination as aforesaid the Swarajya Party in the Assembly shall continue to function independently in all matters specially concerning it both inside and outside the Assembly.

6. It shall be the constant aim and endeavour of the Party to secure full satisfaction of the National demand as set out in the resolution adopted by the Assembly on the 18th February, 1924, and so long as no adequate response is made by the Government to the said resolution, the Party shall continue to resort to a policy of obstruction in such form and manner as it may determine from time to time with or without the consent and co-operation of the other parties and members of the Assembly as circumstances may require.

7. The Party shall in particular take necessary action to secure as far as possible :—

(a) The rejection of the budgets and financial bills.

(b) The rejection of all new proposals or Legislative measures calculated to increase, strengthen, or consolidate the power of the bureaucracy.

(c) The introduction and passing of bills or measures tending to reduce the strength, power, and influence of the bureaucracy.

(d) The introduction and passing of bills and measures for the removal from the Statute Book of all repressive and other laws curtailing the civic and political rights of the people of India.

8. It shall be the duty of the Party to promote the healthy growth of national life by introducing bills and measures calculated—

(a) To help the constructive programme of the Indian National Congress.

(b) To advance the national, economic and commercial interests of the country in all other respects and to prevent the drain of public wealth from India by checking all activities leading to exploitation.

(c) To establish harmonious relations between different races and communities inhabiting India.

*The General Council of the All-India Swarajya Party was to meet in Calcutta by the Middle of August 1924. Proceedings of this meeting will be given in the next issue of the Quarterly.

(d) To help the organisation of labour, agricultural and industrial, throughout the country and adjust the relations of landlords and tenants, and of capitalists and workmen.

Membership and Organisation

9. Each member of the Party shall pay a subscription of Rs. 25 for the winter session of the Assembly, Rs. 25 for the autumn session, and Rs. 10 for any special session that may be held.

Provided that in the event of a combination with other parties or members so as to form a bigger party to act in concert on all occasions, a part of the said subscription paid by any member not exceeding three-fourths shall be applied to the payment of the subscription of the said member to the combined party and the balance shall be retained by the Swarajya Party.

10. The Party shall have the following office-bearers: A Leader, a Deputy Leader, two Whips, two Secretaries and a Treasurer. The office-bearers elected at Delhi on the 31st January shall continue to hold office up to the end of the ensuing autumn session of the Assembly at the conclusion of which a fresh election of the office-bearers shall take place for such further period as the Party may determine.

11. There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party consisting of the office-bearers and 4 members elected by the Party every year. The Executive Committee appointed at Delhi shall remain in office up to the end of the ensuing autumn session of the Assembly.

12. The Party shall elect two members to act as an emergency committee with the Leader provided that if any one or both the members be absent, the Leader or Dy. Leader in his absence shall consult any two members of the Executive Committee. Provided further that in case both the Leader and the Dy. Leader are absent, the Executive Committee shall function as the Emergency Committee to deal with all urgent questions that may require immediate decision.

13. The Party shall appoint one or more Committees to examine all motions, amendments, or bills proposed to be made or introduced in the Assembly by any member with power to approve, modify or reject the same according as they are in accordance with or contrary to the programme and policy of the Party.

14. The Executive Committee or the Leader of the Party may appoint any member or members to make a special study of any subject coming up for discussion in the Assembly and to prepare notes for the information of other members.

Offices and Membership of Committee of the Legislature

15. No member of the Party shall accept any office in the gift of the Government with or without salary or other remuneration.

16. The Party may adopt one of its own members or any other member of the Assembly as a candidate for election to the office of the President of the Assembly, when such office is thrown open to election and also for the office of the Deputy President. No member of the Party not so adopted shall seek election for any of the said offices

17. Members of the Party may accept any appointment made by the elected President of the Assembly to the panel of Chairmen or other offices connected with the Legislature.

18. No member shall seek or accept nomination to any committee appointed by the Government or serve on any such committee: Provided that the Party may for special reasons decide by a majority of three-fourths of the members present at a meeting to permit any member or members to serve on any particular committee appointed by the Government.

19. Members of the Party are eligible to seek election to Select Committees and departmental and other Committees, to be elected wholly or partly by the Assembly. Provided that no member shall seek election unless he has been previously approved by the Party or Executive Committee or the Emergency Committee or the Leader of the Party.

Party Meetings.

20. General meetings of the Party may be held during the progress of a legislative session as often as may be necessary. Provided that a general meeting shall be held on the requisition of not less than 15 members, within 48 hours after the said requisition, specifying clearly the motion to be made or the subject to be discussed, is handed to the Secretary.

21. The Executive Committee shall meet as often as it considers necessary.

22. Members of the motions or bills committee shall meet at least 24 hours before the hour fixed for the ballot of such motions or bills of which notice has been given by any member. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to notify to the members of the Committee concerned the hour and place of the meeting and the hour at which the ballot is to take place.

23. The quorum for a general meeting shall be 15 for the Executive Committee meeting.

24. If a duly notified general meeting cannot be held for want of a quorum and the meeting is adjourned by a majority of those present to any time not later than 48 hours after the hour originally fixed, no quorum shall be necessary for the adjourned meeting.

25. No general meeting called on requisition shall proceed to business if less than one-half of the requisitionists are present.

26. No member who has not paid his subscription will be entitled to take part in or vote at any meeting of the Party or any of its committees.

27. All notices of general meetings posted on the previous day or handed to members or left at their quarters at least 2 hours before the time fixed for the meeting shall be good and valid.

Proceedings in the Assembly.

28. Members are at liberty to exercise the right of interpellation with a view to elicit information.

29. A copy of all motions, amendments or bills proposed to be moved or introduced in the Assembly by any member shall be delivered by him to the Secretary or other officer appointed in this behalf not later than 12 hours after notice of the same is given to the office of the Assembly.

30. No member shall ballot for or move any motion or amendment or ballot for or introduce any bill which has been disallowed by the motions or bills committee under Rule 13 after being informed by the Secretary that such motion, amendment, or bill has been so disallowed.

31. No motion for the adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance shall be made by any member without the approval of the Executive Committee or the Emergency Committee.

32. The following shall be treated as Party questions:—

(a) All matters declared to be Party questions at a meeting of the Party or by the Executive Committee before the commencement of the debate on such matters.

(b) All matters declared to be Party questions by the Emergency Committee on the day of the debate and at any stage thereof.

33. No member shall be at liberty to vote on any Party question except in accordance with the instructions issued by the Secretary, or the Whip of the Party who in such instructions shall specify the clause of Rule 32 under which the said question is to be treated as Party question.

34. In matters requiring prompt action on the spot which cannot be dealt with at a meeting of the Party or of the Executive Committee or the Emergency Committee, the Leader of the Party shall have the power to issue such instructions as he may deem proper and all members shall follow such instructions.

35. No member shall take exception during the progress of proceedings in the Assembly to any Whip and written instructions issued by the Leader, and signed by the Whip on any ground whatever.

36. The Deputy Leader shall exercise all the functions of the Leader in the latter's absence.

Disciplinary Action.

37. Any member who has acted contrary to the policy and programme and the rules of the Party, or has deliberately disregarded any Whip or instructions issued by the Leader, and in his absence the Deputy Leader or the Whip, may be removed from membership of the Party at a meeting attended by not less than half the total number of members, if so decided by a majority of three-fourths of those present. No such decision shall be made by the Party without reasonable notice to such member and without hearing any explanation which such member has to give.

Nationalistic Movements

Mahatma Gandhi & the Congress

Khilafat & Muslim League

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Mahatma Gandhi & the Congress

Since the unexpected advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the field political developments in the country have undergone a remarkable orientation, as the course of events recorded in the previous and the current issues of the REGISTER shows. After a period of convalescence in the Poona Hospital the Mahatma went to Juhu on March 10th where a seaside residence near Andheri in the Bombay Presidency was fixed up for him by his friends. For some time after that Juhu became the centre of political pilgrimage of Congressmen. Owing to poor health active participation in the political movements of the day was for him out of the question, and for the next two months or so the Mahatma had to restrain himself from public affairs and had to content himself with conversations with his political friends. After the month of March Juhu was crowded by the national leaders, the Swarajists and other Members of Councils, who came to consult the Mahatma about the Council-entry question. It was some time before he could make himself master of all the political questions that have cropped up since his incarceration, and naturally people had to wait long for a lead or pronouncement from him on any one of the vital questions then before the country. It was only in June last that the Mahatma came into the arena of political controversy and by the end of the month formulated and carried through the Congress Committee his famous new creed of the Spinning Wheel. Even in his convalescence, however, he could hardly restrain himself when news of such awful happenings as the massacre of Jaito reached him. He at once issued his famous letter to the Akalis (quoted on p. 112) asking them to stop sending further Jathas to Jaito. Of his further activities during this period may be mentioned his communications on the position of Indians Overseas as mentioned in our last issue, and, from April last, his directing the Satyagraha movement in Vaikom.

From April 3rd the Mahatma resumed the Editorship of the *Young India* and the *Navajiwan*, and in doing so intimated: "I have no new programme. My faith in the old is just as bright as ever, if not brighter indeed." This he wanted to impress upon all those who came to visit him. The conference between M. Gandhi and the leaders went on in respect of many questions chief amongst which were "Untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity." The question of Council entry had not till then been raised because Mr. C. R. Das could not yet arrive in Bombay. The Council leaders tried to impress upon him the circumstances which lead them to enter the Councils. On April 3rd Pundit Malaviya, who had come to Bombay in connection with the conference with M. Gandhi, addressed a crowded meeting on "The Issue Before Us" in which he justified the policy of obstruction in the Assembly as the only method any self-respecting individual could follow. On April 14 Pandit Motilal Nehru, who had then been staying with M. Gandhi, addressed a crowded meeting in Bombay at the Marwadi Vidyalaya for nearly two hours on "The Political Outlook." Pandit Motilal said that the fact that he was staying near M. Gandhi had given rise to a great deal of speculation. It was true that there had been an exchange of views between his Party and M. Gandhi, but he was not at liberty to make a pronouncement as to what happened there,

as they had come to no decision yet. He, however, assured the audience that they had neither embraced nor fought with each other yet. He then gave an account of what happened at the Assembly and the Legislative Councils (see p. 72).

The Gandhi-Swarajist conference stood practically suspended owing to the delay in Mr. Das's arrival. By the middle of April all Swarajist leaders except Pandit Motilal Nehru had left Juhu, but were expected to come back soon to resume their conversations which could not be taken up before the Hindu Muslim Leaders' conference which came off on the 23rd April at Bombay had arrived at some decision.

First Public Appearance.

The first public appearance of the Mahatma was before a large gathering at his residence at Juhu on the 18th May on the occasion of the celebration of Buddha Jayanti. His speech on this occasion was an index of the trend of his mind at this time; how it was imbued more with a faith in devine guidance than ever before. Speaking on the life and teachings of Buddha the Mahatma said:

"Buddha did not give the world a new religion. He gave it a new interpretation. He taught Hinduism not to take but to give life. True sacrifice was not of others but of self. Hinduism resents any attack upon the Vedas. It regarded the new interpretation as such an attack.

"It has become the fashion now a days in some quarters to say that India's downfall dates from here, the acceptance of Buddha's teachings. It is tantamount to saying that love and pity, if sufficiently practised, will degrade the world. In other words, according to the critics, evil should triumph in the end. It is my unalterable belief that India has fallen not because it accepted Gautama's teachings, but because it failed to live up to it. The priests as ever sacrificed to prophets. The Veda to be divine must be a living word ever growing, ever responding and ever expanding. Priests clung to the letter and missed the spirit. But we need not despair. The reformation that Buddha attempted has not yet had a fair trial. Twentyfive hundred years are nothing in the life of the world. If the evolution of form takes an aeon, why should we expect wonders in the evolution of thought and conduct? And yet the age of miracles is not gone. As with individuals so with nations. I hold it to be perfectly possible for the masses to be suddenly converted and uplifted. Suddenness is only seeming. No one can say how far the heaven has been working. The most potent forces are unseen, even unfelt for long. But they are working none the less surely. Religion to me is a living faith in the supreme unseen force. That force has confounded before and it is bound to confound us again. Buddha taught us to defy appearances and trust in the final triumph of truth and love. This was his matchless gift to Hinduism and to the world. He taught us also how to get it because he lived what he taught. The best propaganda is not pamphleteering but for each one of us to try to live the life we would have the world to live."

Meanwhile the Juhu consultations went on as Mr. Das had arrived. By the middle of May it was known that M. Gandhi had placed his views on Council entry in writing before Messrs Das and Nehru. On the 20th May the consultations came to an end and the historic statements to be published by the parties were approved.

The Gandhi–Swarajist Statement

At last the long-awaited statement by Mahatma Gandhi and that by the Das-Nehru Party on the question of Council-entry by Congressmen and the results of the prolonged conference between M. Gandhi and the Swarajist leaders were issued to the public on May 22. The two statements set forth very clearly the position of the two parties. The Mahatma's faith in the old N-C-O programme remained unshaken, and the conference for a rapprochement ended in substantial disagreement. Gandhi still believed in the efficacy of boycott but accepted the Delhi-Cocanada compromise and desired that the country should give a free hand to the Swarajists without proceeding to any futile discussion about the merits of the two different views.

The following is M. Gandhi's Statement :—

After having discussed with the Swarajist friends the vexed question of entry into the Legislative Assembly and the Councils by Congressmen, I am sorry to have to say that I have not been able to see eye to eye with the Swarajists. I assure the public that there has been no lack of willingness or effort on my part to accept the Swarajist position. My task would be much simpler if I would identify myself with it. It can be no pleasure to me to oppose, even in thought, the most valued and respected leaders, some of whom have made great sacrifices in the cause of the country and who yield to no one in their love for the freedom of the Motherland. But in spite of my effort and willingness, I have failed to be convinced by their arguments.

No Mere Detail.

Nor is the difference between them and myself one of mere detail. There is an honest and fundamental difference. I retain the opinion that Council-entry is inconsistent with Non-co-operation, as I conceive it. Nor is this difference a mere matter of interpretation of the word "Non-co-operation," but relates to the essential *mental attitude* resulting in different treatment of vital points. It is with reference to such mental attitude that the success or the failure of the Triple Boycott is to be judged, and not merely by a reference to the actual results attained. It is from that point of view that I say that to be out of the Legislative bodies is far more advantageous to the country than to be in them. I have, however, failed to convince my Swarajist friends; but I recognise that so long as they think otherwise, their place is undoubtedly in the Councils. It is the best for us all.

It was hardly to be expected that the Swarajists could be convinced by the arguments I advanced in the course of the conversations. There are many of them amongst the ablest, most experienced and honest patriots. They have not entered the Legislative bodies without full deliberation and they must not be expected to retire from the position until experience has convinced them of the futility of their methods.

A Settled Fact.

The question, therefore, before the country is not an examination and distribution of the merits of the Swarajist view and mine. The question is: What is to be done now regarding the Council-entry as a settled fact? Are the non-co-operators to keep up their hostility against the Swarajist method, or are they to remain neutral and even help wherever it is possible or consistent with their principles? The Delhi and Cocanada Resolutions have permitted those Congressmen who have no conscientious scruples to enter the Councils and the Assembly, if they wanted to. In my opinion, the Swarajists are therefore justified in entering the Legislative bodies and expecting perfect neutrality on the part of the "No-changers" They are also justified in resorting to obstruction, because such was their policy and the Congress laid down no conditions as to their entry.

If the work of the Swarajists prospers and the country benefits, such an ocular demonstration cannot but convince honest sceptics like me of our error, and I know the Swarajists to be patriotic enough to retrace their steps when experience has dis-illusioned them. I would therefore be no party to putting any obstacles in their way or to carrying on any propaganda against the Swarajists' entry into the Legislatures though I cannot actively help them in a project in which I do not believe. The purpose of the Delhi and Cocanada Resolutions was to allow the

Swarajists a chance of trying the method of Council-entry and that purpose can be served only if the "No-changers" with scrupulous honesty allow the Swarajists full liberty to pursue their programme in the Councils, unfettered by any obstruction from them.

If He were in the Council.

With regard to the method of work in the Councils, I will say that I would enter a Legislative body, if only I found that I could at all use it to advantage. If, therefore, I entered the Councils, I should, without following a general policy of obstruction, endeavour to give strength to the Constructive Programme of the Congress. I should, therefore, move resolutions requiring the Central and Provincial Governments, as the case may be—

(1) to make all their cloth purchases in hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar;
(2) to impose a prohibitive duty on foreign cloth; and
(3) to abolish the drink and the drug revenue and at least correspondingly reduce the army expenditure.

If the Government refused to enforce such resolutions when carried in the Legislatures, I should invite them to dissolve them and take the vote of the electorate on the specific point. If the Government would not dissolve I should resign and prepare the country for Civil Disobedience.

When that stage is reached, the Swarajists will find me ready to work with, and under them. My test of fitness for Civil Disobedience remains the same as before.

No-Changers' Position.

During the state of probation, I should advise the No-changers not to worry about what the Swarajists are doing or saying and to prove their own faith by prosecuting the Constructive Programme with undivided energy and concentration. The Khaddar and the National schools are enough to occupy every available worker who believes in quiet, honest and undemonstrative work. Hindu-Muslim problem too will tax the best energy and faith of the workers. The No-changers can justify their opposition to Council-entry only by showing the results of their application through the Constructive Programme, even as the Pro-changers must justify their entry by results. The No-changers are in one respect in an advantageous position, for they can secure the co-operation of the Pro-changers. The latter have declared their faith in the Constructive Programme, but their contention is that, by itself, the Constructive Programme cannot enable the country to reach the goal. In the prosecution however of the Constructive Programme outside the Legislatures, all No-changers, Pro-changers and others can, if they will, work in union through their respective organisations, if necessary.

This statement is incomplete without an examination of the working of the Congress organisation. I hold drastic and definite views in the matter, but I must reserve their expression for a future though early occasion.

And this 'expression' was given in the A. I. C. C. a month later.

Messrs Das and Nehru

In the statement issued by Messrs Das and Nehru on behalf of their party they stated that they remained unconvinced by the Mahatma's arguments. They thought it to be their duty to sacrifice even non-co-operation to serve the real interests of the country, and that Council-entry was quite consistent with non-co-operation. They then pass on to give a fresh outline of their programme, both inside and outside the Legislatures, and accepted the Mahatma's suggestion to further the Constructive Programme of the Congress.

The following is the statement of Mr. C. R. Das, and Pundit Motilal Nehru:—

We are obliged to Mahatma Gandhi for the trouble he has taken to discuss with us the various points involved in the question of Council-entry and are indebted to his courtesy for the opportunity we have had of seeing an advance copy of the statement he has issued to the press. The views expressed by him in

the course of conversation and those embodied in the press statement have all been considered by us with care and attention due to his great personality, but with all the reverence we entertain for him and his opinions, we remain unconvinced by his reasoning.

We regret we have not been able to convince Mahatma Gandhi of the soundness of the Swarajist position regarding Council-entry. We fail to understand how such entry can be regarded as inconsistent with the doctrine of non-co-operation resolution of the Nagpur Congress.

But if non-co-operation is more a matter of mental attitude than of the application of a living principle to the existing facts of our national life with special reference to the varying attitude of the bureaucratic Government which rules that life, we conceive it to be our duty to sacrifice even non co-operation to serve the real interests of the country.

In our view this principle includes self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and resistance to the bureaucracy as it impedes our progress towards Swaraj. We are however anxious to end this fruitless verbal discussion making it clear however that Council-entry is and can be thoroughly consistent with the principle of non-co-operation as we understand that principle to be.

Resistance to Obstruction.

We desire further to make it clear that we have not used in our programme the word 'Obstruction' in the technical sense of English Parliamentary History. Obstruction in that sense is impossible in subordinate and limited Legislative bodies, such as the Legislative Assembly and Provincial Legislatures under the Reforms Act undoubtedly are. Possibly another word should have been found to convey our meaning. We may state however that our position is really not so much of obstruction in the Parliamentary sense as that of resistance to the obstruction placed in our path to Swaraj by the bureaucratic Government. It is this resistance which we meant to imply when we used the word obstruction. This was clearly indicated in the way we defined and described non-co-operation in the preamble to the constitution of the Swaraj party. It is the removal of such bureaucratic obstruction which we feel we must emphasise. This is the policy which we have hitherto followed in the Legislative bodies and it is this policy which must in future be more and more effectively directed to the varying needs and problems of our national life.

Here again we are anxious to end all verbal discussion as to whether this can be aptly described as a policy of "Uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction." We are content to detail our policy and then leave it to our friends to give it a more appropriate name, should they so desire.

In the light of this principle and policy we would here state **our future programme of action within and outside the Legislative bodies.**

Within the Legislative bodies we must continue :—

(1) To throw out budgets unless and until the system of Government is altered in recognition of our rights or as a matter of settlement between the Parliament and the people of this country. In justification of this step all that we need point out are a few salient facts connected with the Budget in the Central Government which are more or less true of provincial budgets also. Out of a total of 431 crores (excluding Railways) only 16 crores are votable. Further, out of the non-votable amount, as much as 67 crores, i. e. more than half the amount of the budget, are for military expenditure. It is thus clear that the people of this country have a right to vote only on less than 1·7 p. c. of the total amount of the Budget, and even the exercise of this limited right is subject to the power of restoration in the Governor-General. It is therefore clear that the people have neither any voice in the framing of the Budget nor any control over those who frame it. They have no power either over the raising of the revenue or its expenditure. On what principle then, may we ask, it is our duty to pass such a budget and take the responsibility of being a party to it? We have no doubt the support of many self-respecting men in the country in holding, as we do, that it is our clear duty to throw out such budget in all legislative bodies, unless and until this vicious system is changed.

(2) To throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its power. It is conceivable that some good may incidentally result from a few of such measures; but we are clearly of opinion that in

the larger interests of the country it is better to temporarily sacrifice such little benefits rather than add an iota to the powers of the bureaucracy which are already irresistible.

(3) To introduce all resolutions, measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of our national life and the consequent displacement of the bureaucracy. We heartily accept the suggestions made by Mahatma Gandhi in his statement and we think that the resolutions mentioned by him in support of the constructive programme of the Congress should certainly be accepted by the Swaraj party. The principle of self-reliance and resistance to the bureaucratic obstruction upon which we have hitherto acted calls for their adoption, and if the constructive work of the Congress comes within the principle of non-co-operation no less do these resolutions although they represent constructive activity within the Legislative bodies.

(4) To follow a definite economic policy based on the same principle to prevent the drain of public wealth from India by checking all activities leading to exploitation.

To make this policy effective we should take and occupy every place which is open to the members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures by election. In our opinion we should not only fill elective posts, but serve on every committee when it is possible to invite the attention of the members of our party to this important question and we call upon them to decide this matter as soon as possible.

Policy Outside the Councils

Our policy outside the Legislative bodies should be as follows:—

In the first place, we should give our whole-hearted support to the Constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi and work that programme unitedly through the Congress organisations. We are decidedly of opinion that our Council work must necessarily lose much of its strength without the backing of the outside Constructive work; for it is not inside but outside the legislatures that we must look for the sanction without which the effective carrying out of our Council policy is impossible. Indeed in the matter of constructive work, the mutual support of both inside and outside activity must in our opinion give strength to the very sanction upon which we rely. In this connection we unhesitatingly accept the suggestion of Mahatma Gandhi regarding Civil Disobedience. We can assure him that the moment we find that it is impossible to meet the selfish obstinacy of the Bureaucracy without Civil Disobedience we will retire from the Legislative bodies and help him to prepare the country for such Civil Disobedience if by that time the country has not already become prepared, and we will then unreservedly place ourselves under his guidance and work through the Congress organisation under his banner in order that we may unitedly work out a substantial programme of Civil Disobedience.

In the second place, we must supplement the work of the Congress by helping labour and peasant organisations throughout the country. The problem of labour is always a difficult problem to solve in every country but in India the difficulties are greater. On the one hand we must find out a way of organisation by which we can prevent exploitation of labour by capitalists or by landlords, but on the other hand we must be on our guard to see that those very organisations may not themselves be the source of oppression by nursing extravagant and unreasonable demands. Labour undoubtedly require protection but so do Industrial enterprises. Our organisation must protect both from exploitation and the Trade Union Congress must be so organised as to be able to serve this useful purpose. We hold that in the long run the real interests of both and the country at large are identical.

We feel happy that we have had this opportunity of putting our views before the country side by side with Mahatma Gandhi's opinion, for we feel certain that the persuasion will make it obvious, that notwithstanding some differences of view there is an abiding and fundamental unity amongst both parties of the Indian National Congress. Both parties feel the necessity of working the constructive programme whether within or outside the Legislative bodies. In this direction, we feel confident, lies the germ of a fruitful alliance between Mahatma Gandhi and the Swaraj party. Our joint effort in the same or different directions will furnish a fitting answer to the bureaucracy unwilling to recognise the rights and liberty of the Indian people, and we emphatically assert that in our determination to work with the same object in the same or different spheres is expressed the determination of the Indian Nation to bring the struggle for Swaraj to a successful issue.

M. Gandhi on Congress Organisation

The statement of the Mahatma on the Council question was shortly followed by a manifesto on "Congress Organisation" in which he expounded his views on the organisation of the Congress executive so as to make it more efficient and effective. This principle, ruthlessly carried out till the A. I. C. C. meeting on 28th June, and very obstinately persisted in by the Mahatma in the interval, gave rise to a turmoil in Congress politics as intense as the Das-Achariar controversy in 1923 and tore the country from one end to the other. Here is what M. Gandhi said :—

It (the previous statement) is not complete without an examination, in the light of my views, of the working of the Congress organisation. The difference between the Swarajists and myself is honest and vital. I believe that frank recognition of honest differences will accelerate the country's progress, as a patched up compromise designed to hide differences would have retarded it. Each party is now free to give the fullest play to its views unhampered by any consideration save that of common cause. It is, therefore, necessary to consider the way the Congress organisation is to be worked.

Objects of Boycott.

It is clear to me that it cannot be jointly worked just as Government cannot be jointly and efficiently carried on by two parties with opposite views. I hold boycott of titles, etc. to be absolutely an integral part of the Congress programme. Boycott has two objects, first, to persuade those who hold titles, etc. to give them up; secondly, to keep the Congress pure from the influence of the institutions boycotted. If the first had been immediately successful we should have attained our goal at once, but the second is equally necessary if we are ever to reach our goal through the programme of non-violent Non-co-operation. For me boycott is national so long as the National Congress enforces it in its own organisation. It cannot undermine the influence, glamour and prestige of Government institutions if it cannot be run without the presence in it of administrators, title-holders, lawyers, school-masters and councillors who represent, as it were, the voluntary branch of the Government administration. The idea running behind the programme of Non-co-operation was that if we could honestly, non-violently and successfully, work the Congress organisation without such influence, and, nay, even inspite of it, that fact by itself would be enough to give us Swaraj. Our numerical superiority is so great that an effective boycott carried out by National organisation must make the Congress an irresistible power.

It follows therefore that the executive organisation of the Congress must not contain titled persons, Government school-masters, practising lawyers and members of Legislative bodies and persons who use foreign cloth or cloth manufactured even in our mills and those who deal in such cloth. Such persons can become Congressmen, but cannot and should not become members of the executive organisations. They can become delegates and influence Congress resolutions, but once the Congress policy is fixed, those who do not believe in that policy should, in my opinion, stand out of the executive bodies. The All-India Congress Committee and all local executive committees are such bodies and they should contain only those members who wholeheartedly believe in and are prepared to carry out the policy.

Executive Organisations to be Kept Pure.

I am the author of the introduction into the Congress organisation of the system of single transferable votes, but experience has shown that so far as the executive organisations are concerned, it cannot work. The idea that all opinions should be represented on these bodies must be abandoned if executive committees are to become bodies for the purpose of carrying out Congress policy for the time being. One of the most important reasons why we have not been wholly successful is that members of these executive bodies have not believed even in the Congress creed. I stand where I did when I wrote my impressions of the All-India Congress Committee which met at Delhi soon after the Bardoli resolutions were passed by the Working Committee. I saw then as clearly as possible that many members, if not indeed the majority, did not believe in non-violence and truth as an integral part of the Congress creed. They would not allow that 'peaceful' meant 'non-violent', and that

legitimate meant 'truthful'. I know that today there is more of violent and untruthful spirit in us than we had in February 1922. I would therefore urge that those who do not believe in the five boycotts and non-violence and truth should resign from the Congress executive bodies. That is why I have said in my statement on Council entry that the constructive programme should be worked by different parties through their respective organisations.

What Swarajists should do.

Believers, if there are any, in the five boycotts and non-violence and truth have no organisation other than the Congress. The most natural thing in my opinion, therefore, is for Swarajists to work the constructive programme through their own organisations. So far as I can see, their method of working must be different from that of boycotters. If they are to make Council entry successful, they must devote the whole of their energy to that purpose and therefore they can help the constructive programme by working it mainly through the Councils and the Assembly. I for one can be no party to a tug of war in which each party tries to capture the Congress executive. That war may be without heat and bitterness at the forthcoming sessions in December. The Congress is a debating and legislative body. The permanent organisations are purely executive bodies to give effect to the resolutions of the Congress. I am in desperate hurry. I believe implicitly in full and undiluted non-violent non-co-operation programme as passed by the Congress and no other. If I can get really non-violent and truthful workers who share my belief in the boycotts, in the potency of Khaddar, in Hindu-Muslim unity and in the removal of untouchability, I would again feel Swaraj coming to us much quicker than most of us think possible. But if we wrangle on in the All-India Congress Committee we can only discredit and obstruct each other. Each party honourably and without jealousy and ill-will working separately (because they cannot do otherwise) can help one another.

No Stagnation at any cost.

I trust that all members of the All-India Congress Committee will attend the forthcoming meeting. If we can discuss a plan of action in a calm manner without imputing motives and make the composition of the All-India Congress Committee homogeneous, we can do a tremendous amount of work during the forthcoming six months. I would respectfully invite each member to consider for himself or herself where he or she is in respect of the programme. If they do not believe in the programme as it is and in its capacity unaided to secure Swaraj, and if they really voice the feelings of their electors, I would not hesitate to advise the Committee even to take the risk of revising and radically altering the programme in anticipation of endorsement next year. No doubt for such a drastic change there must be a clearly made out case. There must be real public opinion behind it. Granted these two conditions, I have no doubt that in spite of anything to the contrary in the constitution, it is the duty of the All-India Congress Committee to reverse the Congress policy at the risk of incurring condemnation and show useful and substantial work at the end of the year. Stagnation must be avoided at all costs.

In a further rejoinder, the Mahatma said:—

Joint Control of Executives Deprecated.

After I had finished the foregoing it was pointed out to me that it was possible that my views might tend to make the Swarajists appear weaker than or inferior to the No-changers in the estimation of the masses. Nothing can be further from my thought than any such idea. There is no question of quality. It is purely a question of temperamental differences. I have written simply with an eye to the effective working of the Congress executives. That working is possible only if the executives are run only by one party. If the Swarajist view is more popular the executive bodies should be solely in their hands. The Congress must always represent the popular view whatever it may be, whether good or bad, and it is the duty of those who hold contrary views, not necessarily weak or inferior, to stand out and work on the popular mind from outside. The No-changers will be belying their trust if they regard pro-changers as in any way inferior to them by reason of their holding different views. It has been further pointed out to me that in arguing for exclusive control of the executives I am departing from the spirit, if not the letter, of the Delhi resolution, reaffirmed at Cocanada. I have read both the resolutions carefully. In my opinion the Delhi resolution, and more specially the Cocanada resolution, does not contemplate the joint

control of the executives. The Cocanada resolution is not a mere reaffirmation but it emphasises the principle of non-violent non-co opertion. But even if my reading of the resolutions is incorrect, my argument remains unimpaired. Mine is only an opinion to be accepted or rejected by the members of the A. I. C. C. and it is actuated by the sole consideration of expeditious working. I feel that both the parties can effectively help each other only if they work separately.

This perfectly frank and clear statement, as is too often the case in India, was at once turned into an engine of fiery controversy spouting forth abuse, insinuations and innuendoes, in the hands of the pro-changers and no-changers, the Liberals and Anglo-Indians, and the too many other interested parties into which the country is torn. The cry was raised that the Swarajists were now to be hounded out of the Congress, that the Mahatma was again angling for a dictatorship, and in his 'mighty hurry' was again out after a chimera of "Swaraj in one year" as in 1921. The occasion was fully exploited by the Anglo-Indian journals to discredit the Swarajists, and, incidentally, to wean out their Moslem adherents by saying that the Mahatma and the Congress were going to oust the Swarajists. The militant no-changers of the Chauri-chaura school, who still rove about covertly preaching independence and violence, were besides themselves with joy at the apparent discomfiture of the Swarajists. The latter, the only dynamic figure in Indian politics, were thrown into grave peril by a simultaneous attack from all sides, from the die-hards of the O'Dwyer type in England supported by the European and Anglo-Indian officials and non-officials, and the Besant-Sastri group of Moderates, down to the rankest anti-Dasite no-changer. The Mahatma was charged with dividing the country, to the unbounded joy of its enemies, when all sections of Indians were expectantly holding their breath to receive a lead of reunion between Hindus and Moslems and the numerous sects and creeds into which the roused political consciousness of the people were daily driving them.

On the part of the Swarajists, they took objection to the statement of the Mahatma that non-co-operation is a *mental attitude*, and the success or failure of a movement was to be judged by this mental attitude irrespective of the results achieved. With Gandhi Swarajya was a psychological problem irrespective of actual results, and it was this mental attitude which led him to eschew all resistance and obstruction as mental violence and therefore to be avoided as sin. To this the Swarajists had one answer; to them Swarajya was *not* a mental attitude but a concrete thing to be striven for and achieved and acquired, with or without non-co-operation if necessary. To attain their aim and end the Swarajists were prepared even to give up non-co-operation. This brought them within a measurable approximation to the Moslem non-co-operators who have time and again declared that their faith refuses them to adopt non-violence at all times, and that non-co-operation with them was a matter of policy alone.

The Swarajists felt it to be unfair that the Mahatma should have taken advantage of the high position and the magic power which people, in their fondness, invest him with. It was not necessary for him 'to consider the way the Congress organisation is to be worked.' Even a gutter-snipe knew that when he himself sets the ball rolling, like an expert foot-ball player, it is bound to be kicked past the goal. Every body recognised the right of any Congress-man to propose reform in

the organisation, but there is a world of difference between Mahatma Gandhi himself blowing the horn and any other lesser man taking up the task. The cussed and costive scrupulosity of the Mahatma, it was said, cannot do in politics which never run in a straight line and which primarily concern themselves with men as they are and not as they ought to be. All this heated controversy in the papers, however, made little impression on the Mahatma, and by the middle of June he landed himself on the only 'logical conclusion' to which earlier steps inevitably led him.

The Four Resolutions

On JUNE 19th the Mahatma published the famous four resolutions which he proposed to move in the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. They run as follows :—

The Spinning Resolution

"(1) In view of the fact that members of Congress organisations throughout the country have themselves hitherto neglected hand-spinning in-spite of the fact that the spinning wheel and its product, hand-spun Khaddar, have been regarded as indispensable for the establishment of Swaraj, and although their acceptance has been regarded by the Congress as a necessary preliminary to civil disobedience, the A. I. C. C. resolves that all members of various representative Congress organisations shall, except when disabled by sickness or prevented by continuous travelling, regularly spin for at least half an hour every day, and shall send to the Secretary of the All-India Khadi Board at least ten tolas each of even and well-twisted yarn of a count not below ten, so as to reach him not later than the 15th day of each month—the first consignment to reach the Secretary not later than the 15th day of August, 1924 and thereafter in regular monthly succession. Any member failing to send the prescribed quantity by the prescribed date shall be deemed to have vacated his office and such vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner, provided that the member vacating in the manner aforesaid shall not be eligible for re-election before the next general election for the members of the several organisations.

Congress Executive

"(2) Inasmuch as complaints have been received that Provincial Secretaries and other members of the Congress organisations do not carry out instructions issued to them from time to time by officers duly authorised thereto, the A. I. C. C. hereby resolves that those in charge of matters referred to them failing to comply with the instructions of the officers thereto appointed shall be deemed to have vacated their offices and the vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner, provided that the member thus vacating shall not be eligible for re-election till the next general election.

Election to Congress Offices

"(3) In the opinion of the A. I. C. C. it is desirable that the Congress electors elect to various offices in Congress organisations only those who in their persons carry out to the full the Congress creed and various Non-co-operation resolutions of the Congress, including the

five boycotts, namely of all mill-spun cloth, Government Law Courts, Schools, Titles and Legislative bodies, and the A. I. C. C. hereby resolves that members who do not believe in and do not in their own persons carry out the said boycott shall vacate their seats and that there should be fresh elections in respect of such seats, provided that if members vacating so choose, they may offer themselves for re-election.

Gopinath Saha Resolution

"(4) The A. I. C. C. regrets the murder of the late Mr. Day by the late Gopinath Saha and offers its condolences to the deceased's family and though deeply sensible of the love, however misguided, of country prompting the murder, the A. I. C. C. strongly condemns this and all such political murders and is emphatically of the opinion that all such acts are inconsistent with the Congress creed and its resolution of non-violent non-co-operation, and is of the opinion that such acts retard progress towards Swarajya and interfere with the preparations for civil disobedience which, in the opinion of the A. I. C. C., is capable of evoking the purest sacrifice, but which can only be offered in a perfectly peaceful atmosphere."

In introducing the above, the Mahatma wrote: "At the present moment I seem to be doing the very thing I claim to wish to avoid, namely dividing Congressmen and plunging the country into a controversy. I, however, assure the reader that it will not last long, at least so far as I am concerned."

He further said: "But I do claim to be a humble soldier. If the reader will not laugh at me, I do not mind telling him that I can become also an efficient general on the usual terms. I must have soldiers who would obey and who have faith in themselves and in their General and who will willingly carry out instructions. My plan of action is always open and very definite. Certain well-defined conditions being fulfilled, it guarantees success. But what is a poor General to do when he finds soldiers who subscribe to his conditions and yet do not carry them in their own persons and, may be, do not even believe in them? The resolutions are designed to test the qualifications of soldiers."

After having said that he remained where he stood in 1920 and that his faith in the years gone by had increased, the Mahatma said that if his employers had also the same faith: "I am theirs, body and soul. I have no faith in any other plan. I am therefore not available on any other terms, not because I am unwilling, but because I am unfit."

All the four resolutions, Mahatmaji further explained, "then constitute my application for employment as a General and lay down my qualifications and limitations. Here there is no imposition of autocracy, no imposible demand."

And the 'application' for 'Generalship' came to be considered in the famous Ahmedabad sitting of the All-India Congress Committee on June 27th last, as given in the following pages.

The All-India Congress Committee

AHMEDABAD—JUNE 27TH 1924.

At last the long-expected meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad came and the historic proceedings began. On June 26th the Working Committee of the Congress met at the Satyagrahasram, Sabarmati, with M. Mahomed Ali in the chair, and considered the resolutions to be placed before the bigger House next day. The Mahatma's four resolutions were taken into consideration, and without much discussion the committee accepted the first and fourth resolutions in toto, and made only slight verbal changes in the other two. These were accepted by the Mahatma himself. The Committee then drew up the programme for the next day.

An Informal Conference

Next day instead of the All-India Congress Committee meeting at 3 P. M., as previously announced, an informal meeting of only A. I. C. C. members was convened at the request of M. Gandhi in order to ascertain the feeling of the parties. Mr. Das opened the discussion by stating that they would be playing into the hands of the country's enemies if they did not arrive at a reasonable understanding and let the Swarajists remain inside the Congress as one of its wings. He repeated Maulana Mahomed Ali's statement that the informal meeting had been called at M. Gandhi's desire.

Babu Rajendra Prasad (Behar) and some other members asked that M. Gandhi should be requested to attend the meeting, but this could not be done.

Some further discussion took place and the President appealed to the members to put their heads together and arrive at some workable solution in the interests of unity based on differences, apparently referring to Mr. C. R. Das's earlier remark that they should agree to differ.

Speaking after Mohamed Ali, Messrs. Pattabhi Sitaramayya (Andhra) and C. Rajagopalachari (Tamil Nadu) strongly objected to the Swarajist ideas adumbrated by Mr. Das that Council entry should be treated as necessary as a separate department of the Congress. Mr. Rajgopalachari specially urged the point that now that Mr. Gandhi had come back and was once again free to led the movement to work out his programme, if they thought that his programe was not workable, they could give it up and adopt a new one. But he did not think it possible that a compromise could be arrived at on the lines suggested. After Mr. Achari's speech the meeting terminated and the President announced that the A. I. C. C. would meet at 6-30 P. M. when M. Gandhi will be present and that questions could be then discussed on their merits and decided.

The Swaraj Party then met to decide their attitude.

In the evening when the main Committee met, Mr. Mahomed Ali opened proceedings with a tribute to M. Gandhi. About this time the Mahatma entered amidst vociferous cheering of 'Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai,' in which Swarajists and all and sundry took part. Clad only in a loin cloth, with bare head and body covered with a white sheet, the Mahatma took his seat

in silence and his eyes glowed with the fire of battle and coming triumph. The items on the agenda were then taken up. The question of the Maharastra elections, as decided by the House, showed which way the wind was blowing. The No-changers were apparently strong, and the President was inclined to be generous on their side. This gave a fore. taste to the Swarajists of coming events.

The Mahatma was called upon to move his first resolution regarding compulsory spinning, and scarcely had he finished when up rose Pandit Motilal to a point of order. The Pandit's arguments had a tremendous effect upon the meeting. His main contention was that the arbitrary nature of the resolutions was opposed to all notions of democracy. He relied upon the articles of the Congress constitution itself and urged that the resolutions curtailed the power of the electorate, and the A. I. C. C. had no right to assume the powers of the Congress. It was *ultra vires.*

Mahatma Gandhi declared that he was not going beyond the constitution as the resolutions did not deprive the electors of their rights but only advised them to do certain things. After this speech from Mahatmaji it was thought that Mr. Mahomed Ali would give his ruling. But he chose the safer course and left this highly technical question to be decided by the house. It came naturally to be a party vote and it was declared not to be *ultra vires* by 83 against 69 votes.

At 7-30 P. M. Moul. Mahomed Ali desired to vacate the seat for his prayers and asked Pandit Motilal to take the chair. The latter refused on the ground that it was his own point of order that was under discussion. When Mr. Das was requested to occupy the chair, he was heard to say: "How can you expect a man who is deemed to be unfit to be a member of the house to guide its deliberations!" The President then adjourned the house for ten minutes for prayers.

Mr. Sham Sunder Chakravarti

There was a little breeze when Mr. Shamsundar Chakravarti rose to speak against the point of order. When he began his speech, Mr. Srish Chandra of Dacca inquired of the President if Mr. Chakravarti was a member of the A. I. C. C. duly elected. He was returned from Burma and not Bengal and was not a member of any primary body in that province. The President was in a fix but he could not obviously enter into the question and he ruled that he was a properly elected member. Sham Babu triumphantly opened his speech with the words, "I have fought my way to recognition" etc. Very wrathfully he declared that he had no connection with any Congress Committee of Bengal, and he typified in his own person the average no-changer in Bengal.

But the sequel was interesting. On the second day Sham Babu was seen in the visitor's gallery and not sitting among the members. The President after formally opening the proceedings of the day declared that Mr. Shamsundar Chakravarti, of his own accord, had withdrawn from the A. I. C. C. as his right to be there was questioned, and as he himself felt doubtful of his position! No doubt there was some higher influence at work overnight.

The second day was the eventful day when the real battle was fought. The first three resolutions published in the papers were a little modified by the Working Committee and were accepted by Mahatmaji. The alter-

ations had considerably toned them down. Mahatma Gandhi began the spinning resolution in a remarkably frank speech. The day before the Mahatma while speaking on the point of order raised by Pandit Nehru was straining to show that he was within the limits of the constitution. But this day he frankly declared that "I have broken the constitution in these resolutions. A constitution is good so far as it gives you help. It should not be allowed to bring you down or to unman you. If we cannot bring Swarajya, it becomes our sacred duty to over-ride and lay aside the constitution."

The speech was heard with rapt attention. It disclosed the great orator, the subtle logician, the tactical lawyer, a strong party politician, and more than all, a 'philosophic anarch', as Mr. Sastri calls him, of surpassing eminence. His words burned with genuine sincerity.

Pt. Motilal Nehru's Reply

Pandit Motilal's reply however shattered to pieces many of the arguments of the Mahatma. His humourous shafts directed against Mahatmaji's subtleties, of a trained lawyer in spite of his denunciation of that profession, hit the mark in right style. He dealt with the questions of the constitution and asked the house to remember the Mahatma's confession on that score. He declined to believe that Charkha alone and by itself would bring Swaraj. Turning to the no-changers he asked them to put their hands on their hearts and honestly say if they believed in it when M. Gandhi was in jail. Where had it gone all those days? The resolutions were a loaded pistol and he would not spin even an inch if forced in that way. He asked the members not to forget their manliness and vote according to their own conscience and not according to the Mahatma's conscience. This last piece of advice was an eye-opener to many who looked dazed at the Pandit's glowing face.

On behalf of the Swarajya Party Pt. Nehru then read out a statement in which their faith in the constructive programme was reiterated but it was also observed that they did not believe that by itself and without any other activity it could lead to Swaraj. They tried to make peace even by offering extra powers to M. Gandhi but as the Mahatma was out to drive the Swarajists away, they had also to fight on. The statement concluded by observing that "the Congress belongs as much to us as to the opposite party. We will not, if we can help it, allow its constitution to be changed at the caprice of a narrow majority whenever it may think necessary to crush the minority. The demand that the Swarajists should go out of the executive is an unreasonable demand and it is only due to our self-respect that we must resist it. We declare that the resolution under discussion is an unconstitutional contrivance and we go away to-day only to return with a majority." With this spirited declaration he called all Swarajists and those who sympathised with them to leave the hall. In a body the Swarajists, led by Mr. Srinivas Aiyangar, then left the meeting, to the profound astonishment of the whole House.

This step on the part of the Swarajists put the no-changers on their trial. Clearly it was a master stroke of tactics and one befitting the future Parliament of India. The no-changers now had a taste of the solidity of the opposition against them, and they marvelled at the perfect discipline of the Swarajists in following their leader. Such party discipline was now rare in India anywhere except amongst the Swarajists.

The effect of this was soon seen. One after another of the great lieutenants of the Mahatma got up and opposed the resolutions, some of them going to the length of warning him that he was bringing ruin on the Congress. Among those who opposed the resolutions were prominent men like Dr. Syed Mahmood, Dr. Choitram, Pt. Santanam, Mr. T. Prakasham, Moul. Abul Kalam Azad, Sirdar Mangal Singh, Pt. Gouri Shankra Misra, and Mr. Shafi.

Mahatma Gandhi however stuck to his guns. In his reply he averred that he remained unmoved by the withdrawal of the Swarajists. The amendment to delete the penalty clause was put to vote and lost by 67 against 37 and the original proposition was carried by 82 against 25. The figures speak for themselves. In a House where there were nearly all staunch followers of Mahatmaji 37 voted against the penalty clause. It served an eye-opener to many.

To the Mahatma nothing could be a more complete defeat than such a success. He immediately moved a counter-resolution to withdraw the penalty clause, and the House at once passed it with a sigh of relief.

The third day found the Swarajists and the No-changers face to face in the same hall again. The original resolutions underwent so great a transformation as to lose their original form also. The mandatory character was changed into an advisory one. The penalty clause disappeared and lastly, the third resolution clearly stated that the breach of the boycott of Councils would not affect those who entered the Councils.

Moulana Mahomed Ali took advantage of the prevailing good-will and requested Messrs. Nehru and Das to preach the gospel of Charkha as, he said, they had more influence in the country than even Mahatmaji. The bait, however, was not taken and Mr. Das declared that it could not be done because he and his party did not concede the implications of the Charkha with which it was invested!

The second resolution was passed without a division. Mahatma Gandhi moved the third resolution in its modified form. He did not make any speech on it. Mr. Varadachari moved an amendment to delete the reference to Cocanada Congress. He declared openly that they aimed at driving away the Swarajists from the Congress executives. He protested against allegations made by Mr. Prakasham against the No-changers and declared that they would carry Congress-work by themselves. The amendment was supported by Messrs. Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Shaukat Ali and Nag. Mr. Das opposed the amendment and in course of his speech he said that they would have burnt the Swarajists down had they the power in their hands, but they could not go behind the Cocanada resolution. Mahatma Gandhi in his brief reply observed that the amendment revealed the weakness of the No-changers. They could not but think of Swarajists which itself showed the superiority of latter's programme. He bluntly asked them what they would do if he died. He did not understand why they depended upon him alone! The amendment was lost by a great majority.

In the afternoon Mr. Das moved the Serajganj resolution as an amendment to the Mahatma's resolution regarding Gopinath Saha. He urged that his resolution, although it was identical with the original resolution, ought to be passed because Bengal expected help in its hour

of need. Already he and his friends were threatened with prosecution and he thought it his duty to move the resolution from every platform.

The brilliant speech delivered by Dr. N. S. Paranjpe in seconding Mr. Das was the outstanding feature of the day. Dr. Paranjpe on behalf of Maharashtra supported Bengal in the hour of her trial. Gandhi's reading of history was quite different from his or of those of his way of thinking. The Mahatma thought that India was lost because of violence, and Swarajya could be attained therefore only by non-violence. There was a conflict of philosophy of Lok. Tilak and Gandhi since the latter entered politics, and the Maharastra leaders being all of the Tilak School of Politics have ever been opposed to the Gandhian creed in politics. The Tilak School was of opinion that under certain circumstances, as a matter of justice, a tooth for a tooth was the right policy; while Gandhi stood for a kiss for a kick on all occasions. There stood the nation, said Dr. Paranjpe, face to face with the bureaucracy that was ready to strike and crush if even a little finger was raised. And on the other side stood Mahatmaji to inculcate in the people the lessons of extreme form of non-violence. There could be no better specimen of non-violent humanity than the Indian. Was it not enough, he pertinently asked. In India preaching of non-violence was not a very novel thing as fifty lacs of Sadhus preached it!

Dr. Paranjpe's rousing and stirring speech set all people thinking. He was followed by one Moslem gentleman who questioned the rights of those who stood for non-violent N-C-O to condemn those who stood for violence honestly. In spite of these brilliant speeches, Mr. Das's amendment was in the end defeated.

Mahatmaji seemed to have realised the rigour of his boycott resolution working against his own immediate followers. He wanted to save them, and therefore proposed that a protective resolution must be passed to relieve from restriction those who resorted to British law courts, even when they believed in their boycott. He referred to the resignation tendered by Mr. Kalidas Javeri of Ahmedabad, a practising pleader. But more important was the resignation of the General Secretaryship and all other offices by Mr. G. B. Deshpande of Belgaum. Mahatmaji's proposed resolution could have saved his friends but it amounted to a withdrawal of the boycott of courts. Mr. T. Prakasham who was a great sufferer proposed an amendment to lift up the boycott altogether. At this stage Dr. Choitram inquired whether the resolution and amendment was in order and the President after consulting M. Gandhi had to declare both as out of order! After this the proceedings became uninteresting and quite formal, and the business of the House was soon over.

Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, the peace-maker of the Congress ever since the Gaya split, next requested the Mahatma to give the people a message. Here commenced a short informal proceedings which were as strange as it was characteristic of the Gandhi following. Mahatma Gandhi was moved to the depths of his heart by the deplorable lack of principles among his followers. He lost his voice when he commenced to speak. There was a hush and dead calm ruling, yet he could not be heard beyond the range of a few feet around him. He confessed that he was deeply pained to see that his estimation of the efficacy of his programme proved wrong. He expected overwhelming support to him but he saw that he was opposed inch by inch. The Swarajya Party, he said, was honest in their opposition and he admitted their courage

and out-spokenness but he grieved to see his own immediate followers so shaky and so hypocritical. He referred to Dr. Paranjpe's speech and observed that what he said deserved deep thought. It was possible that the Doctor was right although personally he stood by his principles of non-violence. He further said that he knew that a sword was hanging on Mr. Das's head but he could not give assent to his amendment because of his principles and, further, what calamity would be there if Das was sent to jail? It was their goal. He spoke feelingly when he came to discuss his proposed resolution to give relief to Mr. Deshpande and others. He observed that when Dr. Choitram rose to a point of order, he felt that the latter was doing wrong. He was like his son. He ought to have inquired of him to know his motives. The question was like a thrusting of dagger in his heart. With these words the great leader collapsed. Tears flowed from his eyes. Men around him began to sob. His immediate followers began to weep. Moul. Mahomed Ali took his handkerchief to his eyes. The ladies burst out sobbing audibly. Gandhi in tears! and what would not they give to stop it? The scene cannot be described in cold print. The frail Mahatma recovered in a minute or two and concluded his speech with the remark that he was thinking of retiring from the Congress. M. Abul Kalam Azad requested the members to assure Mahatmaji of their support. Twenty-five members rushed to assure him solemnly that they would stand by him through thick or thin. Moul. Mahomed Ali rose and with eyes full of tears took off his cap and knelt down before the Mahatma and asked him to forgive him and forgive others. The Mahatma raised him in his arms and begged of them to give him time for consideration.

Thus ended one of the historic episodes of the historic meeting at Ahmedabad. The Mahatma commenced proceedings with the full confidence and cheerful smile of a conquering hero. He concluded with a confession of defeat and humiliation and in tears contemplated the sad plight of the country and its workers.

A fuller report of the proceedings is given below *in extenso*.

The Proceedings—June 27, 1924.

The All-India Congress Committee met formally at about 6-15 p.m. in the new Municipal Hall, Ahmedabad, Maulana Mahomed Ali presiding. There were about 180 members present.

The President in his introductory remarks opening the meeting said that whatever view the meeting might take on Mahatma Gandhi's resolution they were all unanimous in offering him their homage and in expressing their rejoicings at his release.

Every political movement, said Moul. Mahomed Ali, was bound to have strong differences; but whatever differences they of the Indian National Congress had, they were all agreed that they must pay their homage to the greatest of their leaders and in fact the greatest personality in the modern world. The President, said Mr. Gandhi, never intended to influence anybody's political opinion, but on the other hand welcomed independent opinion, discouraging slavery, but welcoming intellectual surrender.

After calling upon the House to help him in the conduct of the proceedings, Moul. Mahomed Ali asked the permission of the meeting to extend on their behalf a hearty welcome to Mahatma Gandhi on his arrival.

The permission being granted by a chorus of voices from all parties in the committee, the President was about to continue his speech when he was disturbed by cries of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai" coming from the crowds outside the municipal gates. Clad in his loin cloth and with a smile on his lips M. Gandhi made his appearance at the meeting and was received by Moulana Mahomed Ali who conducted him to the dais. The whole House stood to a man and responded to the President's call to shout "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai.

Moulana Mahomed Ali then extended a welcome to M. Gandhi in a short speech appealing to him to lead the nation to its appointed goal through the Indian National Congress (cheers).

Mr. Gandhi acknowledged the welcome with a graceful bow.

Business of the House then began.

The question of the validity of the Maharashtra elections to the A. I. C. C. was first taken up. The history of the question is interesting. Mr. R. N. Mandlik complained to the A. I. C. C. that the elections to the A. I. C. C. on behalf of Maharashtra were illegal and void on the grounds that some of the Thana District Congress Committee members were not allowed to record their votes, that a peremptory rule in the constitution of payment of subscription before a certain date was not observed, and votes of those who did not pay the subscription were recorded, and lastly, the elections did not provide for representation of all parties as enjoyed by the Congress Constitution. The last A. I. C. C. referred the matter to the Working Committee and it appointed Mr. Konda Venkatappaiah to give final decision in the matter. Mr. Venkatappaiah gave his decision a month ago, declaring the elections null and void on the ground that votes were recorded without payment of subscriptions and they were counted as valid votes. He based his decision on the solid ground that the rules of the constitution, especially in this respect, could not be lightly handled and condemned the action of the office-bearers in extending the period on their own authority.

An appeal was preferred against this decision to the A. I. C. C. that was to meet on the 27th but the Working Committee had in the meanwhile referred the matter again to Mr. Venkatappaiah who reversed his own decision and declared the elections to be valid on the ground that there was a rule in the constitution of the Provincial Committee which authorised the President to suspend any rule of the constitution. When this decision was read out to the A. I. C. C. Mr. Aney asked the President how it was that the appeal preferred to the A. I. C. C. which was only then meeting could be decided by Mr. Venkatappaiah. After he gave his first decision which was final he was *functus officio* and the Working Committee had no right to refer at its own instance the question to him again for reconsideration. He was however ruled out of order by the President who declared that the original reference covered new references and the Working Committee could take upon itself responsibility of disposing of even new questions referred to the A. I. C. C. without its authority in the matter. He then called upon the Maharashtra members to join the meeting. This decision of the President was taken by the aggrieved Pro-changers as an arbitrary and unconstitutional ruling and some people even hinted that it was done to secure the 15 Maharashtra votes to the side of the No-changers.

Mr. MAHOMED ALI then announced that the Working Committee resolutions had priority over others and therefore he was going to reverse the order on the agenda and would call upon M. Gandhi to move his resolution on behalf of the Committee. Before doing so, however, he desired to make an announcement regarding the motion and counter-motion of censure and confidence on him that had been tabled for discussion in respect of certain speeches of his alleged by Mr. Mahabir Tyagi and others to have outraged Hindu feelings. Since Mr. Mahabir and his collaborators had withdrawn their censure motions, he had no desire to allude to the subject but requested the other U. P. members, who had given another motion vesting confidence in his leadership, also to withdraw their motion, which was done by Mr. Saxena of the latter party.

MAHATMA GANDHI was then called upon to move his first resolution in respect of hand-spinning and khadi. He read the resolution as follows :—

RESOLUTION I—ON KHADI & PENALTY.

"In view of the fact that the members of the Congress organisations throughout the country have themselves hitherto neglected hand-spinning, in spite of the fact that the spinning-wheel and its product have been regarded as indispensable for the establishment of Swarajya, and although their acceptance has been regarded by the Congress as a necessary preliminary to civil disobedience, the All-India Congress Committee resolves that all members of the various representative Congress organisations shall, except when disabled by sickness or prevented by continuous travelling, regularly spin for at least half-an-hour every day, and shall send to the Secretary of the All-India Khadi Board at least two thousand yards of even and well-twisted yarn, so as to reach him not later than August 15, 1924, and thereafter in regular monthly succession.

"Any member failing to send the prescribed quantity by the prescribed date, shall, unless unavoidably prevented, be deemed to have vacated his office and such vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner, provided that the member vacating in the aforesaid manner shall not be eligible for election before the next general election for members of the several organisations.

Pandit MOTILAL NEHRU at once rose to a point of order on the admissibility of the resolution. It could not, he said, be accepted as a motion under the present constitution of the Congress. Pandit Motilal spoke in Urdu, and prefaced his remarks with an expression of regret. He had the highest regard for M. Gandhi, but he had to respect principles also. The resolution proposed to be moved by M. Gandhi was contrary to all conceptions of all democratic institutions. It would be imitating the bureaucracy in arbitrariness.

The President at this stage asked the Pandit not to deal with the merits of the resolution but to confine himself to the point of order.

The Pandit argued that the resolution was against the Congress constitution itself. He referred to Articles 47 and 19 of the Constitution which provided for the qualification of members, and the All-India Congress Committee had no power to make rules afresh. Further, there were ex-Presidents whose right to be members could not be set aside by a resolution of the All-India Congress Committee. He emphatically pointed out that all offices were elective, and no rule, even when passed by the All-India Congress Committee, could be imposed upon them. Referring to Articles 31 of the Congress constitution, the speaker laid stress upon the principle enunciated therein, that the All-India Congress Committee had power only to deal with matters not covered by the constitution but not opposed to it. It was, he said, beyond the power of the All-India Congress Committee to pass such a resolution.

He further relied upon the general principles of democratic institution in the letter as well as the spirit of the Congress constitution, and therefore declared that the proposed resolution and those that would follow were thoroughly inconsistent with the letter and the spirit of the present constitution and imposed illegal conditions upon the electors.

Mr. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, ex-Advocate General, Madras, then rose and offered a few remarks in support of the Pandit's arguments. Mr. Harisarvothama Rao then rose to speak in justification of M. Gandhi's resolution. At this stage the President announced that he had to go to prayers for a little while and requested Pandit Motilal Nehru to act as president. The Pandit having declined, Mr. Mahomed Ali requested Mr. Das to take the chair but the later too refused. Thereupon the President adjourned the House for ten minutes to enable him to say his prayers.

When the House re-assembled after prayers, Mr. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO (Andhra) continuing his speech pointed out that Article 21 provided the All-India Committee with power to deal with the situation arising over the Congress programme, and that, therefore, the All-India Congress Committee had a perfect right to discuss M. Gandhi's resolution on its merit. Mr. Venkataram of the *Bombay Chronicle*, practically supported Mr. Rao. Mr. Venkataram was of opinion that the All-India Congress Committee, according to the precedents set up and under the rules of the constitution of the Congress, was ever in session when the Congress stood adjourned, and possessed all the powers of the Congress, both executive and legislative.

Mr. ASAF ALI (Delhi) strongly supported Pt. Motilal Nehru's point of order, and said that it was not open to the committee to restrict the hands of the electors. Mr. Abdur Rahman (Sindh) further supported the Pandit in a spirited speech. Mr. Nabi Baksh (Bengal) agreed that the All-India Congress Committee had no right to go beyond their powers vested in it under the constitution of the Congress. In the present case he had no doubt whatever that M. Gandhi was clearly exceeding his rights. The member was then proceeding to discuss the merits of the question but was promptly called to order by Mr. Mahomed Ali.

Mr. C. R. DAS then rose amid the applause of the Swarajists to speak on the constitutional points involved in the case. First of all, he asked M. Gandhi under what rule of the constitution he brought forward his motion, and M. Gandhi replied: "both 21 and 31." Mr. Das said that rule 21 provided powers for dealing with new situations. Had any new situation arisen since the Delhi and the Coconada Congresses? Rule 31 referred to the work of the All-India Congress Committee during the year not inconsistent with the spirit of the Congress constitution. He was sure that no new situation had arisen unless they wanted to exclude the Swarajists from the Congress.

The President said that it was not a good remark.

Mr. Das retorted that this formed part of the legal argument. Continuing M. Das said that under rule 31 Mr. Gandhi's resolution was clearly out of order. Every elector, he pointed out, had a right to choose his own representative. The Congress rules were there, and

it was the right of the individual elector to vote for any one without reference to any qualification that might be imposed against the letter and the spirit of the Congress constitution. In his opinion it was nothing short of a violation of the natural rights of the individual. It was the right of the voter to exercise his vote, and how to do it. Then, referring to rule 19, Mr. Das said that ex-Presidents of the Congress like himself could not be driven out by these contrivances, but were permanent structures to the All-India Congress Committee, whether that body liked them or not (laughter, in which M. Gandhi joined). At this stage Mr. Mahomed Ali asked Mr. Das if in his opinion the action of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee in insisting on a payment of Rs. 5 for election to the All-India Congress Committee did not amount to the restriction of the right of electors. Mr. Das replied it did not restrict the voting right, and quoted rule 6 of the Congress constitution in support of his contention.

MAHATMA GANDHI, being called upon by the President to explain his position on the point of order raised by Pandit Motilal Nehru, spoke in Hindi. He said that he was not going beyond the Congress constitution in bringing forward his resolution. Articles 21 and 31 relied on by Mr. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru laid down certain conditions, and those conditions in his opinion were not trangressed. His view was that the All-India Congress Committee had full powers of the Congress when the latter body was not in session. His resolution did not restrict the right of the electors but only advised the electors to do the needful. Continuing M. Gandhi said that a new situation had arisen. The Congress passed certain resolutions and the All-India Congress Committee had to see that they were carried out. As to ex-Presidents, he observed that even to them some advice could be tendered. If the provincial Congress Committees could frame their own rules, the All-India Congress Committee had a better and a larger right to do so. He therefore opined that his resolutions were not at all "ultra vires."

Mr. MAHOMED ALI wanted that his right of giving a rule should be delegated to the House. There was a heated discussion over it. Mr. Shwaib Quershi pointed out that it was the President alone who could give the ruling, as otherwise the matter was likely to be decided on a party basis. The President then explained that he was himself doubtful on the points raised in the debate and, therefore, obtained the permission of the House to transfer his powers of giving a ruling on the question. When the point was put to the vote, nine voted with Pandit Motilal and eighty-three with M. Gandhi, M. Gandhi himself being one of the latter. Poll being demanded the House divided with the result that 68 voted with Pandit Motilal and 82 against him.

The house then adjourned till the next day.

Discussion on the Resolution

Next day, the 28th June, on the President's arrival an informal conference between M. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das was held. The conference was brought about with a view to arrive at an understanding, if possible, on M. Gandhi's resolutions. The Swarajists offered to Mr. Gandhi the Congress dictatorship, that he might

appoint his own agents to carry out his programme in various provinces, and that all his orders, whether palatable or not, will be carried out. This was unacceptable to M. Gandhi, so the conference ended without any agreement.

Moulana Mahomed Ali opened the proceedings at 9-15 a. m. on the conclusion of the informal conference.

MAHATMA GANDHI then moved his resolution and said.—

"Friends, it is not without a sense of responsibility that I have drafted and undertaken to move these resolutions. It may be fortunately or unfortunately for me that I was able to persuade a majority of the members of the Working Committee to pass these resolutions. I have said what I wanted to say in the pages of "*Young India*." I want to say very little in recommending these resolutions. This resolution and other resolutions that I want to introduce have given rise to a great deal of controversy and bitterness which are likely to break companionship deliberately, because as friendship is one that never breaks, it is a matter of duty. Though I do not see eye to eye with all these friends, history alone will be able to relate that our friendship remained still intact. This is the spirit in which you must receive these resolutions. I am ready to admit that those who differ from me conscientiously believe that the resolutions are *ultra vires*. If members vote, they must vote with conscience and not merely out of loyalty to me. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and I have been on intimate terms and our relations have been of the closest and the friendliest type. He came to me this morning and said, "Have your not said somewhere that if there was an equal division, you would retire?" I have said so, but if I press the resolution, it is because I want to know where I stand, where you stand, and where the country stands. If I find that it gives rise to nothing but bitterness and that my party has supported the resolution only through personal loyalty to me, I would sever my connection.

My unfortunate position to-day is that the country expects me to give a lead, and I know that under certain conditions I can give a lead, but I must find out my means and instruments and ways, and so, even at the risk of dividing the country and of separation from my dearest friends, I have moved these resolutions; but under existing conditions I cannot find my way. You must thus select somebody else as your leader or you must obey the conditions. I have come to the conclusion that this thing is absolutely necessary. Nobody wilfully dreams I have broken the constitution. I have said that a constitution is good so far as it gives you help. It should not be allowed to bring you down or to unman you. If the Congress is a living organisation, if it will condemn you, we should have the courage to go out and give place to better men if the Congress asks us to go, but *If we feel that we cannot possibly bring about Swarajya without trampling under foot the very constitution, it becomes our sacred duty to override and set aside that constitution. This is a time when we are justified in committing this breach in the constitution.* Since three o'clock this morning I have been asking myself as to what I should do. I have analysed the position and I have found that the figures of voting on Panditji's motion raising the point on order yesterday show that except Bengal the majority of the provinces wants to stand by the programme of this character. Yesterday's vote was the test vote. If it was a test of the feeling of the All-India Congress Committee, I asked myself whether, if possible, I could organise the provinces.

"SPIRIT OF KHADDER."

Khadder is no small thing, not because we wear Khadder, but because Khadder stands for something which nothing else can give, that alone can bind us together. You cannot organise the country by going into the Councils and the law courts. Only yesterday an Indian magistrate sent a young man to jail. I want one thousand young men to defy the might of Government that wants to crush us. I am prepared to sacrifice ten thousands of Pragjis (referring to the accused in the recent Surat sedition case) on the altar of the motherland, *because I feel that it is necessary for us to defy law courts.* I have no hesitation in saying that it is impossible for the bureaucracy to ride roughshod over the feelings of the people. In that case I feel that it is necessary for us to make Government feel that it cannot and dare not crush us. Panditji knows that Councils alone are not sufficient to bring us Swarajya. I know that Panditji does not swear by

the Councils. He wants the backing of the country. He wants the civil disobedience spirit in the country to back up their work in the Councils. I say that his Councils will not play an important part in the life of some of us, nor in the life of the millions. I ask, do you want to give your life to the millions of your countrymen? Do you or do you not want to go into the villages and organise the masses? Think of 5,000 men, not calling mass meetings and speechifying and haranguing, but simply spreading themselves in villages as spinners and carders and calling upon the villagers to spin for India's sake. You cannot do so without faith, without talent. This is the real test through which the country has to go.

Charkha alone binds you to the lowliest of your countrymen. I do not want to make a fetish of the charkha. I am a breaker of idols. In that sense I am a Mussalman. If I find that a stone of the river Narbudda helps me in concentrating on my God then I shall have it and worship it. In that way I am a Hindu.

Continuing, M. Gandhi said: "Another friend says that he does not want the charkha to take the position of the rosary. I want you to be infected with my faith in the charkha. If you have faith in Gandhi and not in charkha, you are relying on a broken reed. I shall not be satisfied if you throw two thousand yards of yarn at me. One man's supply will be sufficient to hang me on the gallows, but I don't want to die that way. I want to live for the country and to die for the country—a pure man—the purest in the country. I want you to be infected with that faith, and it must be your faith, not mine. We resent the bureaucracy, because they are not elected by us, but have we any right to resent those rules which we had imposed on ourselves for the sake of discipline? I am enunciating a proposition that has been handed down from eternity, namely, that *we ought to practice what we preach.* If we want to create a defiant nation with an iron will, we shall have to enforce upon ourselves discipline. Go to any military camp—I have served myself in a military camp—you have to starve; you are given dirty water to drink, sometimes you have to receive kicks from officers, and you have to receive them with a smile. This application is more severe in our case, for they are hired soldiers and we are volunteers and the chosen representatives of the nation. You dare not resent discipline. If you are conscientiously against it, then retire in good grace and organise the country to your opinion. But it will be your bounden and sacred duty to carry out these resolutions if you vote for it. It is a duty before which the tallest of us must bend. If the Englishmen were to give you Swarajya to-day, there will be many dissensions. If we are not ready and are divided, if the Afghans were to come or the Japanese in the place of the English, I do not think we shall be deserving of any Swaraj. I want you to usurp Swarajya—I do not want Englishmen to give you Swarajya. I care a two-pence for what the British Parliament thinks and says about us, nor do I care what the European public opinion says about our activities to-day; but I do care for what the man in the street says. I am sure you if we think a little, it is the speediest programme that you can possibly conceive of. Enforce the present programme and there is Swarajya. You enforced that programme in that glorious year 1920-21 although to a certain extent. Do you not see the results? It was not because Gandhi was there. Gandhi has many fads. He would be pooh-poohed if he placed them before the country, but he has felt the pulse of the country. He swears by it. If you throw me out, you will find me removing myself, not in a huff, but with a good grace. I shall try to bring into being another organisation. I shall not obstruct you. I do not believe in obstructive methods (Loud laughter). I believe in simple, pure non-co-operation. I shall non-co-operate with you. Therefore if you want to pass this resolution by a majority, consider well the cost—2,000 yards is the least you should give the Board; it means that you be as charkha-mad as I have become charkha-mad. If that is not your faith, I implore you to reject the proposition. If you think we are taking a suicidal step, then retire and try to capture the Congress at the next occasion. The Congress belongs to nobody in particular. It is in the hands of whosoever helps the country most. It is suggested this amounts to dictatorship. I do not mind being called a dictator, as I do not lose my head. I am merely a servant of the country. There is a class of servants who serve on terms that might amount to dictatorship.

Concluding, M. Gandhi appealed to his followers in the meeting not to vote for his resolution unless they were deadly in earnest as he himself was. Otherwise they would be cheating the country, him, and also themselves.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel seconded the resolution.

Lala Govardhan Das of the Punjab at this stage moved an adjournment of the further consideration of the subject and moved the following amendment which was negatived by a majority:—

"Whereas Hindu-Moslem unity is the primary necessity for the establishment of Swarajya; and whereas the Hindu-Moslem tension endangers the peace of the country; and whereas it is impossible to carry out any programme in this atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion and hostility; and whereas the present resolution recommended by the Working Committee is likely to create a further split in our camps, this meeting of the All-India Congress Committee resolves that the consideration of the motion be postponed until the next session of the Congress, and all efforts be concentrated towards the establishment of Hindu-Moslem unity."

Mr. Govardhan Das made a short speech in Hindi and was seconded by Dr. Choitram (Sindh). When put to the vote the motion was declared defeated.

Pandit MOTILAL NEHRU next rose and offered a strong opposition to Gandhi's motion on the ground that it was wholly unconstitutional and "ultra vires." The Pandit referred humourously to his connection with the legal profession for a much longer time than Gandhi himself which was probably responsible for the fact that he could not rise to the same height as M. Gandhi. Pandit Motilal then drew the attention of the All-India Congress Committee to the informal conference between him and Mr. Das on one hand and Mr. Gandhi on the other. After thanking the President for the courtesy extended to him by delaying the meeting until after the conference was concluded, Pandit Nehru told the committee that he and Mr. Das offered M. Gandhi an absolute dictatorship and that M. Gandhi, who was further to be vested with the sole right of determining how the constructive programme was to be worked out, might appoint his own agents in every province where Swarajists had anything to do with the executive, that the Swarajist, far from offering any opposition, would see to Gandhi's orders being carried to the very letter. The Mahatma would not accept the terms. Referring to M. Gandhi's statement that a majority of those who voted yesterday in favour of his (the speaker's) point of order were mostly from Bengal, and, therefore, there was reason to think that other provinces were in favour of prosecuting the present programme, Pundit Motilal said that under the constitution each province had been given a certain quota on the All-India Congress Committee and that it was open to all others to have come to the meeting and vote against him. It was unfair for M. Gandhi to have analysed the voting in the way he had done. Many U. P. members had not come; and so too with regard to other provinces.

Referring to the defiance programme spoken of by M. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal asked him if he seriously believed that the charkha programme would bring about such an atmosphere as was not yet forthcoming. As there was a regular lull in the country they went to the Council to offer obstruction to the bureaucracy. The charkha programme was not going to bring them any the nearer towards Swaraj. The Pandit then asked the supporters of M. Gandhi to tell him how much they worked his constructive programme during his imprisonment. Can they put their hands on their hearts, asked the Pandit in derison,

and tell us honestly if they believed in the charkha programme during the Mahatma's absence? Where was that belief gone? All these days M. Gandhi spoke of discipline. He also wanted discipline, but in the name of discipline they could not commit breaches of the constitution and, what was more, do things opposed in the letter and the spirit to the all-accepted notions of democracy. Concluding Pt. Motilal said :—

"We have tried for peace in every possible way consistent with the self-respect of the Swaraj Party, but our attempt has not succeeded. For the present we have not lost faith, and we are still looking forward to a united Congress in the near future In the meantime, we have to make our position clear. We believe in the constructive programme, but we do not believe that by itself and without any other activity it will, or can, lead to swaraj (Hear hear) within a reasonable period of time (Hear hear). It is because we believe in the constructive programme that we have always been and are still willing to help M. Gandhi in every possible way. If he had no faith in us, we are willing to let him have complete control in carrying out that work and we undertake to see that no obstruction or hindrance is caused by the Swarajists in the faithful carrying out of any directions or instructions that he may issue from time to time in regard to the constructive programme. We were and still are prepared to allow any agents whom he may appoint in this behalf every facility in the provinces where Swarajists have anything to do with the executive, and we were and still are prepared to undertake not to interfere with that work in any way whatsoever, but we are not prepared to surrender our rights. The Indian National Congress belongs as much to us as to the opposite party. We will not allow, if we can help it, the constitution to be changed according to the caprice of a narrow majority whenever it may think necessary to crush the minority. The demand that the Swarajists should go out of the executive is under the circumstances an unreasonable demand and it is only due to our self-respect that we must resist it. We declare that the resolution under discussion is an unconstitutional contrivance, and we go away to-day only to return with a majority whose duty it will be to refuse its sanction to such unconstitutional attempts."

The Swarajist Withdrawal.

Then Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das and their supporters, including Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, left the hall in a body as a protest against the resolution of M. Gandhi. This sudden withdrawal was a surprise sprung upon the Committee and the proceedings were practically suspended for few minutes.

Moulvi Mahomed Shafi, M. L. A. of Behar, speaking on M. Gandhi's resolution, when the business of the House was resumed, observed that the penal clause in the resolution should be removed and that the advisory part of the resolution might be retained, thus making it only morally obligatory of members to spin. In his opinion the whole thing should be left to a members' sense of honour.

Pandit Gauri Sanker Misra also opposed the motion and suggested that members should not be required to spin daily and that their quota should be sent to the Khadi Board, and also insisted that defaulters should not be penalised, but a list of their names should be published for the guidance of electors.

Pandit Santanam pleaded that there were many honest believers in the charkha who could not give all their time to spinning, if such was the implication of M. Gandhi's motion.

Mr. T. Prakasam hotly opposed Mr. Gandhi. He thought that the Mahatma did not know the pulse of the country. Everything would be all right if he would work with patience. He characterised the proposals as monstrous, unconstitutional and unpleasant.

Dr. Mahmud thought that Mr. Gandhi's motion could only add to the

many factions in the country. Moreover, there were many who could not learn to handle the charka inspite of honest attempt. Mr. Gandhi, in his opinion, ought to take cognizance of the capacity of the soldiers in exacting discipline.

Dr. Choitram also opposed the motion and said that the Congress movement was being struck at by M. Gandhi's motion. Instead of wrecking the Congress, could not the Mahatma start a separate organisation of his own?

Moulana Abul Kalam, who said that he understood the spirit of the resolution, was only convinced of the unconstitutional character underlying it. The Moulana observed that if members voted for the motion, they were bound to carry it out. Did they mean to do so?

After a few other members had spoken, some supporting and some opposing the motion, MAHATMA GANDHI rose to reply.

At the outset he said that it was a painful action that the Swarajists had adopted, but he was absolutely unperturbed. He could not be frightened by such withdrawals. He was reminded of a similar incident in Calcutta when they were about to lose the services of some of their great leaders. Exactly the same situation had arisen now, but the withdrawal of the Swarajists, he was sure, was but temporary. After alluding to the Moderates' withdrawal from the Congress, Mr. Gandhi said that he would do the same thing if he disagreed with the policy or the resolutions of the Congress. He was anxious to avoid bitterness and appealed to newspapers to use the pen with restraint or to burn the newspapers. Even if the Swarajist leaders seceded from the meeting, it was the duty of the meeting to count the votes of the absentees against the resolution. Then alone he could find out if he had a majority, because they had left the meeting only to create an impression on the No-Changers and not with a view to break their connection altogether. Referring to the dictatorship offer, he said that it was humiliating, both to the people who offered it and to himself. He then referred at length to the Hindu-Muslim tension, and said that his programme alone could satisfactorily solve the Hindu-Muslim problem. Concluding, he called the attention of the meeting to the grave responsibility they would be puting themselves to if they passed the resolution.

The voting.

The amendment to delete the penal clause was defeated and the original resolution was then carried by an overwhelming majority. The Committee formally adjourned, but immediately met under the presidentship of M. Gandhi informally. He said that the motion proposed by him was carried only by 67 against 37. The Swarajists who left the meeting had not voted. If their votes were also added, at the most it gave him only a narrow majority. He, therefore, advised the meeting to rescind the penal clause.

Mr. Shwaib Qureshi said that it would not add to the dignity of the House to rescind its own motion passed but a few minutes ago. It would have been graceful had Mr. Gandhi withdrawn it in compliance with the request of the other party. The House, in his opinion, would only be stultifying itself and creating a bad precedent by accepting the Mahatma's proposal.

M. Gandhi replying reminded the House of a precedent at the Amritsar Congress whose Subjects Committee had passed a motion on

the subject of disorders by the Punjab mob during the Rowlatt Act agitation but later on rescinded the original motion almost immediately. Mr. Pattabhi Sitarammayya supported M. Gandhi.

Penalty Clause Revoked.

Immediately the meeting resolved itself into a formal meeting and Mr. Mahomed Ali presided as president ex-officio.

Mahatma GANDHI moved and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel seconded the following motion :—

"In view of the fact that certain members, whilst the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee were going on, deemed it necessary to withdraw from the committee by reason of their resentment to the penalty clause in the obligatory spinning resolution, and in view of the fact that the said penalty clause of the resolution was carried only by 67 against 37 votes, and in view of the fact that the said clause would have been defeated if the votes of withdrawals had been given against it, this committee considers it proper and advisable to remove the penalty clause from the resolution and to reaffirm the said resolution with the introductory clause".

The motion was unanimously carried. The A. I. C. C. then adjourned to meet again next day for the other Gandhi resolutions.

Meanwhile the Swarajist leaders held long consultations amongst themselves and then went up to Mahatma Gandhi to discuss with him the position arising out of his second and third resolutions, and to come to a definite understanding especially in view of the new situation created by the withdrawal of the penalty clause in the first resolution.

Next day, **June 29th,** the meeting of the All-India Congress Committe was opened by the President at about 9 a. m.

Mr. C. R. DAS with the Chairman's permission made a few observations on the negotiations between himself, Pandit Motilal Nehru and M. Gandhi. Mr. Das said that they were forced to leave the last day's meeting on account of the unconstitutional character of the proceedings. They attended that day's meeting as a result of the understanding arrived at last night, but it should not be understood that yesterday's resolution was taken part in by the Swarajists. He was sure that they would take the resolution of the previous day as genuinely passed by the majority. M. Gandhi then spoke. He called upon the Swarajists to work the "charkha" programme. He further expressed the hope that they would do so in a good spirit.

The Second Resolution.

MAHATMA GANDHI then proceeded to move his second resolution which was originally worded as follows :—

"In as much as complaints have been received that provincial secretaries and other members of the Congress organisation do not carry out the instructions issued to them from time to time by officers duly authorised thereto, the A.I.C.C. hereby resolves that those in charge of matters referred to them failing to comply with the instruction of officers thereto appointed shall be deemed to have vacated their offices, and the vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner, provided that the member thus vacating shall not be eligible for re-election till the next general election."

The following was the form in which it was re-shaped after the Gandhi-Nehru consultations held in the previous night.—

"In as much as it has been brought to the notice of the All-India Congress Committee that instructions issued from time to time by officers and organisations duly authorised thereto have sometimes not been carried out properly, it is resolved that the executive committees of the Provincial Congress Committees shall have power to take such disciplinary action, including dismissal, as may be deemed advisable: and in cases where the default is by Provincial authorities, the Working Committees of the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to take such disciplinary action, including dismissal, as may be deemed advisable by the respective committees of the Provincial Committees."

In moving the resolution, M. Gandhi referred to the visit paid him last night by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad. He was asked by them why it was that he advised the committee to expunge the penalty clause from the first resolution passed the day before. He was also asked as to the trend of his mind at that time. He told them what he told the meeting the previous day. There was no real majority in favour of that clause. It was therefore a dignified course for the All-India Congress Committee to expunge the clause. After detailing the objections to the penalty clause made by Mr. Das, M. Gandhi said that Mr. Das had agreed to the compromise placed before them and had further agreed to work the constructive programme to the best of his ability and join the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress. While drafting it M. Gandhi did not consult anybody. He had tried to satisfy the Swarajists to the best of his ability. He had thus placed his compromise before the meeting. He would ask them to dismiss him for a moment from their minds in disposing of the resolution. "If you want to reject the resolution," said M. Gandhi, "reject it, but if you want to pass it, shoulder the responsibilities."

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel seconded the motion. The resolution was carried unanimously without any discussion. Mr. N. S. Varadachari, however, expressed dissatisfaction at the unsatisfactory character of the amended resolution, in as much as it did not provide for the punishment of persons in case the provincial and All-India Congress Committee did not agree in the interpretation of a question.

The Third Resolution.

Mahatma GANDHI then proceeded to move the third resolution in the amended form. Originally as proposed to be moved by him and accepted by the Working Committee, the resolution ran as follows:

"In the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee it is desirable that Congress electors do not elect to the various Congress organisations: practising lawyers, those who deal in or wear mill-spun cloth, parents and guardians sending their minor children to educational institutions under Government control, holders of Government titles and members of legislative bodies, and the A. I. C. C. therefore requests such persons who are now members of the various Congress elective organisations to resign their places."

The resolution which was moved actually was a compromise resolution and ran thus:—

"The All-India Congress Committee draws the attention of the Congress voters to the fact that the five boycotts, namely, of all mill-spun cloth, Government law courts, educational institutions, titles and Legislative bodies, except in so far as they may have been affected by the Cocanada resolution are still part of the Congress programme and, therefore, considers it desirable that

those Congress voters who believe in the Congress programme do not elect to the various Congress organisations those who do not believe in carrying out in their own person, the said five boycotts, except where affected by the said Cocanada resolution, and the A.I.C.C. therefore, requests such persons who are now members of the Congress elective organisations to resign their places.

M. Gandhi did not make any speech on the motion. Mr. Valabhbhai Patel seconded the motion. Mr. N. S. Varadachari moved an amendment to the effect that reference to the Cocanada resolution should be deleted. Mr. Varadachari made a long speech justifying the amendment. He thought that the No-changers were strong enough to carry the Congress work single-handed. It was not right that the Executive should be a heterogenous body. Mr. Hardayal Nag seconded Mr. Varadachari. Several members then supported the motion.

Mr. SHAUKAT ALI then spoke. He gave an account of how he in company with his brother. Mahomed Ali was bringing about a compromise at Cocanada between the Pro-changers and the No-changers and he testified to the great sincerity and reasonableness of Mr. Das. Mr. Shaukat Ali made an earnest plea for forgetting the past and to look upon the period between M. Gandhi's imprisonment and release as a period of evil and a dream. If he and his brother tried to bring about a compromise, it was not because they had lost their faith in their chief's programme but because they were anxious to avoid unnecessary controversy when there was better work awaiting them. Then the speaker alluded to the resolution and said that they should not ask M. Gandhi the why and wherefor of it. The speaker himself would not. For, he was a humble soldier. Their chief might or might not tell them any or a certain thing. For example, he voted for the penalty clause when called on to do so and immediately voted for rescinding the same later when desired to do so.

Mr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, speaking on the resolution in Hindi, said that the spirit of the original resolution, and in his opinion, the resolution as placed before the meeting, might as well be withdrawn. He was totally opposed to the proposal of exempting any boycott.

Mr. C. R. DAS said that the idea of deleting any reference to the Cocanada resolution was unfair. The Cocanada resolution was there and was as much in force as the Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad and Gaya resolutions by which they swore. There was no idea expressed or intended at the time of the Delhi and Cocanada meetings to exclude the Swarajists from the Executive after they went to the Councils, to go where they got the Congress permission. It was nothing short of illogical and irrational to defy the Cocanada resolutions. "You cannot," said Mr. Das, "go behind the Cocanada resolution. You cannot start other boycotts in the A. I. C. C. I do not see any reason whatsoever why the resolution moved by M. Gandhi should not be passed and why those words should be deleted."

Mr. Anney had moved an amendment that the rules in the resolutions be applicable to provinces where people had faith in the five-fold programme.

M. Gandhi then made a brief reply. He discouraged strongly the idea of confusing issues with loyalty to him. What would they do if he died to-morrow? What did they mean doing if he had a sudden accident? He deprecated the tendency to centralise everything round him. He called on the Committee to pass his resolution if they were convinced it was

the right course to follow or to reject it and adopt Mr. Varadachariar' amendment if they thought it was good.

The amendments were defeated and the original resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority.

Other Resolutions.

The Committee then adjourned about noon but met again at 6-45 P.M., the Moulana presiding. In the meantime the Working Committee had met and discussed other resolutions to be placed before the All India Committee.

On the Committee re-assembling Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru read to the meeting the resolutions passed by the Working Committee in the afternoon. One of the resolutions related to the Indians Overseas. On the recommendation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the All India Committee authorised the Working Committee to deal with the situation arising out of the report of Mr. C. F. Andrews and Mr. Banarsi Das Chaturvedi and also if necessary to send a deputation to East Africa.

Another resolution authorised the Working Committee to issue their proceedings to the members of the Congress in Devanagari and Urdu characters besides English. Mr. R. Venkatram asked if the Working Committee had prepared an estimate. The General Secretary replied "No". Mr. Venkataram insisted on knowing the possible rise in cost of Congress administration by the adoption of the scheme.

Mr. Mahomed Ali replied : 'You send us an estimate and in the meanwhile this is a warning to you to learn Urdu as we are gradually eliminating English altogether (laughter).' The motion was unanimously passed.

The Mahatma Elected to the Working Committee

Moulana MAHOMED ALI moved from the chair that Mahatma Gandhi be elected a member of the Working Committee. The President explained that as Seth Jamnalal Bajaj had been transferred to the Treasury Department there was a vacancy and he asked the meeting to accept M. Gandhi's name. The House carried the motion by acclamation. The President then addressed M. Gandhi and said : "Well, Sir, we have elected you to the Working Committee and I trust you have carried out all the five boycotts enunciated by the Congress" (loud and continuous laughter in which M. Gandhi also joined).

Then the Committee passed a resolution condemning the Opium Traffic of the Government of India.

The Fourth Resolution—On Gopinath Saha.

M. GANDHI then moved his fourth resolution : —

> The All India Congress Committee regrets the murder of the late Mr. Day by the late Gopinath Saha and offers its condolences to the deceased's family and though deeply sensible of the love, however misguided, of the country prompting the murder, the All India Congress Committee strongly condemns this and all such political murders and is emphatically of opinion that all such acts are inconsistent with the Congress Creed and its resolution of Non-violent Non-co-operation, and is of opinion that such acts retard the progress towards Swaraj and interfere with the preparations for Civil Disobedience which, in the opinion of the All India Congress Committee, is capable of evoking the purest sacrifice but which can only be offered in a perfect y peaceful atmosphere.

M. Gandhi in commending the resolution did not make any speech. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel seconded the resolution.

Mr. C. R. DAS moved the following amendment to the resolution :—

"This Committee, while denouncing and dissociating itself from violence and adhering to the principle of non-violence, appreciates Gopinath Saha's ideal of self-crifice, misguided though it is in respect of the country's best interest, and expresses p respect for his self-sacrifice."

In moving the amendment Mr. Das said that there was hardly any difference between the original motion as proposed by M. Gandhi and his amendment. Both condemned the violence of Gopinath Saha and both agreed that violence was retarding the country's progress. If there was no difference why did he forward the amendment? The reason was simple. The question before the meeting was not one of "No-changers" *versus* "Pro-changers." It was not a party question. He brought forward the amendment because he had been deliberately and wilfully misrepresented for the Serajganj resolution, which was also misreported. Had it not been for the vulgar threat of Regulation III of '18 directed against him and others who were responsible for the Serajgunj resolution, he would not have brought forward an amendment and much less one in identical terms as the Serajganj resolution, as in the present instance. If only as a manly answer to the bluff, they should accept his amendment. The heart of Bengal was agitated over the mischievous agitation set afoot. If they had any sympathy for the sentiment of Bengal, they should all unanimously vote for the amendment.

Mr. Das was seconded by Dr. Paranjpye who made a humorous speech in Hindi, and sarcastically remarked that M. Gandhi was but one of the so many saints in the country, and that they could not afford to go with him in his extreme non-violence. In the speaker's opinion M. Gandhi was trying to gulp down his impossible saintliness into the throats of his less saintly countrymen.

Mr. R. Venkataram moved another amendment urging the deletion of the following words from M. Gandhi's motion : "regrets the murder of the late Mr. Day by the late Gopinath Saha, and though deeply sensible of the love, however misguided, of the country prompting the murder." Instead, the mover asked that the resolution should begin with regretting Mr. Day's murder and proceed to condemn etc. as in the resolution. His reason was that it was not proper to single out a single victim for sympathy. The motion was dropped for want of a seconder.

After a few other speakers had spoken on the subject, closure was applied and adopted.

M. Gandhi refused to make any reply on the ground that if the country did not know its mind at that stage of the struggle, there was no meaning in his saying anything.

Mr. Das defeated

Mr. Das's amendment on being put to the vote was declared lost, sixty-seven voting for and seventy-three against. A poll being demanded, the House divided and seventy voted for the amendment and seventy-eight voted against. The motion was declared lost.

M. Gandhi's original resolution was then put to the meeting and was carried by a majority.

The Fifth Resolution—on Akalis

Pandit SANTANAM (Punjab) then moved the Akali resolution that :

'this meeting of the All-India Congress Committee places on record its appreciation of the amazing sacrifice and spirit of non-violence which have animated the Sikhs in the defence of their religious rights and congratulates them specially on the bravery and cool courage exhibited by them at the time of the unnessary, uncalled for, and cruel firing at Jaito.'

In moving the resolution Pandit Santanam made a long speech and alluded to the breakdown of the Birdwood negotiations in the Punjab and the threatened repression. The Sikhs had undergone much suffering and were prepared for more. It was the duty of all communities to support them. The Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee had issued a public statement and had declared that it was the Government who were standing in the way of peace. There could be no doubt whatever that the responsibility for the continuation of the present serious situation was entirely on the shoulders of the Government. The speaker then called upon the All-India Committee to express its opinion in no uncertain terms and to stand by the brave Akalis.

Mr. SHAUKAT ALI seconded the resolution in English. The Sikhs, he said, were a fighting race. They had fought for the Government. They were the right arm of the British Indian Army, but he was not going to allude to the past. They had now become the vanguard of the national army. They all knew the extraordinary sacrifices the Akalis had made during the last three years. The Guru-ka-bagh incident was still fresh in their memory. That, however, was only a question of breaking bones, heads, etc., but now, at Jaito, they had been shot down on the first occasion, and for the last eight months jathas had voluntarily surrendered courting arrest, imprisonment and confiscation of property. The Govt. could not crush the Sikhs. It was not only a question of thirty lakhs of Sikhs, but the whole population of India, Hindus and Musalmans, would stand by their brave Sikh brethren.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Lifting the Ban on Law Courts

After the discussion of the Akalis' resolution was over M. GANDHI moved that while adhering to the boycotts of courts, the request contained in resolution number three (relating to the full maintenance of the five boycotts) should not be deemed to cover the case of litigants, whether plaintiffs or defendants, appearing before a court. He instanced the case of Mr. Gangadhar Rao Desphande who had been forced to appear before the courts as he otherwise stood to lose all his ancestral property. He knew many other cases where non-co-operators were made to suffer and advantage was taken of both by Government and by unscrupulous creditors and others. He observed that the House was free to vote as it pleased and that he personally held to the boycott of the Government law courts in its full sense. After detailing the differences between lawyers, litigants, and the public and explaining that this was a concession of weakness, M. Gandhi said that in the present circumstances he felt that there was no other course open to him but to recommend this alteration of the previous day's resolution.

Mr. Abbas Tyabji seconded the motion.

Mr. G. Harisarvottam Rao (Andhra) considered it his painful duty to oppose the motion strongly. He said there were three factors in the boycott—the plaintiff, the defendant, and the lawyers. To give the plaintiff the right to appear in court was to raise the boycott. It was true they had to suffer for a while, but suffering was the essence of non-co-operation. It was said that if the plaintiffs were not permitted to appear in courts, they might be reduced to destitution. Non-co-operation always allowed them the right to make a statement, but to have witnesses called and evidence put in was prohibited, because they had no faith in the law courts. Why should not then the lawyers also be permitted to resume their practice? He therefore strongly opposed the motion which he hoped would be rejected by the House. Mr. W. P. Ignatius wanted to know if, under the resolution, appearance before a law court was still considered a breach of the Congress boycott or if it was a concession.

M. Gandhi replied that it was most certainly a breach of the boycott, and was only made as a concession.

Mr. Prakasam (Andhra) said that he was himself thinking of moving the lifting of the whole boycott, but since M. Gandhi had moved this resolution it had made his task lighter. He wanted the ban on the lawyers also removed.

At this stage, Dr. Choitram (Sind) raised a point of order and asked the President whether M. Gandhi's motion was in order, as it militated against the Congress resolutions.

Mr. Mahomed Ali ruled M. Gandhi's motion out of order.

A few formal resolutions were then passed, and at half-past ten the All India Congress Committee meeting was formally adjourned ' sine die."

After the meeting was over all the prominent leaders of the Congress, including some of those who had spoken and voted against M. Gandhi's motions throughout the session, expressed their complete confidence in M. Gandhi's leadership. Members from all the provinces and all parties rose up one after another and pledged themselves solemnly to abide by his decisions and follow him to the end.

The informal conference broke up at midnight.

The following is the text of the other resolutions passed by the A. I. C. C.

VI.—Opium Policy

In the opinion of the A.I.C.C. the Opium Policy of the Government of India is altogether contrary to the moral welfare of the people of India and other countries. The A. I. C. C. is further of opinion that the people of India would welcome the total abolition of the opium traffic for purposes of revenue and is also of opinion that the production of opium is out of all proportion to the medical requirements of India.

The A. I. C. C. hereby appoints Mr. C. F. Andrews to conduct an enquiry in connection with the Assam Provincial Congress Committee into the opium habits of the people of Assam and the effect upon them of the opium policy of the Government and for this purpose authorises the Working Committee to make the necessary arrangements.

VII.—Indians Over-seas

After reading the report of Messrs. Andrews and Chaturvedi on emigration

from India for labour purposes, the A. I. C. C. hereby authorises the Working Committee to send if necessary the deputation suggested in the report to the Malay Peninsula and Ceylon and invite the co-operation of other organisations on the deputation.

VIII.—Notice of Motions for Congress

All motions intended to be discussed at the annual session of the Indian National Congress, whether from Provincial Congress Committees or delegates, should be sent to reach the General Secretaries at least ten days before the Session of the Congress begins. The Secretary shall digest them and incorporate them in the draft programme to be placed before the Subjects Committee.

Such resolutions as have not found place in the printed draft will not be entertained by the Subjects Committee unless they are signed by at least 20 Members of the All-India Congress Committee or 50 delegates of the Congress.

IX.—Treasurer

Resolved that the resignation of Sjt. Velji Lakhamsi Nappoo be accepted. Resolved further that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj be appointed Treasurer in place of Sjt. Velji L. Nappoo with powers to operate on the accounts already opened in the banks in the name of the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund, either jointly or severally.

And further, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Sj Rewashanker Jagjiwan Javeri are hereby empowered to appoint an Attorney or Attorneys either jointly or severally from time to time who shall either jointly or severally have exactly the same powers to operate on the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund accounts as are hereby granted to the said Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Seth Rewashanker Jagjiwan Javeri. Provided, however, that the devolution of any of the above powers does not absolve the Treasurers from any personal responsibility to the Working Committee.

Resolved that Sjt. Rewashanker Jagjiwan do continue as Working Treasurer.

X.—Election To Working Committee

Resolved that Mahatma M. K. Gandhi be elected a member of the Working Committee.

सत्यमेव जयते

Mahatma Gandhi on the A. I. C. C.

Regarding the proceedings of the A. I. C. C. Mahatma Gandhi wrote two very graphic and illuminating articles in the YOUNG INDIA under the headings: "Defeated & Humbled" and "The A. I. C. C.," which are reproduced below:—

1. "Defeated & Humbled"

The proceedings of the A. I. C. C. reminded me of those at Delhi just before I was imprisoned. The disillusionment of Delhi awaited me at Ahmedabad. I had a bare majority always for the four resolutions but it must be regarded by me as a minority. The House was fairly evenly divided. The Gopinath Saha resolution clinched the issue. The speeches, the result, and the scenes I witnessed afterwards—all was a perfect eye-opener. I undoubtedly regard the voting as a triumph for Mr. Das although he was apparently defeated by eight votes. That he could find 70 supporters out of 148 who voted had a deep significance for me. It lighted the darkness though very dimly as yet.

Up to the point of the declaration of the poll, I was enjoying the whole thing as a huge joke though I knew all the while that it was as serious as it was huge. I now see that my enjoyment was superficial. It concealed the laceration that was going on within.

Undue Levity

After that declaration, the chief actors retired from the scene and the House abandoned itself to levity. Most important resolutions were passed with the greatest unconcern. There were flashes of humour sandwitched between these resolutions. Everybody rose on points of order and information. The ordeal was enough to try the patience of any Chairman. Moulana Mahomed Ali came through it all unscathed. He kept his temper fairly. He rightly refused to recognise "points of Information". I must confess that the suitors for fame most cheerfully obeyed his summary ruling. Let not the reader conclude that there was at any stage of the proceedings the slightest insubordination. I have not known many meetings where there was so little acrimony or personalities in the debate as in this even though feeling ran high and the differences were sharp and serious. I have known meetings where under similar circumstances the Chairmen have found it most difficult to keep order. The President of the A. I. C. C. commanded willing obedience. All the same, dignity vanished after the Gopinath resolution. It was before this House that I had to put the last resolution.

As the proceedings went on I must have become more and more serious. Often I felt like running away from the oppressive scene. I dreaded having to move a resolution in my charge. I would ask for the postponement of the resolution but for the promise I had made at the meeting that I would suggest a remedy or failing that move a resolution for protecting litigants from the operation of the third resolution which requires resignation from members who do not believe in the principle of the five Boycotts including that of law courts and do not carry them out in their own persons. Protection was intended for those who might be driven to the courts either as Plaintiffs or Defendants.

Protecting Litigants

The resolution that was adopted by the Working Committee and previously circulated among the members did protect them. It was substituted by the one actually passed by the A. I. C. C. As the reader knows it exempts from its operation those who might be covered by the Cocanada resolution. In drafting that amendment I had not protected litigants. I had wished to do so by a separate resolution. I had announced the fact at the time of introducing the resolution and it was this promised resolution that opened for me a way out of darkness invisible. I moved it with the preface that it was in redemption of the morning promise. I mentioned too that Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande was an instance in point. I do not believe in exemptions as far as possible. But I know that some of the strongest Non-co-operators have found it difficult to avoid law courts. Unscrupulous debtors have refused payments to Non-co-operators because of their knowledge that the latter could not sue them. Similarly I know men who have brought suits against Non-co-operators because they would

not defend themselves. The curious will be agreeably surprised to discover if they searched among the rank and file the numerous cases in which Non-co-operators have preferred to suffer losses to defending themselves or suing. Nevertheless it is perfectly true that representatives have not always been able to keep to the prohibition. The practice therefore has been to wink at filing suits and more often at defending them. The Committee has from time to time also passed rules legalising the practice to a certain extent. I thought that now when the A. I. C. C. was adopting a rigid attitude regarding the observance of the boycott, the position of the litigants should be clearly defined. Nothing would please me better than for the Congress to have only those representatives on its Executive who would carry out all the boycotts to the full but the exact fulfilment at the present stage of the boycott of law courts on the part of many is almost an impossibility. Voluntary acceptance of poverty is essential for the purpose. It must take some time before we can hope to manage the Congress organisations with such men and women and run them efficiently. Recognising the hard fact I was prepared to incur the odium of having to move he said resolution of exemption.

The Opposition

Hardly had I finished reading it up sprang the brave Harisarvottama Rao to his feet and in a vigorous and cogent speech opposed it. He said it was his painful duty to oppose me. I told him the pain was mine in that I had to move a resolution I could not defend. His must be the pleasure of opposing an indefensible resolution and of keeping the Congress organisation pure at any cost. I liked this opposition and was looking forward to the voting but the opposer was followed by Swami Govindananda who raised the technical objection that no resolution designed to affect one previously passed could be moved at the same session of the Committee. The Chairman properly rejected the objection if only because the previous day the very first resolution was amended after it was passed by a majority. But the last straw was unwittingly supplied by Dr. Choitram. I have known him to be a responsible man. A long period of unbroken service lies to his credit. He has embraced poverty for the sake of his country. I was not prepared for a constitutional objection from him on a matter in which the Committee had on previous occasions softened the effect of the boycott resolution. But he thoughtlessly asked whether my resolution was not a breach of the Congress Resolution on boycotts.

'Sank Within Me'

Maulana Mahomed Ali asked me whether the objection was not just. I said, of course it was. He therefore felt bound to hold my resolution unconstitutional. Then I sank within me. There was nothing, absolutely nothing wrong about anybody's speech or behaviour. All were brief in their remarks. They were equally courteous, and what is more, they were seemingly in the right and yet it was all hopelessly unreal. The objections were like reading a sermon on the virtue of self-restraint to a hungry man reduced to skeleton. Each of the actors acted involuntarily and unconsciously. I felt that God was speaking to me through them and seemed to say: "Thou fool, Knowest not thou that thou art impossible. Thy time is up."

Gangadhar Rao asked me whether he should not resign. I agreed with him that he should do so at once and he promptly tendered his resignation. The president read it to the meeting. It was accepted almost unanimously. Gangadhar Rao was the gainer.

'Know not where I stand'

Shaukat Ali was sitting right opposite at a distance of perhaps six yards. His presence restrained me from fleeing. I kept asking myself: could right ever come out of wrong? Was I not co-operating with evil? Shaukat Ali seemed to say to me through his big eyes: there is nothing wrong, for all will be right. I was struggling to free myself from the enchantment. I could not. The President asked: shall I now dissolve the meeting? I said certainly.

But Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who was evidently watching whatever changes my face was undergoing was all eyes. He quickly came up and said we cannot disperse without the message you have promised. I replied:—Maulana Saheb, it is true. I wanted to say something about the future plans. But what I have been witnessing for the last hour, after the Gopinath resolution, has grieved me. I do not know where I stand now and what I should do."

Laid Bare My Heart.

Then he said: say even if it is only that. I complied, and in a short speech in Hindustani laid bare my heart and let them see the blood oozing out of it. It takes much to make me weep. I try to suppress tears even when there is occasion for them, but in spite of all my efforts to be brave I broke down utterly. The audience was visibly affected. I took them through the various stages I had passed and told them that it was Shaukat Ali who stood in the way of my flight. For, I regarded him as a trustee for Hindu Honour as I was proud enough to regard myself as much for Mussalman Honour and then I told them that I was unable to say how I would shape my future course. I would consult him and other workers who were closely associated with me.

It was the saddest speech I had ever made. I finished and turned round to look for Moulana Abul Kalam Azad. He had stolen away from me and was standing at the farthest end opposite to me. I told him I would now like to go. He said: "Not yet, wait for a while for we must speak too." And he invited the audience to speak. Those who spoke did so with a sob. The sight of the hoary-headed Sikh friend who was chocked as he was speaking touched me deep. Of course Shaukat Ali spoke and others; all begged pardon and assured me of their unwavering support. Mahomed Ali broke down twice. I tried to soothe him. I have nothing to forgive for none had done any wrong to me. On the contrary they had all been personally kind to me.

I was sad because we were weighed in the scales of our own making, the Congress Creed, and found wanting. We were such poor representatives of the Nation. I seemed to be hopelessly out of place. My grief consisted in the doubt about my own ability to lead those who would not follow. I saw that I was utterly defeated and humbled, but defeat cannot dishearten me. It can only chasten me. My faith in my creed stands immovable. I know that God will guide me. Truth is superior to man's wisdom.

After Writing Thus.

The foregoing was written on Monday the 30th June. I wrote it but I was not satisfied nor am satisfied now with the performance. On reading it I feel I have not done justice to the meeting or myself. Great as the informal meeting was, the one that preceeded it and that stung me to the quick was not less great. I do not know that I have made it clear that no speaker had any malice in him. What prayed upon my mind was the fact of unconscious irresponsibility and disregard of the Congress Creed or policy of non-violence. The informal meeting was a heart-searcher. It purified the atmosphere. The whole of Tuesday I passed in discussing with co-workers my position. **My innermost wish was and still is to retire from the Congress and confine my activity merely to Hindu-Muslim unity, Khaddar and Untouchability.** They would not listen. I had no right, they said, to retire at a critical period in the history of the nation. My withdrawal would not smooth matters. It would cause depression and remove from Congress meetings an active, restraining influence. I must actively work the Programme of which I was the author so long as the majority favoured it.

The Programme had a far greater majority than the A. I. C. C. voting would indicate. I must travel in the country and see things for myself.

Abdication not possible

My second proposal was for all who fully accepted the Congress Creed to retire in favour of the Swarajists. As the argument against it developed, I rejected it myself as thoughtless. It was the last thing the Swarajists wanted. I felt that it would be doing violence to them to expect them to do the impossible. I know that they would not entertain even the first proposal. I offered it to them at Juhu and renewed it in Ahmedabad. I have therefore reluctantly decided to drink the bitter cup and continue to be in the Congress organisation and shoulder the responsibility for working it until the Congress puts me in an actual numerical minority. I may not choose the short cuts: I must plod: I must pocket my pride and wait till I am driven out. I must seemingly become a partyman and show that I can still work as a No-party man. I must strive for a majority in the next Congress and endeavour so far as it is possible to act impartially. It is not beyond the capacity of a Satyagrahi. The conditions are incredibly simple. The striving to be in a majority consists in solid work. (1) Over and above the spinning for half an hour, every spare minute should be given to it. (2) Extra spinning can be dispensed

with in order to do Khaddar propaganda. (3) We may swell the Electoral Roll by getting as many Congress members as possible. (4) There should be no manipulation of papers. (5) There should be no manoeuvouring for securing votes. (6) There should be no criticism of the opposite party as distinguished from policy. (7) There should be no undue presure exercised on the voters.

Both the parties are said to have resorted in the past to unscrupulous practices in the matter of election of delegates and members of the subordinate organisations. The best way of avoiding corruptions is to be indifferent to the result, after having adopted all honest measures for influencing the voters. The No-change programme must be what it means.

Our difference

The proceedings of the Committee have but confirmed the view that **there must be separate organisations for working the two methods. The Swarajist method cultivates British opinion and looks to the British Parliament for Swaraj.** The No-change method looks to the people for it. The two methods represent two opposite mentalities. This is not to say that one is wrong, and the other is right. Each may be right in its own place but for one organisation to work both is to weaken both and therefore to damage the national cause. Whilst one school claims to give political education through the Councils, the other claims to give it exclusively by working among the people and evoking its organising and administrative capacity. One teaches to look up to Government for popular progress, the other tries to show that even the most ideal Government plays among a self-governing people the least important part in national growth. The one teaches the people that the Constructive Programme alone cannot achieve Swaraj, the other teaches the people that it and it alone can achieve it. Unfortunately, I was unable to convince the Swarajists of this obvious truth and I saw a constitutional difficulty in the way of securing a homogeneous organisation.

We must now therefore do the next best thing: we must silently work up the Constructive Programme without regard to what will happen in December, in the full belief that whether the Congress rejects or accepts the programme, for us there is no other. I would ask those newspapers that call themselves 'No-change' papers not to criticise the Swarajists in any shape or form. I am convinced that newspapers play a very small part in shaping the policy or programme of the masses. They do not know them. The No-changers have to reach and represent those who have had no political education whatsoever.

2. The "A. I. C. C."

The first resolution of the A. I. C. C. is bereft of the penalty clause. It was my first defeat in a series. Majorities cannot deceive me. It was impossible for me to be satisfied with a bare majority when I knew that if the Swarajist withdrawals were to be taken into account the defeat was a certainty. I therefore urged the meeting to take into account the withdrawals and remove the penalty clause from the resolution.

The second resolution is not the same as the original draft but in substance it is the same. The principle of disciplinary action is retained.

The third resolution constitutes a real failure. I still feel that the elective organisations of the Congress are Executive and that therefore they should contain only those who heartily support the Congress programme for the time being and who are prepared not to obstruct or tone it down but to carry it out in its entirety.

But it was not possible to get over the constitutional difficulty and any restriction upon the Cocanada Programme must be considered a breach of the Congress constitution. Putting the interpretation that I do even now the original resolution was not a breach. But it was pointed out to me that I have no right to put my own interpretation upon it and that the Swarajists had the right to contend that those who entered the Councils were not debarred from being on the Executives. They said that as a matter of fact there were Swarajists on the Working Committee already.

The argument had great weight with me and in view of the knowledge that the original resolution disqualifying the Swarajists from being on the Executives could only be passed by a narrow majority was decisive in reconciling me to the resolution as finally adopted. It does not please me but it was the only possible

course left save that of dropping the whole proposition. It was required for the sake of keeping before the country the idea of having a homogeneous organisation and of insistence on purity of political conduct. Representatives must be expected to conform to standard they lay down for others. It must be pointed out in a variety of ways that the Congress is no longer a begging association but that it is primarily a Self-purification Association designed to achieve its goal by developing internal strength. Public opinion must therefore be created in favour of the things needed for the national life. The best way of creating it is to frame propositions and enlisting support therefor. Whilst, therefore, I have reconciled myself to the possibility of temporary heterogenity I would strongly plead with the parties not to obstruct each others' paths.

Saha Resolution.

The fourth resolution has however completed my defeat. It is true that the Gopinath Resolution was carried by a majority. A clear minority would have pleased me more than a narrow majority. I do not forget the fact that many who voted for Mr. Das's amendment did so because of the rumour of impending arrests. Many naturally felt it a point of honour to protect a valued chief and comrade who had rendered signal services to the country and who had performed great self-sacrifice. Sentiment often outweighs moral considerations and I have no doubt that the Bengal Government will make a serious blunder if they arrest Mr. Das and his supporters. It is too late in the day to punish opinion. If there was no moral consideration against supporting Mr. Das's amendment I would have had no hesitation whatever in myself tendering my support but I could not. No Congressmen could.

A Staggering Revelation

Mr. Das sees no difference between my resolution and his. I can only say it is self-deception. Those who spoke in support of his proposition did not mince matters. They had room for political murder in their philosophy and, after all, is it not the common philosophy, the majority of the so-called civilised peoples believe in and act upon? On due occasions they hold that for a disorganised and oppressed people political assassination is the only remedy. That it is a false philosophy, that it has failed to make the world better to live in, is only too true. I merely state that if Mr. Das and his supporters have erred they have the bulk of 'civilised' opinion on their side. The foreign masters of India have no better record to show. If the Congress was a political organisation with no limitation as to means it would be impossible to object to Mr. Das's amendment on its merits. It would then be rendered to a question of experience. But that there were seventy Congress Representatives to support the resolution was a staggering revelation. They have proved untrue to their creed. In my opinion the amendment was in breach of the Congress creed or the policy of non-violence. But I purposely refrained from raising such an objection. If the members wanted the resolution it was well for them to have it. It is always best in my opinion to let constitutional questions be decided as a rule by members.

Other Resolutions

The other resolutions do not require any discussion. The resolution extolling the Sikh sacrifice and bravery was in continuation of the traditional policy of the Congress. The Opium Resolution became necessary for two reasons. Miss Lee Mottee who has been doing most valuable work in trying to reduce the world growth of Opium to its bare medical necessity has pointed out in tragic terms the immoral Opium Policy of the Government of India. Mr. Andrews has shown how the Government of India made itself responsible for changing at the Opium Convention the word "Medical" to "Legitimate". In describing the people its requirements it therefore became necessary in view of the approaching Convention at Geneva, for the A. I. C. C. to say what the Nation thinks of the Government of India's Policy. It had become equally necessary to investigate the condition of the Assamese under the Opium habit. A fine body of men and women are undergoing a process of decay under the cursed Opium habit. The Assam Provincial Congress Committee is ready to inquire into the matter. The A. I. C. C. has therefore thought it desirable to appoint Mr. Andrews to conduct the inquiry in co-operation with the Provincial Committee.

The seventh resolution authorises the Working Committee to appoint if necessary a deputation to enquire into the conditions of Indian labourers of the Malay Peninsula and Ceylon. We know nothing of the condition of the labourers who emigrate to Ceylon and the Malaya Peninsula except from the stray reports that appear in the press. It is our duty to study their condition and do whatever we can to ameliorate it.

M. Gandhi's "One Programme"

It did not take the Mahatma long to recover from being thus 'defeated and humbled', and at the insistent demand from friends and workers for a 'common programme' for all parties in the country, so that controversies may be set aside and an activity roused in the country as intense as in the hey-day of N-C-O in 1921, M. Gandhi issued the following manifesto on July 10th, 1924.

Friends have asked me to suggest one universal programme in which Rajas, Maharajas, No-Changers, Pro-Changers, Liberals, Independents, practising lawyers, Anglo-Indians and all others could join without reserve. I am asked to suggest such a programme with the condition that it must be effective and swift enough for the attainment of Swaraj. The most effective and the swiftest programme I can suggest is the adoption and organisation of Khaddar, the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and the removal by the Hindus of untouchability. It is my unalterable belief that if these three things are achieved, we can establish Swaraj without the slightest difficulty. I further believe that, if all the parties whole-heartedly work the programme, it can succeed within one year.

Success of Khaddar.

Success of Khaddar will mean boycott of foreign cloth. It is India's right and duty to manufacture all the cloth she needs. She has the means of doing it, and the boycott of foreign cloth will automatically purify the English mind and remove the one insuperable obstacle in the way of Englishmen looking at things Indian from the Indian standpoint. If, therefore, the country as a whole adopts this three-fold programme, I would be prepared to advise the suspension of the Non-co-operation programme and civil disobedience for a period of one year. I say one year, because an honest working of the programme must bring about a virtual boycott of foreign cloth within that period.

I need hardly say that the co-operation of Swarajists alone in the above programme is not enough to suspend Non-co operation or preparations for civil disobedience. Their assent is already there. They are pledged, like all other Congressmen, to the full constructive programme. Non-co-operation is necessary so long as there is no change of heart in the Government and without that change, those who keep themselves outside the Congress pale will not actively and openly participate in the programme.

Time not yet for Co-operation.

I fear that the time has not yet arrived for such sincere co-operation with the people on the part of the Government, or those whose position and prestige depend upon its patronage. I know too that a very large number of people are not yet converted to the programme of unadulterated Khaddar. They disbelieve in the mighty potency of the charkha. They even suspect me of evil designs upon the Indian mills. Few take the trouble of drawing a mental picture of the meaning of the message of the charkha. I have no doubt that the country will soon come round to the charkha if its votaries are true to their faith. But some of my friends tell me that I am wrong in my diagnosis. They tell me that, if I would but drop Non-co-operation and civil disobedience, every one will gather round the charkha, and that it is preposterous for me to suspect the Government of a desire to divide Hindus and Mussalmans. I hope I am wrong.

The position of Mill Industry.

Let me make the position clear regarding our mills. I am not their enemy. I believe they have a place in our economy for some time to come. Boycott of foreign cloth cannot, perhaps, be brought about speedily without the assistance of mills. But, if they are to help, they must become national in spirit. They must not be worked merely for the agents and shareholders, but the nation at large. In our programme, however, we must erase the mills. For, Khaddar has to carve out a position for itself. The message of Khaddar has not even been delivered to one out of seven lakhs of villages. The mills have therefore more than six-sevenths of India yet at their disposal. If Khaddar is to establish a permanent footing, Congressmen can only use and popularise it to the exclusion of mill cloth. Patriotic mill-owners must see at a glance the utility, the necessity and the reasonableness of my proposition. Indeed, they can help Khaddar without hurting themselves. If the time comes when the whole of India adopts Khaddar, they must rejoice with the nation, and they will, even as the Lancashire mill-owners will and must some day, find other uses for their capital and machinery.

The Immediate Task.

I have sketched the universal programme for the satisfaction of insistent friends. But I would warn the workers against turning their attention away from the immediate task before them, which is to attend to their own and their neighbours' spinning. If universal acceptance does not come now, their spinning and their faith will precipitate it. That it must come some day is a certainty. The precise date can be determined only by those who have already a living faith in it and who have proved it by acting up to it in the face of the heaviest odds.

The Swarajist Position.

The compromise at Ahmedabad was hailed with joy by the Indian Nationalists as it averted for the time being the open split between the two wings of the Congress, the prospect of which had already created an alarm in the country. Like all compromise, however, it had only the negative virtue of bringing in quiescence, and for the next month or so both parties seemed to be resting to recuperate the vitality that had been lost during the May—June pourparlers. After the Ahmedabad meeting the Swarajist position as summed up by Mr. C. R. Das and Pt. Motilal Nehru was this:—

Mr. C. R. DAS in a Press interview said that the net result, from the Swarajist point of view, of the Ahmedabad sitting of the All-India Congress Committee was that things remained as they were, with this difference that the Delhi and Coconada resolutions permitting Council entry were accentuated. Mr. Das had no hesitation in interpreting the boycott resolution which had been passed to exclude members of legislative bodies from its operation. So far as this point was concerned, it was a net Swarajist gain. Otherwise, the differences remained where they were.

Asked to state the real attitude of the Swarajists with reference to the spinning resolution, Mr. Das replied: "The Swarajists have no objection to spin and they have over and over again declared their faith in the constructive programme. But they strongly resented anything being forced upon them, and they thought it was an attempt to exclude them unconstitutionaly from the Congress executive. They regarded this unconstitutionalism as nothing short of violence."

Pundit MOTILAL NEHRU in an interview said as to the aim of his party, whether the Council dead-locks are to be the end of their plan :—

"The capture of the Councils and the bringing about of deadlocks are only means to an end and not the end itself. We already passed new rules (see p. 594) for our guidance in the Assembly, which will show that we considerably enlarged the field of our activities, as has been made clear in the joint statement issued over the signatures of Mr. Das and myself. We shall oppose all Government measures which tend to maintain or increase the hold of the bureaucracy over the country and help and promote all measures tending to remove or lessen that hold.

"The real work of preparing the country is being done by the National Congress as a whole and consists in the carrying out of the constructive programme with a view to civil disobedience. The Swaraj Party will help in this work by educating the electorate and keeping them in touch with the proceedings in the various Councils, which will be an index to the intention of the Government. The people will thus know from time to time what response the Government is making to their legitimate aspirations and be ready to take their stand upon their rights, when such rights cannot fit with the interest of the bureaucracy. We have for the present set the ball rolling by putting forward the National Demand in the Assembly. As soon as the ball ceases to roll, we shall take the next definite step which may prove even less pleasant to the bureaucracy than the demand we have already made, I canot go into further details for the present. But it is intended that the Swaraj Party must continue to fight in the Council, if only to justify its existence as a wing of the Indian National Congress."

Mr. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR of Madras in an interview said :—

"I frankly confess I do not know where we stand. The Ahmedabad resolutions have been so framed that any party may put any interpretation on them as it likes and seek to justify the conduct. On the score of the resolutions they have afforded fresh starting points for some quarrels. They have settled nothing, but they have shown unmistakably that No-changers are not so strong as they appeared to be. Theirs is a losing cause which does not deserve the support of the country.

"The policy of Swarajists in the Legislative Assembly is not fully obstruction. Since I intend joining the Swaraj party shortly, with a view if possible to give effect to what I have in my mind, I reserve further comment on this topic. Alternative to obstruction is, as I have shown on previous occasions, capturing seats on the provincial Councils and Assembly and leave them vacant. What No-changers should do if they want to become a vital force is to have a new cry in addition to Charka. Mr. Gandhi has achieved his purpose. I am hopeful that he will shortly formulate a new programme suited to the present needs of the country, If he acts with the consultation with all leaders, he is sure to arrive at an all-round programme both as regards Councils and the work outside. The existing technical boycotts upon which no propaganda is carried on should go. Charka must be common to all parties as before. No-changers must become pro-changers with a different positive programme. If Mr. Gandhi chooses, he can find a common formula. I have reason to believe that he is thinking about it. If he gives the country a really fighting programme, I am sure the Swarajists will join him. By fighting programme I mean capturing local bodies and holding them in trust for the Congress. The moment we have a common fighting programme, Khaddar will receive a new impetus."

The Sikh Movement

A characteristic feature of the nationalistic movement in India in recent times is Satyagraha or Non-voilent resistance to constituted authority. It aims at breaking the age-long inequities of orthodox custom which have kept the people enslaved so long and upon which autocracy in every shape has flourished. That the Satyagraha movement first inaugurated by M. Gandhi against the Government is now fast spreading is shown by the fact that besides the Sikh Akali Satyagraha started since the Nankana tragedy and the Borsad Satyagraha closed in January last, two new movements have since arisen and still hold the country in increasing excitement. These are the Vaikom Satyagraha in Travancore State against the ban of untouchability and unapproachability on the low caste Hindus, and the Tarakeswar Satyagraha in Bengal against the alleged oppressions and scandalous life of the Mohunt of Tarakeswar. In both cases the struggle has derived its sharpness from the fact that the Government, broad-based as it is upon all that is "too wooden, too rotten, too antidiluvian", has sided with the reactionary orthodox elements as against the advancing current of popular and more democratic thought.

An account of the Akali movement in the first three months of the current year has been given in our last issue. Since then the Punjab Govt. have strengthened their repressive measures against the Sikhs. None the less the Shahidi Jathas continue to pour into Jaito. An account of these Jathas up to the third has been given in our last issue. Subsequent events are narrated below.

Early in April last Sardar Mangal Singh, President of the Central Sikh League and a member of the Working Committee of the National Congress, issued the following statement in reply to statements made in Parliament and in the Legislative Assembly (pp. 151 & 284).

"Efforts are being made to create an impression in the mind of the public that the Sikhs are not willing to grasp the hand of friendship which the Government declares is always extended to them. I have no doubt the community much appreciate the generous remarks which both the Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords and the Home Member in the Assembly made about them. But I am sorry that no attempt is being made to understand the Sikh point of view and to remedy their grievances. It is said that the Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee is unreasonable. What are the facts? The S. G. P. C. and the Shiromani Akali Dal, which are the two premier and representative organisations of the Sikhs, have been declared unlawful. Practically all the leaders and a very large number of workers have been clapped into jails. The press has been forbidden to publish the communications issued by the Shiromani Committee. People giving donations to the Committee, collecting funds or rendering other kinds of assistance to the Committee have been harassed and the generous provisions of the law have been put into operation against them. The use of post and telegraph offices has been refused to the Committee. Even money orders are not delivered. The newspapers which are sympathetic towards the Akali cause are being harassed. The jathas which are daily going to Bhai Phera from the beginning of 1924 are arrested, tried and convicted and sent to Multan jail then and there. Similarly from 14th of September daily jathas of 25 men have been going to Jaito to resume the Akhand Path or the uninterrupted reading of the scripture. They are arrested and deported to Bawal and left in a jungle there. The treatment meted out to the Shahidi Jatha is well-known. A regular campaign is carried on in the villages where people who are sympathetic to the Akalis are arrested. It is after thus tying the Community hand and foot and after gagging them effectively that the "hand of friendship" is offered to them! The

Sikhs have always been ready for an honourable settlement and even to-day they are prepared to grasp the hand of friendship, provided the offer is genuine and real. But if, as I suspect, the offer is made only with the object of gaining a tactical advantage, it would not deceive the Sikhs. The Sikhs are a simple, straight-forward people. The game of diplomacy is foreign to them. When there will be a genuine gesture of friendship on the part of the Government, I am sure they will only be glad to clasp the proferred hand. But if, on the other hand, Government wants to try repression, it is bound to fail with the Sikhs. It betrays a woeful ignorance of Sikh psychology and history. The Sikhs flourish under repression and the Khalsa has grown with the blood of the martyrs.

Side by side with the policy of repression there is also a campaign of misrepresentation about the aims and objects of the movement. It is often said that the Sikhs are fighting to set up a Raj of their own. A serious allegation of this sort is likely to produce grave apprehensions in the minds of other communities, but fortunately we in India are too familiar with the old, old device of "divide at impera" to be deceived. These allegations are made in order to alienate the sympathies of other communities from the Sikhs, but the fact that the whole country has rallied to the Sikh cause is sufficient proof that those misrepresentations are accepted at their true worth by the people.

Object of the Sikh Movement.

But in order that there may be no misunderstanding regarding the objects of the Sikh movement, I declare it emphatically that the idea of establishing Sikh Raj has never been entertained by any Sikh. The S. G. P. C. stands only for the purification of the places of worship. As for the national aims of the Sikhs they are directed towards the attainment of Swarajya in common with their sister communities. The Akali movement though essentially religious in spirit, is thoroughly national in outlook. All the items of constructive programme have been insisted upon by the Akalis and in fact carried out to a very large extent. A very high percentage of Sikh men and women have discarded foreign cloth and taken to the use of khaddar. Drink, which was a great evil prevalent among the Sikhs, has been completely eradicated. The work of untouchability has been pushed on with great vigour. Litigation has been considerably reduced by private arbitration. Thus the Akali movement is a powerful auxilliary to the national cause.

Now with regard to Jaito, the aims of the jathas which are going there are clear. The instructions issued to them by the Akal Takht require them only to restart the interrupted Akhand Path. There seems to be a suspicion in the official mind that the Sikhs intend to carry on the Nabha agitation under the cover of Akhand Path and want to use Jaito as a base for further agitation. Nothing can be further from the truth. Sikhs are going there to assert their freedom of unrestricted worship and they have no other ulterior object. The Jaito Satyagrah as such is quite apart from the agitation about the deposition of the Maharajah of Nabha.

The Sikh case is clear. They are fighting for the elementary right of freedom of worship and no amount of repression can avail. In fact the sufferings and the deeds of the martyrs are being daily recounted in the prayers and are thus becoming part and parcel of the history and traditions of the panth. As a friend of the British people, I may point out that the bitterness which is being inevitably accumulated as a result of this in the minds of the people is fraught with grave consequences for the future. The Sikhs are not fighting for their sectional political ascendancy and in their religious struggle they have not introduced any ulterior political motives; and on this issue they are always open to an honourable settlement. As for their national aims the Sikh community will stand shoulder to shoulder with their Hindu and Muslim brethren in the fight for their country's freedom.

The Birdwood Committee

The Punjab Government and also the Government of India, on the pressure of their Legislatures, had pledged themselves to solve the Sikh question speedily. Accordingly on April 11th the Punjab Govt. issued the following Press Communique:

'In March, 1921, the Punjab Government introduced a Bill to deal with the management of the Sikh Gurudwaras and Shrines in the

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Province, but the Bill encountered considerable opposition and was ultimately dropped. During the following year several further attempts were made by the Government to frame a measure, but none of them obtained the requisite support. Ultimately, a Bill was passed in November 1922, but it was not approved by the Sikh members of the Council, and has not actually been put into force. Government thought that a considerable number of Sikhs would be glad to see an Act passed with the same object, either in amendment of or in substitution for the Act of November, 1922. It has for some time past been known that it was ready to consider any proposals made to this end, provided that they were responsible, and would be likely to receive substantial support from the interests concerned. No such draft measure has, however, up to date been put forward for the consideration of the Government. The Government thinks that in deference to the wishes of so many of the Sikh community, further effort should now be made to ascertain the lines on which a measure for dealing with the Gurudwaras might be framed, and in order to assist the community in the matter, His Excellency the Governor in Council has decided to appoint a Committee to ascertain the wishes of those considered most competent to advise, and to report as to the principles on which a measure might now be framed for dealing with the administration and management of the Sikh Gurudwaras and shrines. The Committee will, at the same time, be asked to report as to the best means of dealing with the question of Kirpans. The Committee will be presided over by General Sir William Birdwood, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the Northern Command. The names of other members will be announced shortly. Mr. H. Calvert, I.C.S., M.L.A., will act as Secretary of the Committee.'

This news was welcomed by many in Punjab and people thought that a settlement was in sight. But the halting nature of the communique was disappointing. Sirdar Mangal Singh gave out his view that: "the committee of enquiry would not meet the situation in any way; for as a matter of fact there is nothing to be enquired into. Sikh opinion on the Gurudwara question is already formulated and properly organised. It is also sufficiently well-known. The authorities themselves are fully aware of it, for we have made no secret of our demands. If the Government has now realised that the procedure adopted on the previous occasions was wrong, it should have adopted a different and more straight-forward course. Instead of beating about the bush and taking round about courses the easiest and the most open course would be for the Government to consult the real leaders who are in jail, and have a face to face discussion with them, as they are the most competent people to advise on the matter. For that purpose, however, the first requisite and essential preliminary is to create a calm and peaceful atmosphere by giving up the repressive policy which is now in full swing all over the Province. With their representative organisations declared unlawful, their leaders cast in jail with thousands of other workers, and the question of Jaito still unsettled, the Sikhs evidently cannot be expected to be in a properly pacific mood, and under these conditions no measure, however well-meaning, stands any chance of success."

However attempts were made by the Sikh leaders also to explore the field of compromise. This led to a grand meeting of the Sikhs being held on Sunday the 4th May, 1924, in the Sri Guru Singh Sabha Hall. The meeting was largely attended by Sikhs of all shades of opinion. Dr. Jaggat Singh Sardar Bahadur was elected President and S. Teja Singh was elected Secretary of the meeting. It passed the following resolutions.—

"1. This grand meeting of the Sikhs views with appreciation the attempts of the Government to solve the Gurudwara question, as expressed by the appointment of the Birdwood Committee and the announcement of H. E. Sir Edward Maclagan, and while it requests the S. G. P. C. and the Sikh leaders not to lose this opportunity, it expects that the Government while bearing in mind the signal services that the Sikhs have been rendering to the Empire and the unique sacrifices that they have made for the preservation of their legitimate rights, and by sincerely removing the real grievances of the community would solve the question with frankness and statesmanship. The meeting further maintains that any settlement in order to be final and satisfactory to the Sikhs, should be made acceptable to the S. G. P. C. which is their accredited representative.

"II. This grand meeting of the Sikhs is of opinion that when dealing with the present Sikh situation, full consideration should be given to the following :

"(*a*) The Notification declaring the S. G. P. C. and the Akali Dal as unlawful associations should be withdrawn. (*b*) All Sikhs imprisoned in connection with the Gurudwara Reform Movement, Kirpan, and Nabha question should be released. All cases pending in the Courts should be withdrawn ; and all fines and confiscations of property remitted and returned. (*c*) To possess and wear a Kirpan of any length should be the right of every Sikh, male or female, young or old. (*d*) Unrestricted freedom of worship and Akhand Path should be allowed in Gurudwar Gang Sar. (*e*) The present Act should be replaced by a fresh Gurudwara Law based on the fundamental principle that the management and ownership of all historic Gurudwaras and their properties belongs to the Sikh community and not to any person or sect. (*f*) A sincere and genuine attempt should be made to settle the Nabha question."

In the next following days negotiations with regard to the settlement of the Gurudwara question came to a head all of a sudden when certain representatives of the S.G.P.C. had a talk with some officials. On April 31st the Akali leaders had a prolonged talk with Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh and other Akali leaders in the Lahore Jail. A false rumour was started that M. Gandhi had expressly desired the Sikhs to make peace at any cost but Mr. Panikkar, the Akali Secretary, in a press communique set the matter at rest by denying that the Mahatma had written any communication to them. The negotiations broke down on the question of Nabha which the Akalis would not give up and the Govt. on their part would not allow them to raise, and also on the release of the political prisoners.

Finally on June 4th the Birdwood bubble burst and the Punjab Govt. announced that it would be useless for the Birdwood Committee to commence work. 'In arranging for the personnel of the Committee which was to consider the Gurudwara and Kirpan questions under the presidency of General Sir

William Birdwood, the Govt. of the Punjab had entered into conversations with some of the elected Sikh members of the Legislative Council and endeavoured to arrange through them for a mutual understanding of the differences and difficulties and so to secure success of the operations of the Committee. No such understanding was reached and it was found impossible to secure a satisfactory representation on the Committee of all interests concerned. The Government therefore decided with great reluctance that as there appeared no prospect of the Committee arriving at a solution which would be generally accepted, it would be useless at the present juncture for the Committee to commence work.'

It was stated in Sikh circles that the Akali negotiations with the Birdwood Committee had been practically dropped, mainly on the question of the release of Akali prisoners. While the Akalis demanded the release of all the Akali prisoners immediately after the preliminary settlement and before the Birdwood Committee started any inquiry, the Government of India were in favour of reviewing all such cases after the final settlement was reached, with a view to release as many as possible.

Further Persecutions.

Early in April judgment was delivered in the famous Sikh Leaders' case which arose from the arrest of 62 S. G. P. C. members who were holding a committee meeting at the Akal Takht on 7th January last. The charge against them was that they were holding a prohibited meeting as the S. G. P. C. was on 12th October last declared by the Govt. to be an unlawful assembly. An account of this meeting as given by S. G. P. C. communique is quoted below. The communique says :

'To-day (7th January) at 1 P. M. the session of the General Meeting of the S. G. P. C. started on the 2nd story of Sri Akal Takht Sahib. An hour had scarcely elapsed when news reached the Committee that the police were preparing at their Headquarters at Kotwali in the City to march to Sri Akal Takht Sahib to arrest indiscriminately all who would be present in the Committee. As the terms of reference of the general committee were of an important nature, it was decided not to talk about the coming of the police and to vigorously proceed in executing the business before them. The Committee had not yet finished one quarter of their work when the police were reported to have reached the Akal Takht. As is customary from the times of the Gurus, no one with uniform on can enter the Akal Takht and no one who is not regularly baptised is allowed to place a step on the platform of the throne or to ascend the stairs. The police and the Military who were headed by the Superintendent of Police and two other British Officers were advised by some gentleman present that they should not attempt to enter the Akal Takht. The Superintendent of Police however paid no heed to this advise and ordered his force (Police and Military) to break through the entrance by force. On this order being given by the Superintendent the Akalis, who in the meanwhile had gathered there in sufficient numbers, formed into a solid wall and occupied the entrance to the Sri Akal Takht Sahib. The Superintendent and his party tried their level best to break through the Akalis but were pushed backward by the Akalis. On the police trying again and again to ascend the Akal Takht Sahib, they were told that so long as there was one Sikh child alive in Amritsar at the moment, no unbaptised person could be permitted to violate this custom. It will be interesting to know that when the Akalis were busy with the police at the entrance of the Sri Akal Takht, the Committee remained busily *engagged in transacting the agenda before them.* The police were thus in an unsettled state of mind and did not know what to do. S. Jodh Singh, M. A., appeared on the scene and explained to the Superintendent of Police that it was impossible for them to enter Sri Akal Takht and that as the members of the S. G. P. C. would not at all shrink from arrest it was best that

the authorities submit the list of the names of the members they wish to arrest which he would present to the Committee assembling for surrendering the persons, if present, to the police. The authorities seeing no other alternative possible, yielded to hand over the list to S. Jodh Singh. Just when this talk was going on between S. Jodh Singh and the authorities, the latter were told by the Secretary of the local Gurdwara Committee to clear out of the premises of Darbar Sahib as they were in uniform. The Supdt. and his party agreed and took their stand in front of Gurdwara Thara Sahib with their back towards the Gurdwara. It has been mentioned above that the authorities gave up the list of persons they wished to arrest. *This list was read out before the committee and those wanted by the police came down from the upper story to be arrested.* The authorities in the meanwhile had left Thara Sahib and watched the Clock Tower to await the coming of the members they wanted to take hold. *It was about 6 o' clock when the members finishing their work calmly came down from Sri Akal Takht Sahib,* and standing before it implored the help of the Great Sat Guru for whose cause they were going to jail."

The following resolutions were passed by the General Committee of the S. G. P. C. held on 7th January, 1924.

Whereas the S. G. P. C. is the supreme religious assembly composed of representatives elected by the whole Sikh Community in consonance with the injunction of the Sikh Panth, whereas the said committee being invested with all the executive powers to protect and advance the cause of the Sikh faith has been peacefully carrying on religious reforms, whereas the Sh. Akali Dal has been rendering voluntary services to the said committee to save the honour of their religion, this assembly most emphatically condemns the arbitrary and high-handed measure "the declaration of the said two bodies as unlawful association" and deprecate this autocratic action of the Government as a reckless interference with the unviolable religious rights of the Indian citizens in utter violation of the proclamation of 1851, and repudiate this direct challenge to the whole nation to the exercise of the universal civil right of the formation of associations.

2. This committee appreciates with great satisfaction the noble sacrifices rendered by the members of the S. G. P. C. and of Sh. Akali Dal, who have suffered arrests, imprisonments and deaths, and congratulates them for their sterling services to the Panth.

3. Whereas the Bureaucracy has by stopping the Akhand Path inflicted the greatest insult and irreparable injuries on the Sikh Panth and perpetrated ruthless religious crimes, whereas the Sikh Panth has resolved to restart and complete 101 Akhand Paths to atone for the sacrilege done to their Guru, whereas the Jatha daily reaching at Jaiton to fulfil the holy mission are being most brutally treated by the callous and wantonly insolent officials at Nabha at the instance of the responsible Government officials, this Committee failing to tolerate any longer to continued deprecations of their religious rights empowers the Executive Committee to take all possible steps to effectively deal with the situation and save the honour of the Sikh religion.

Fifty-seven accused, the leading lights of the S. G. P. C., were then convicted and sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment with a fine of Rs. 500 each. Fresh persecution of the Akalis went on unabated. Of further arrests of Gurudwara leaders, Messrs Ratanshing and Gurdial Singh, President and Secretary of the Ludhiana Committee, and S. Ranjit Singh, Manager of Bhai Pheru, were arrested in the latter part of April.

On May, 3rd a charge under Section 124-A I.P.C. (Sedition) was framed against Swami Onkaranand, a Bengali Sanyasi, for having written and published a pamphlet entitled 'The Akali Struggle and our duty,' and for having made a speech in Jallianwala Bagh about the firing at Jaito. The accused while pleading not guilty to the charge said that it was incompatible with the facts and he declined to substantiate them as he had no faith in the justice of the Courts where the judiciary was subservient to the executive, which sat for administering justice against persons who had been rightly or wrongly in the bad books of the Govern-

ment. He refused to produce defence and was eventually sentenced to 2 year's rigorous imprisonment.

On the same day was arrested the head Granthi Kartar Singh of the Golden temple, Amritsar, on a charge of alleged intimidation to the Police while in the act of arresting a Sikh preacher. Sirdars Mukhan Singh, Iechha Singh, Jathedars, and 2 other prominent Akalis were further arrested on May 7th. On May 17th. Sardar Mohindra Singh, Member of the Punjab Legislative Council, was sentenced to two and a half years' rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs. 1,500 for the alleged offence of entertaining the Shahidi Akali Jatha which passed through the Ludhiana district. Even Sirdar Jodh Singh, M.L.C, was charged with giving false evidence in the S. G. P. C. leaders' case and a pretext was found to remove him to jail.

On May 14th began the famous Jaito trial at Nabha in the court of Rai Saheb Lala Amar Nath. The way in which the judge conducted the case, to compare great things with small, may be compared to the O'Dwyer—Nair case in England. There were 22 accused including one woman, Kishen Kaur, alleged to be the ring-leaders. Two of the accused belonged to the first Shahidi Jatha, being its head and Jathadar, and the rest belonged to the 'Durli Jatha.' Some of the Shahidi Jatha men turned approvers. The trial went on over a protracted period and judgment was delivered on July 1st convicting all the accused.

In the course of a lengthy judgment the judge referred to the history of the Akali movement which the march of the Shahidi Jatha was intended to further. The story about the interruption of Akhand Path was, he said, invented and all sorts of lies were manufactured to support it. Abuses were freely heaped on the authorities of the Nabha State and Sardar Gurdial Singh, who was chiefly responsible for what had occurred, was made an object of special attention, and libellous statements were made about him. The S.G.P.C. soon began to despatch daily to Gangsar Gurdwara, Jaito, a band of 25 Sikhs to resume the so-called interrupted Akhand Path and to carry out the programme of non-violent passive resistance. On their arrival at the State boundary these bands were distinctly told that Akhand Path had long been duly concluded and they were offered permission to have another Akhand Path on condition that they would leave the place after its conclusion, but, the judge opined, the Akhand Path was simply a hoax. It was really a big political issue that was at stake and for a successful decison of that issue it was the stay of the Akalis within the State that really mattered. This state of things started in September 1923 and continued unabated even to that day. About January, in addition to bands of 25, the S. G. P. C. announced their decision to despatch occasionally to Jaito new bands of 500 men for resumption of the interrupted Akhand Path. The first Shahidi Jatha left Amritsar on the 9th February and reached Jaito on the 21st, the anniversary day of the Nankana tragedy. After passing through a number of villages the Jatha reached Jaito. A thousand people came along with it and the whole crowd assumed threatening dimension. The judge found that they were variously armed with Tokwas, Safajangs, swords, arrows, quarter staves, sticks, chavvis, Gandasas and Tambas (large branches of trees freshly lopped off and fashioned into bludgeons). About one and a half mile from Jaito the crowd stopped and the head Jathadar of

Shahidi Jatha, the accused No. 1, Hajara Singh, addressing Druli Jatha men said: "The time for your work has come." Then the whole crowd moved forward on a wide front in a condition of intense excitement. The judge then gave a detailed account of the circumstances which compelled the Nabha authorities to open fire on the crowd, subsequent arrest of the Jatha and leaders of the crowd, and treatment of the dead and wounded. The judge then convicted all the 22 accused and sentenced them to various terms of rigorous imprisonment.

The Shahidi Jathas

On May 21st the 5th Shahidi Jatha which had left Amritsar in the beginning of the month entered the Nabha State boundary. The Administrator with other officers was present to receive them near the Jaito outskirt. On being called upon to halt, the Jatha stopped. The Administrator invited the Jathedar of the Jatha to have a little talk with him; but probably from fear of being singled out no body came forward. The Administrator then asked if they accepted the conditions laid down in the notice which had already been served upon them; but on their refusal the Jatha was declared arrested. The Administrator enquired if they would walk voluntarily to the special train in readiness for them or would elect to be transported on carts. They however wished to submit to the formality of arrest the process of which would not be complete, they said, unless they were handcuffed. Knots of ropes were then slipped on their wrists one by one and the members of the Jatha thereupon stood up and walked down to the special train which carried them to Nabha. The Sixth Shahidi Jatha left Amritsar on the 10th May and reached Jaito on June 20th. The Administrator of Nabha asked the Jathadar that it could visit Gangsar on condition that it would return after finishing the Akhand path, but the Jathadar declined to give any such undertaking. The whole Jatha was then put under arrest and deported to Amritsar again. A Seventh Jatha was organised and it started from Nankana Sahib in Shekhupura district, and after having visited the Akal Takht and taken the usual vow of non-violence left Amritsar on June 10th for Jaito.

The action of the authorities in matters concerning the Sikh movement has always been marked by incomprehensible inconsistencies. The S. G. P. C. was decared not only illegal but all communications made by it were put under ban and newspapers were warned not to publish them. Yet the authorities themselves took notice of them and carried on a propaganda through the press controverting the S. G. P. C. allegations of torture and ill-treatment of the Akalis. The reception of the Shahidi Jathas by local people was punished with imprisonment, yet the Lahore Municipality arranged for and gave an entertainment to the Shahidi Jatha of Lyallpur which passed through Lahore on the 21st and 22nd April. The President of the Municipality was attacked in the Anglo-Indian Press for having harboured sedition, but his reply was that the Jathas had not been prohibited, nor were they unlawful, as otherwise they would have been arrested by the Government before their march.

During the whole month of June no further new developments have taken place in the Sikh situation, and there is little more to record.

Moslem Activities.

Ever since the set back in the great Khilafat movement of 1921-22, partly brought about by the Lausanne Treaty and laterly by the deposition of the Khalifa by the Angora Govt., a great internal question of the position of Moslems in Indian polity has come more and more to the fore. Like the Swarajists splitting away from the Congress, reinforced by many who sat on the fence during the N C-O wave of 1921, a group of Moslem politicians broke away from the Khilafat organisation and realising the hopelessness of the position of the Khilafatists began to reorganise themselves into a strong party in the formation of which practical and secular considerations about the position of the community weighed more than the shadow of a "spiritual headship of Islam." They were joined by other Moslem leader who had so long kept away from active participation in the Khilafat movement. These are the "Leaguers", and they managed to resuscitate the old Muslim League which was dead all but in name for the previous three years when the Khilafat movement was going strong. The old members were collected and brought together, and the 15th session of the Muslim League was held at Lahore on May 24. The proceedings are given on pages 657-60.

The Khilafatists

The very revival of the Muslim League shows the waning of the Khilafatists. They have, however, been able still to maintain their activities, though in a much smaller scale, and have been holding monthly meetings of their central committees. Their work in the earlier part of this year has already been recorded in our previous issue. The Lausanne treaty having cut short their work, the deposition of the Sultan at Constantinople formed their next ground of agitation. In March last they sent cables to Mustafa Kemal and other Moslem Powers abroad. As a month elapsed and no reply came from Angora Mr. Shaukat Ali, President, Central Khilafat Committee, and the President of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, sent again the following cable to Mustafa Kemal Pasha on April 10th last.

"Your Highness's Indian brethern still await a reply to their long cable of the 12th March seeking to ascertain what had precisely been done by the National Assembly with regard to the so-called abolition of the Khilafat and to convince the Turkish brethren that the continuing of the Khilafat after its reform and re-establishment on a true democratic foundation, while not incompatible with the Republic, would be a source of strength to the Turkish Nation in its relations abroad. We again dissociate ourselves from any desire to intervene in the National affairs of our Turkish brethren or to retain the Khilafat as the monopoly of any dynasty or individual. But we would once more ask the great Turkish Nation not to belittle the importance and advantages of the continuation of its connection with the Khilafat, though hence-forward in a reformed democratic shape to suit modern exigencies, and in fact, revert to the practice of rightly-guided Khalifas. The National Assembly could not have failed to note the injury already done to the solidarity

and prestige of Islam through the diversion and dissipation of Muslim energies caused by the mischievous ambitions of undeserving claimants which we had foreseen when Turkey, the fittest Islamic State to furnish the Khalifa of the Muslim world, had apparently announced her unwillingness to retain this responsibility any longer. Turkey alone can save the Islamic world from all such evils, and we trust she will yet do so. Passports to visit Angora were refused to us by the British Indian Government, but we are still pressing for them, and hope to be able to present the Indian views personally in fuller detail."

Regarding this passports affair, the reader is referred to our previous issue, page 224. On April 21 the Government of India, in the course of their reply to Moulana Shaukat Ali to his letter regarding the issue of passports to the Khilafat Delegation to Turkey, stated that they were unable to reconsider the decision conveyed in their letter of the 14th March last. They were prepared to grant passports on receipt of applications in the prescribed form from the members of the Delegation, provided that each member individually satisfied the conditions laid down, and that the personnel of the Delegation and their programme had been previously approved by the Governments of the countries to be visited. Until the Government of India received the information and undertakings detailed in their former letter, they would be unable to take any further steps in the matter.

The refusal of the Government of India to grant passports on the one hand, and of the Angora Government to reconsider their decision on the other, placed the Khilafatists in an uncomfortable position. An important meeting of the Working Committee of the Khilafat organisation was held at Bombay early in May to consider among other things the situation created by the Angora decision regarding the Khilafat and the future of the Khilafat organization in India. The Working Committee considered it equally essential that a delegation of Indian Musalmans should proceed to Turkey to confer with their Turkish brethren in order to remove such misunderstandings as may have interfered with a settlement of the Khilafat question which should be consistent alike with the exigencies of the Turkish national situation and with the Shariat of Islam. While recording its protest against the refusal of the Government of India to issue passports to all the members of the various Khilafat Delegations for which passports were asked, the Committee decided to postpone for the present the sending of all other delegations and to select only the personnel of the one delegation which was to visit Turkey. This was selected out of the personnel of the several delegations selected at Coconada for visiting various Muslim States by excluding those members against whom the Government of India had formulated grounds of exclusion and including some others against whom no such bar existed. The list thus prepared included Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Messrs. Sherwani and Pickthall, Haji Abdullah Haroon and Chaudhari Khaliq-uz-zaman (secretary). A long statement on behalf of the Working Committee was issued by Maulana Shaukat Ali which is reproduced in full below (see p. 653).

The uncertainty of the grant of passports naturally turned the Khilafatists to seek other spheres of activities than what happened in Angora. The Working Committee had therefore to consider to what other

work the attention and activities of the Khilafat organisations in India should be directed while efforts are being made in the manner indicated above to arrive at a settlement of the Khilafat question in consulation with the Turks. Nothing was done in this meeting in this direction but it was decided to hold a special meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee (which corresponds to the All-India Congress Committee) in June.

Accordingly the Central Khilafat Committee met at Delhi on June 24th and 25th. There was a large attendance of members from all provinces and visitors specially invited to take part in the discussion. The agenda was a crowded one but they finished it within two days.

On the question of the refusal of Government to grant passports to the members originally elected to the Khilafat Delegation, the Committee approved of the resolutions of its Working Committee of May. The Committee then discussed the question of instructions to be given to the newly constituted Khilafat Delegation to Turkey at great length, and finally adopted and gave definite instructions to the delegation. The Delegation Committee empowered its President to correspond with prominent Muslim leaders in various Muslim countries on the subject of the World Muslim Conference, its venue, method of electing delegates and their proportion to population, and to place their replies before the Committee for consideration.

Socio-Politico-Economic Reorganisation.

The resolution that took most time and attention of the Committee was the one about political, social, religious, and economic reorganisation of the Muslims of India. Members from all parts of India spoke at great length on the subject and discussed every aspect of the question after which it was decided that the Central Khilafat Committee should undertake the entire reorganisation of Mussalmans of India in all the above respects and for that purpose secure the services of whole-time workers, raise Muslim Volunteers Corps in every city, organise 'Jumma' and other congregational prayers, open primary and night schools and technical and commercial colleges, supervise "Waqfs," collect *sadqa* and *zakat*, and spend the proceeds of such collections on fit and proper objects, provide for training and education of Muslim orphans, help Muslim widows, and establish panchayats to popularise Khaddar amongst Mussalmans. The Committee was also of opinion that in order to improve the economic condition of Mussalmans, it was necessary to establish Muslim co-operative credit societies and a Muslim bank. It was resolved to consult experts of the Muslim law to find out if the Shariat permitted the establishment of such societies or banks and to take measures for the establishment of both in case it was permitted. The Committee also decided to raise a fund for the above programme the carrying out of which was entrusted to its Working Committee.

The Committee also discussed and passed several resolutions including one authorising the Committee to correspond with Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Muslim League and such other Muslim Associations as the Working Committee may choose on the subject of reorganization of the Muslim community.

Another resolution declared that the Sheriff Hussein was unfit for the office of the Khalifa, and while leaving the question of the Khilafat to the proposed World Muslim Conference, considered it advisable in the interests of the Khilafat that Sheriff Hussein should voluntarily withdraw

his claims to that office. The Chairman was authorised to issue a statement stating that the Central Khilafat Committee was determined to maintain the Jamia Milia Islamia, Aligarh, as a permanent University and further to improve and enlarge it. Condolence resolutions were passed on the death of Syed Muhammad Hussein of Hubli and Syed Kamaluddin Ahmad Jafri of Allahabad, two prominent Khilafat workers.

To carry out the Delhi resolutions on the reorganisation of the whole socio-politico-economic life of the Mussalmans of India another important meeting of the Khilafat Working Committee was announced for the 19th and 20th July. An account of this and other activities of the Khilafatists will be given in our next issue.

The Hindu-Moslem Quarrel

Like the religious feuds between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, British India too is the field of constantly recurring riots between Hindus and Mussalmans. The existence of this state of things is at once a strong argument and condemnation for the perpetuation of the foreign bureaucracy as it is for the unattainment of Swaraj, and is the basis of failure of all nationalistic movements in the country. A perfect Hindu-Moslem unity was attained during the N-C-O days of 1921, but since then the artificial character of that unity has been exposed by numerous Hindu-Moslem riots that have broken out all over the country. Behind these riots lie the stupid and scurrilous writings of some of the smaller provincial papers whose political vision does not extend farther than the securing of their own communal or party interests. While it is true that the masses in India have no mind of their own save as it is derived from the educated Indian agitators who form the main instigators of all communal crimes, it is the latter who belie their education and are constantly being trapped and tripped by people who can flourish only on the continuance of such communal strifes. The Bengal Hindu-Moslem Pact formed early in the year was sought to be assailed by these avowed enemies of India, and the Ali Brothers' activities at Delhi and the Punjab have met a similar fate. In Bengal, however, the strong personality of Mr. C. R. Das effectually stood against the intrigues of the Anglo-Indian & European newspapers who exerted themselves to rouse Moslem feeling to a frenzy against the Hindus, and riots consequently have not occurred, but elsewhere in Northern India the sponsers of Hindu-Moslem unity have utterly failed to stem the tide of Hindu-Moslem strife.

The main bone of contention between the two communities is representation on the Councils and local bodies, and their religious differences are exploited to give a violent form to their grievances. The question of Swaraj in India has brought suspicions in the minds of men whether it would be a Hindu or a Moslem Raj. Power and pelf are the two main factors which have broken up the Congress-Khilafat organisation of 1921 into so many warring sections and till there is a settlement on these points, there seems to be no solution of the matter. Mahatma Gandhi issued a long analysis of the causes of the trouble on 29th. May last, and it still remains a classic study on the subject. This is reproduced in the following pages.

The Mahatma writes :—

Many letters have been received by me, some from well-known friends, telling me that I was responsible even for the alleged Moplah atrocities, in fact for all the riots in which Hindus have or are said to have suffered since the Khilafat agitation. The argument is somewhat this: "You asked the Hindus to make common cause with the Mussalmans in the Khilafat question. Your being identified with it gave it an importance it would never have otherwise received. It unified and awakened the Mussalmans. It gave a prestige to the Maulvis which they never had before. And now that the Khilafat question is over, the awakened Mussalmans have proclaimed a kind of Jehad against us Hindus". I have given the purport of the charge in readable language. Some letters contain unprintable abuse.

So much for the Hindu part of the indictment against me.

A Mussalman friend says:

"The Moslem community being a very simple and religious community was led to believe that the Khilafat was in danger and that it could be saved by the united voice of Hindus and Mahomedans; those innocent people believing your very eloquent words showed great enthusiasm with the result that they were the first to boycott schools, law-courts, Councils, etc. The most famous institution of Aligarh, which Sir Syed had built by the labour of his life time and which was justly the first institution of its kind, was utterly spoilt. I shall be very much obliged if you will kindly point out that the Hindu community had a similar institution and it met with the same fate. I know of scores of boys who could have taken the University degree with credit to themselves and the community to which they belonged, but they were induced to leave on religious grounds with the result that they were utterly ruined. On the contrary very few Hindu boys left and those who did so for the time being instantly joined, as soon as they found that the movement was tottering to pieces. Similar was the case with lawyers. In those days you brought about a sort of unity between the two communities and advertised it far and near that it was a solid one. The simple-minded Mahomedans again believed it with the result that they were brutally treated at Ajmere, Lucknow, Meerut, Agra, Saharanpur, Lahore and other places. Mr. Mahomed Ali, who was a born journalist of a very high type and whose wonderful paper "The Comrade" was doing such solid work for the Muslim community, was won over to your side, and he is now a loss to the community. Your Hindu leaders in the guise of *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* are trying to weaken the Muslim community. Your short-sighted decision to prevent people from entering the Councils has acted most unfairly on this community as the majority of able men refrained from entering the Councils because of the so-called *fatwa*. Under the circumstances, do you not honestly think that you are doing a great harm to this community by keeping the Mahomedans, a few of them of course, still in your camp."

I have not given the whole of the letter. But the extract represents the gist of the Muslim indictment against me.

Not Guilty.

I must plead not guilty to both the charges, and add that I am totally unrepentant. Had I been a prophet and foreseen all that has happened, I should have still thrown myself into the Khilafat agitation. In spite of the present strained relations between the two communities, both have gained. The awakening among the masses was a necessary part of the training. It is itself a tremendous gain. I would do nothing to put the people to sleep again. Our wisdom consists now in directing the awakening in the proper channel. What we see before us is sad but not disheartening, if we have faith in ourselves. The storm is but the forerunner of the coming calm that comes from a consciousness of strength, not from the stupor of exhaustion and disappointment. The public will not expect me to give judgment upon the riots in the different places. I have no desire for giving judgments. And even if I had, I have not the facts before me.

Moplahs, Multan, etc

I will say a word as to the causes.

The Malabar happenings undoubtedly disquieted the Hindu mind. What the truth is, no one knows. The Hindus say that the Moplah atrocities were indescribable. Dr. Mahmud tells me that these have been grossly exaggerated, that the Moplahs too had a grievance against the Hindus, and that he could find no cases of forcible conversions. The one case that was reported to him was at least 'non-proven.' In his findings, Dr. Mahmud says, he is supported by Hindu testimony. I merely mention the two versions to ask the public to conclude with me that it is impossible to arrive at the exact truth, and that it is unnecessary for the purpose of regulating our future conduct.

In Multan, Saharanpur, Agra, Ajmere etc. it is agreed that the Hindus suffered most. In Talwal it is stated that the Hindus have prevented Mussalmans from turning a *kachcha* mosque into a *pukka* one. They are said to have pulled down part of the *pukka* wall, driven the Muslims out of the village, and stated that the Muslims could not live in the village unless they promised not to build any mosque and say *azan*. This state of things is said to have continued for over a year. The driven Mussalmans are said to be living in temporary huts near Rohtak.

In Byadgi in Dharwar district, my informant tells me, on Muslims objecting to music being played before their mosque, the Hindus desecrated the mosque, beat the Mussalmans, and then got them prosecuted.

Here again I cite these two instances, not as proved facts, but to show that the Mussalmans too claim to have much to complain of against Hindus.

And it can certainly be fairly added that where they were manifestly weak and Hindus strong as in Katarpur and Arrah years ago, they were mercilessly treated by their Hindu neighbours. The fact is that when blood boils, prejudice reigns supreme; man, whether he labels himself Hindu, Mussalman, Christian or what not, becomes a beast and acts as such.

The *seat of the trouble* however is in the Punjab. The Mussalmans complain that the Hindus have raised a storm of protest on Mr. Fazli Hussain trying very timidly to give a fair proportion of Government employment to Mussalmans. The letter from which I have already quoted complains bitterly that wherever a Hindu has been the head of a department, he has carefully excluded Mussalmans from Government posts.

The causes for the tension are thus more than merely religious. The charges I have quoted are individual. But the mass mind is a reflection of individual opinion.

The *immediate cause* is the most dangerous. The thinking portion seems to be tired of non-violence. It has not as yet understood my suspension of Satyagrah after Ahmedabad and Viramgam tragedies, then after Bombay rowdyism, and lastly after the Chauri-Chaura outrage. The last was the last straw. The thinking men imagined that all hope of Satyagrah, and therefore of Swaraj too in the near future, was at an end. Their faith in non-violence was skin-deep. Two years ago a Mussalman friend said to me in all sincerity, "I do not believe your non-violence. At least I would not have my Mussalman to learn it. Violence is the law of life. I would not have Swaraj by non-violence as you define the latter. I must hate my enemy." This friend is an honest man. I entertain a great regard for him. Much the same has been reported of another very great Mussalman friend of mine. The report may be untrue, but the reporter himself is not an untrue man.

Nor is this repugnance to non-violence confined to Mussalmans. Hindu friends have said the same things, if possible with greater vehemence. My claim to Hinduism has been rejected by some, because I believe and advocate non-violence in its extreme form. They say that I am a Christian in disguise. I have been even seriously told that I am distorting the meaning of the *Gita*, when I ascribe to that great poem the teaching of unadulterated non-violence. Some of my Hindu friends tell me that killing is a duty enjoined by the *Gita* under certain circumstances. A very learned Shastri only the other day scornfully rejected my interpretation of the *Gita* and said that there was no warrant for the opinion held by some commentators that the *Gita* represented the external duel between forces of evil and good, and inculcated the duty of eradicating evil within us without hesitation, without tenderness. I state these opinions against non-violence in detail, because it is necessary to understand them, if we would understand the solution I have to offer.

What I see around me to-day is therefore a reaction against the spread of non-violence. *I feel the wave of violence coming.* The Hindu-Muslim tension is an acute phase of this tiredness.

I must be dismissed out of consideration. My religion is a matter solely between my Maker and myself. If I am a Hindu I cannot cease to be one even though I may be disowned by the whole of the Hindu population. I do however suggest that non-violence is the end of all religions.

But I have never presented to India that extreme form of non-violence, if only because I do not regard myself fit enough to re-deliver that ancient message. Though my intellect has fully understood and grasped it, it has not as yet become part of my whole being. My strength lies in my asking people to do nothing that I have not tried repeatedly in my own life. I am then asking my countrymen to-day to adopt non-violence as their final creed, only for the purpose of regulating the relations between the different races, and for the purpose of attaining Swaraj.

Hindus and Mussalmans, Christians, Sikhs and Parsis must not settle their differences by resort to violence, and the means for the attainment of Swaraj must be non-violent. This I venture to place before India, not as a weapon of the weak, but of the strong. Hindus and Mussalmans prate about no compulsion in religion. What is it but compulsion, if Hindus will kill a Mussalman for saving a cow? It is like wanting to convert a Mussalman to Hinduism by force. And similarly what is it but compulsion, if Mussalmans seek to prevent by force Hindus from playing music before mosques? *Virtue lies in being absorbed in one's prayer in the presence of din and noise.* We shall both be voted irreligious savages by posterity if we continue to make a futile attempt to compel one another to respect our religious wishes. Again, a nation of three hundred million people should be ashamed to have resort to force to bring to book one hundred thousand Englishmen. To convert them, or, if you will, even to drive them out of the country, we need not force of arms but force of will. If we have not the latter we shall never get the former. If we develop the force of will, we shall find that we do not need the force of arms.

Acceptance of non-violence therefore, for the purposes mentioned by me, is the most natural and the most necessary condition of our national existence. It will teach us to husband our corporate physical strength for a better purpose, instead of dissipating it as now in a useless fratricidal strife in which each party is exhausted after the effort. And every armed rebellion must be an insane act unless it is backed by the nation. But almost any item of non-co-operation fully backed by the nation can achieve the aim without shedding a single drop of blood.

I do not say 'eschew violence in your dealing with robbers or thieves or with nations that may invade India.' But in order that we are better able to do so, we must learn to restrain ourselves. It is a sign not of strength but of weakness to take up the pistol on the slightest pretext. Mutual fisticuffs are a training not in violence but in emasculation. My method of non-violence can never lead to loss of strength, but it alone will make it possible, if the nation wills it, to offer disciplined and concerted violence in time of danger.

If those who believe that we were becoming supine and inert because of the training in non-violence will but reflect a little, they will discover that we have never been non-violent in the only sense in which the word must be understood. Whilst we have refrained from causing actual physical hurt, we have harboured violence in our breast. If we had honestly regulated our thought and speech in the strictest harmony without outward act, we would never have experienced the fatigue we are doing. Had we been true to ourselves we would have by this time evolved matchless strength of purpose and will.

I have dwelt at length upon the mistaken view of non-violence, because I am sure that if we can but revert to our faith, if we ever had any, in non-violence limited only to the two purposes above referred to, the present tension between the two communities will largely subside. For, in my opinion, an attitude of non-violence in our mutual relations is an indispensable condition prior to a discussion of the remedies for the removal of the tension. It must be common cause between the two communities that neither party shall take the law into its own hands, but that all points in disputes, wherever and whenever they arise, shall be decided by reference either to private arbitration or to the law courts if they wish. This is the whole meaning of non-violence, so far as communal matters are concerned. To put it another way, just as we do not break one another's heads in respect of civil matters, so may we do even in respect of religious matters. This is the only pact that is immediately necessary between the parties and I am sure that everything else will follow.

The Bully and the Coward.

Unless this elementary condition is recognised, we have no atmosphere for considering the ways and means of removing misunderstanding and arriving at an honourable, lasting settlement. But, assuming that the acceptance of the elementary condition will be common cause between the two communities, let us consider the constant disturbing factors. There is no doubt in my mind that in the majority of quarrels the Hindus come out second best. My own experience but confirms the opinion that the Mussalman as a rule is a bully, and the Hindu as a rule is a coward. I have noticed this in railway trains, on public roads, and in the quarrels which I had the privilege of settling. Need the Hindu blame the Mussalman for his cowardice? Where there are cowards, there will always be bullies. They say that in Saharanpur the Mussalmans looted houses, broke open safes and in one case a Hindu woman's modesty

was outraged. Whose fault was this? Mussalmans can offer no defence for the execrable conduct, it is true. But I as a Hindu am more ashamed of Hindu cowardice than I am angry at the Mussalman bullying. Why did not the owners of the houses looted die in the attempt to defend their possessions? Where were the relatives of the outraged sister at the time of the outrage? Have they no account to render of themselves? My non-violence does not admit running away from danger and leaving dear ones unprotected. Between violence and cowardly flight, I can only prefer violence to cowardice. I can no more preach non-violence to a coward than I can tempt a blind man to enjoy healthy scenes. Non-violence is the summit of bravery. And in my own experience I have had no difficulty in demonstrating to men trained in the school of violence the superiority of non-violence. As a coward, which I was for years, I harboured violence. I began to shed cowardice. Those Hindus who ran away from the post of duty when it was attended with danger did so not because they were non-violent, or because they were afraid to strike, but because they were unwilling to die or even suffer any injury. A rabbit that runs away from the bull terrier is not particularly non-violent. The poor thing trembles at the sight of the terrier and runs for very life. Those Hindus who ran away to save their lives would have been truly non-violent and would have covered themselves with glory and added lustre to their faith and won the friendship of their Musalman assailants, if they had stood bare breast with smiles on their lips and died at their post. They would have done less well though still well, if they had stood at their post and returned blow for blow. If the Hindus wish to convert the Mussalman bully into a respecting friend, they have to learn to die in the face of the heaviest odds.

The way, however, does not lie through *Akhadas*, not that I mind them. On the contrary I want them for physical culture. Then they should be for all. But if they are meant as a preparation for self-defence in the Hindu-Mussalman conflicts, they are foredoomed to failure. Musalmans can play the same game, and such preparations, secret or open, do but cause suspicion and irritation. They can provide no present remedy. It is for the thoughtful few to make quarrels impossible by making arbitration popular and obligatory.

The remedy against cowardice is not physical culture but the braving of dangers. So long as the parents of the middle class Hindus, themselves timid, continue to transmit their timidity by keeping their grown-up children in cotton-wool, so long will there be the desire to shun danger and run no risks. They will have to dare to leave their children alone, and to let them run risks and even at times get killed in so doing. The puniest individual may have a stout heart. The most muscular Zulus cower before English lads. Each village has to find out its stout hearts.

The Goondas.

It is a mistake to blame the goondas. They never do mischief unless we create an atmosphere for them. I was the eye-witness to what happened in Bombay on the Prince's day in 1921. We sowed the seed and the goondas reaped the harvest. Our men were at their back. I have no hesitation in holding the respectable Mussalmans (not all in any single case) responsible for the misdeed in Multan, Saharanpur and elsewhere, as I have none in holding respectable Hindus responsible for the misdeeds in Katarpur and Arrah. If it is true that at Palwal we have prevented the erection of a *pukka* mosque in the place of a *kachcha* one, it is only the respectable Hindus who must be held accountable. We must resolutely discountenance the practice of absolving the respectable class from blame.

Therefore, I hold that Hindus will commit a grave blunder, if they organise Hindu goondas for defence. From the frying pan they will jump into fire. The Bania and the Brahmin must learn to defend himself even violently if not non-violently, or surrender his women-folk and possessions to the goondas. They are a class apart, whether they are labelled Mussalmans or Hindus. It was said with gusto that protected by untouchables (for they feared not death) a Hindu procession (playing triumphant music) quite recently passed a mosque unhurt!

It is a very mundane use to make of a sacred cause. Such exploitation of our untouchable brothers can neither serve Hinduism in general nor the suppressed classes in particular. A few processions so doubtfully protected may pass a few mosques safely. But it can only aggravate the growing tension, and degrade Hinduism. The middle class people must be prepared for a beating, if they wish to play music in the teeth of opposition, or they must befriend Mussalman, in a self-respecting manner.

The Hindus have to do penance for the past and still continuing disabilities imposed by them upon the suppressed brothers. There can be no question therefore of expecting

any return from them for a debt we owe them. If we use them to cover our cowardice, we shall raise in them false hopes we shall never be able to fulfil, and if the retribution comes, it will be a just punishment for our inhuman treatment of them. If I have any influence with Hindus, I would beseech them not to use them as a shield against anticipated Mussalman attack.

[Here Mr. Gandhi names Pt. Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai and others as being suspects in the eyes of many Moslems, and then mentions Shraddhanand and Moul. Bari.]

Swami Shradhanand & the Arya Samaj.

His speeches I know are often irritating. But even he wants Hindu-Muslim unity. Unfortunately he believes in the possibility of bringing every Muslim into the Aryan fold just as perhaps most Mussalmans think that every non-Muslim will some day become a convert to Islam. Shraddhanadji is intrepid and brave. Single-handed he turned a wilderness into a magnificent boarding college on the banks of the sacred Ganges. He has faith in himself and his mission. But he is hasty and easily ruffled. He inherits the traditions of the Arya Samaj. I have profound respect for Dayanand Saraswati. I think that he has rendered great service to Hinduism. But he made his Hinduism narrow. I have read "Satyarth Prakash", the Arya Samaj Bible. I have not read a more disappointing book from a reformer so great. He has claimed to stand for truth and nothing less. But he has unconsciously misrepresented Jainism, Islam, Christianity and Hinduism itself. One having even a cursory acquaintance with these faiths could easily discover the errors into which the great reformer was betrayed. He has tried to make narrow one of the most tolerant and liberal of the faiths on the face of the earth. And an iconoclast though he was, he has succeeded in enthroning idolatory in the subtlest form. For he has idolised the letter of the Vedas and tried to prove the existence in the Vedas of everything known to science. The Arya Samaj flourishes in my humble opinion not because of the inherent merit of the teachings of Satyarth Prakash but because of the grand and lofty character of the founder. Whenever you find Arya-Samajist, there is life and energy. But having the narrow outlook and a pugnacious habit they either quarrel with people of other denominations or failing them, with one another. Shraddhanandji has a fair share of that spirit. But, in spite of all these drawbacks, I do not regard him as past praying for. It is possible that this sketch of the Arya Samaj and the Swamiji will anger them. Needless to say, I mean no offence. I love the Samajists for I have many co-workers from among them. It is my love that has spoken.

Bari Saheb & the Ali Brothers.

I have been warned against Mussalmans just as much as I have been warned against Hindus. Let me take only three names. Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb has been represented to me as an anti-Hindu fanatic. I have been shown some writings of his which I do not understand. I have not even worried him about them. For, he is a simple child of God. I have discovered no guile in him. He often speaks without thinking and often embarrases his best friends. But he is as quick to apologise as he is ready to say things offensive. He means all he says for the time being. He is as sincere in his anger as he is in his apology. He once flared up at Maulana Mahomed Ali without just cause. I was then his guest. He thought he had said something offensive to me also. Maulana Mahomed Ali and I were just then leaving his place to entrain for Cawnpore. After our departure, he felt he had wronged us. He had certainly wronged Maulana Mahomed Ali, not me. But he sent a deputation to us at Cawnpore asking us to forgive him. He rose in my estimation by this act. I admit however that the Maulana Saheb can become a dangerous friend. But my point is that *he is a friend.* He does not say one thing and mean another. There are no mental reservations with him. I would trust such a friend with my life because I know that he will never stab me in the dark.

A similar warning has been given to me about the Ali Brothers. Maulana Shaukat Ali is one of the bravest of men capable of immense sacrifice and equally capable of loving the meanest of God's creatures. He is passionately fond of Islam but he is no hater of other religions. Mahomed Ali is this brother's *alter ego.* I have not seen such implicit faithfulness to an elder brother as in Maulana Mahomed Ali. He has reasoned out for himself that there is no salvation for India without Hindu-Muslim unity. Their pan-Islamism is not anti-Hindu. Who shall quarrel with their intense desire to see Islam united against attack from without and purified from within? One passage in Maulana Mahomed Ali's Cocanada address was pointed to me as highly objectionable. I drew his attention to it. He immediately

acknowledged that it is an error. Friends have told me there is something to object to even in Maulana Shaukat Ali's address to the Khilafat Conference. I have the address by me but I have not had time to study it. I know that if there is anything offensive in it, he is the man the readiest to make amends. The brothers are not faultless. Being full of faults myself, I have not hesitated to seek and cherish their friendship. If they have some faults, they have many virtues. And I love them in spite of their faults. Just as I cannot forsake the Hindu friends I have mentioned above and effectively work among Hindus for Hindu-Muslim unity, neither can I work to that end among the Mussalmans without the Mussalman friends such as I have mentioned. If so many of us were perfect beings, there would be no quarrels. Imperfect as we are, we have to discover points of contact and with faith in God work away for the common end.

This intense distrust makes it almost impossible to know the truth. I have received from Dr. Choithram the alleged facts of an attempted forcible conversion of a Hindu in Sindh. The man is said to have been done to death by his Mussalman companions because he will not accept Islam. The facts are ghastly if they are true. I straightway wired to Sheth Haji Abdulla Harun inquiring about the matter. He very kindly and promptly wired to say that it was reported to be a case of suicide but that he was making further inquiries. I hope that we shall succeed in knowing the truth about it. I simply point out the difficulty of work in the midst of suspicion. There is one other Sind incident which I hesitate to report till I have fuller and more authentic particulars. I simply beseech those who hear about any such incidents, whether against Hindus or Mussalmans, to keep themselves cool and pass on. On my part I undertake to inquire into the most trifling of cases and do whatever is possible for a single individual to do. Before long I hope we shall have an army of workers whose one business will be to investigate all such complaints and do whatever is necessary to see that justice is satisfied and causes for future trouble are avoided.

Moslem Outrage on Women & the Shuddhi

The tales that are reported from Bengal of outrages upon Hindu women are the most disquieting if they are even half true. It is difficult to understand the cause of the eruption of such crimes at the present moment. It is equally difficult to speak with restraint of the cowardice of Hindu protectors of these outraged sisters. Nor is it easy to characterise the lust of those who become so mad with it as to take liberties with innocent women. It is up to the local Mussalmans and the leading Mussalmans in general of Bengal to find out the miscreants not necessarily with a view to getting them punished but with a view to preventing a recurrence of such crimes. It is easy enough to dig out a few criminals from their hiding places and hand them over to the police, but it does not protect society against the repetition of them. It is necessary to remove the causes by undertaking a thorough process of reform. There must arise in Islam as well as in Hinduism men who being comparatively pure in character would work among such men.

That however which is keeping up the tension is the manner in which the Shuddhi or conversion movement is being conducted. In my opinion there is no such thing as proselytism in Hinduism as it is understood in Christianity or to a lesser extent in Islam. The Arya Samaj has I think copied the Christians in planning its propaganda. The modern method does not appeal to me. It has done more harm than good. Though regarded as a matter of the heart purely and one between the maker and oneself, it has degenerated into an appeal to the selfish instinct. The Arya Samaj preacher is never so happy as when he is reviling other religions. My Hindu instinct tells me that all religions are more or less true. All proceed from the same God but all are imperfect because they have come down to us through imperfect human instrumentality. The real Shuddhi movement should consist in each one trying to arrive at prefection in his of her own faith. In such a plan character would be the only test. What is the use of crossing from one compartment to another, if it does not mean a moral rise? What is the meaning of my trying to convert to the service of God (for that must be the implication of Shuddhi or Tabligh) when those who are in my fold are every day denying God by their actions? "Physician heal thyself" is more true in matters religious than mundane. But these are my views. If the Arjya-Samajists think that they have a call from their conscience, they have a perfect right to conduct their movement. Such a burning call recognises no time limit, no checks of experience. If Hindu-Muslim unity is endangered because an Arya Samaj preaches this faith in obedience to a call from

within, that unity is only skin-deep. Why should we be ruffled by such movements? Only they must be genuine. If the Malkanas wanted to return to the Hindu fold, they had perfect right to do so whenever they liked. But no propaganda can be allowed which revile other religions. For that would be negation of toleration. The best way of dealing with such propaganda is to publicly condemn it. Every movement attempts to put on the cloak of respectability. As soon as the public tear that cloak down, it dies for want of respectability. I am told that both Arya-Samajists and Mussalmans virtually kidnap woman and try to convert them. The worst form is that preached by a gentleman of Delhi. I have read his pamphlet from cover to cover. It gives detailed instructions to preachers how to carry on propaganda. It starts with a lofty proposition that Islam is merely preaching of the unity of God. This grand truth is to be preached, according to the writer, by every Mussalman irrespective of character. A secret department of spies is advocated whose one business is to pry into the privacy of non-Muslim households. Prostitutes, professional beggars, mendicants, Government servants, lawyers, doctors, artisans are pressed into the service. If this kind of propaganda becomes popular, no Hindu household would be safe from the secret attention of disguised misinterpreters. (I cannot call them missionaries of the great message of the Prophet of Islam.)

As a Hindu I feel sorry that methods of such doubtful morality should have been seriously advocated by a gentleman who is a well-known Urdu author and has a large circle of readers. My Mussalman friends tell me that no respectable Mussalman approves of the methods advocated. The point however is not what the respectable Mussalmans think. The point is whether a considerable number of Mussalman masses accept and follow them. A portion of the Punjab press is simply scurrilous. It is at times even filthy. I have gone through the torture of reading many extracts. These sheets are conducted by Arya Samajists or Hindu and Mussalman writers. Each vies with the other in using abusive language and reviling the religion of the opponent.

I have heard it said that the Government emissaries are at the back of this campaign of calumny. I hesitate to believe it. But even assuming the truth of it the public of the Punjab should be able to cope with the growing disgrace.

I think I have now examined all the causes, both original and continuing, of the tension between the two communities. It is now time to examine the treatment of two constant causes of friction.

Cow-Slaughter

The first is cow slaughter. Though I regard cow protection as the central fact of Hinduism, central because it is common to classes as well as masses, I have never been able to understand the antipathy towards the Mussalmans on that score. We say nothing about the slaughter that daily takes place on behalf of Englishmen. Our anger becomes red-hot when a Mussalman slaughters a cow. All the riots that have taken place in the name of the cow have been an insane waste of effort. They have not saved a single cow, but they have on the contrary stiffened the backs of the Mussalmans and resulted in more slaughter. I am satisfied that during 1921 more cows were saved through the voluntary and generous effort of the Mussalmans than through the Hindu effort during all the previous twenty years (say). Cow protection should commence with ourselves. In no part of the world perhaps are cattle worse treated than in India. I have wept to see Hindu drivers goading their jaded oxen with the iron points of their cruel sticks. The half-starved condition of the majority of our cattle are a disgrace to us. The cows find their necks under the butcher's knife because Hindus sell them. The only effective and honourable way is to befriend the Mussalmans and leave it to their honour to save the cow. Cow protection societies must turn their attention to the feeding of cattle, prevention of cruelty, preservation of the fast disappearing pasture, land improving, the breed of cattle, buying from poor shepherds and turning *Pinjrapoles* into model self-supporting dairies. Hindus do sin against God and man when they omit to do any of the things I have described above. They commit no sin, if they cannot prevent cow slaughter at the hands of Mussalmans, and they do sin grievously when in order to save the cow, they quarrel with the Mussalman.

Music

The question of music before mosques and now even *aratti* in Hindu temples has occupied my prayerful attention. This is a sore point with the Mussalmans as

cow slaughter is with the Hindus. And just as Hindus cannot compel Mussalmans to refrain from killing cows, so can Mussalmans not compel Hindus to stop music or *arati* at the point of the sword. They must trust to the good sense of the Hindus. As a Hindu, I would certainly advise Hindus, without any bargaining spirit, to consult the sentiment of their Mussalman neighbour, and wherever they can, accomodate him. I have heard that in some places Hindus purposely and with the deliberate intention of irritating Mussalmans, perform *arati* just when the Mussalman prayers commence. This is an insensate and unfriendly act. Friendship presupposes the utmost attention to the feelings of a friend. It never requires consideration. But Mussalmans should never expect to stop Hindu music by force. To yield to the threat or actual use of violence is a surrender of ones self-respect and religious conviction. But a person, who never will yield to threat, would always minimise and, if possible, even avoid occasions for causing irritation.

Past.

In view of what I have said above it is clear that we have not even arrived at the stage when a pact is even a possibility. There can be, it is clear to me, no question of bargain about cow-slaughter and music. On either side it must be a voluntary effort and therefore can never be the basis of a pact.

For political matters a pact or an understanding is certainly necessary. But in my opinion the restoration of friendly feeling is a condition precedent to any effectual pact. Are both parties sincerely willing to accept the proposition that no disputes, religious or otherwise, between the communities should ever be decided by an appeal to force i.e. violence? I am convinced that the masses do not want to fight, if the leaders do not. If, therefore, the leaders agree that mutual rows should be, as in all advanced countries, erased out of our public life as being barbarous and irreligious, I have no doubt that the masses will quickly follow them.

So far as the political matters are concerned, as a non-co-operator I am quite uninterested in them; but for the future understanding I hold that it is up to the Hindus as the major party not to bargain but leave the pen in the hands of, say, Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan and abide by his decision. I would similarly deal with the Sikhs, the Christians and the Parsis and be satisfied with the residue. It is, in my opinion, the only just, equitable, honourable and dignified solution. Hindus if they want unity among different races must have the courage to trust the minorities. Any other adjustment must have a nasty taste in the mouth. Surely the millions do not want to become legislators and municipal councillors. And if we have understood the proper use of Satyagraha, we should know that it can be and should be used against an unjust administrator whether he be a Hindu, Mussalman or of any other race or denomination, whereas a just administrator or representative is always and equally good whether he be a Hindu or Mussalman. We want to do way with the communal spirit. The majority must therefore make the beginning and thus inspire the minorities with confidence in their *bona fides*. Adjustment is possible only when the more powerful take the initiative without waiting for response from the weaker.

So far as employment in the Government departments is concerned, I think it will be fatal to good Government, if we introduce there the communal spirit. For administration to be efficient, it must always be in the hands of the fittest. There should be certainly no favouritism. But if we want five engineers we must not take one from each community but we must take the fittest five, even if they were all Mussalmans or all Parsis. The lowest must, if need be, filled by examination by an impartial board consisting of men belonging to different communities. But distribution of posts should never be according to the proportion of the numbers of each community. The educationally backward communities will have a right to receive favoured treatment in the matter of education at the hands of the national Government. This can be secured in an effective manner. But those who aspire to occupy responsible posts in the government of the country, can only do so if they pass the required test.

Trust Begets Trust.

For me the only question for immediate solution before the country is the Hindu Mussalman question. I agree with Mr. Jinnah that Hindu-Muslim unity means Swaraj. I see no way of acheiving anything in this afflicted country without a lasting heart unity between Hindus and Mussalmans of India. I believe in the immediate possibility of acheiving it, because it is so natural, so necessary for both, and because I believe in human nature.

Mussalmans may have much to answer for. I have come in closest touch with even what may be considered a "bad lot." I cannot recall a single occasion when I had to regret it. The Mussalmans are brave, they are generous and trusting, the moment their suspicion is disarmed. Hindus, living as they do in glass houses, have no right to throw stones at their Mussalman neighbours. See what we have done, are still doing, to the suppressed classes! If 'Kafir' is a term of opprobrium, how much more so is 'Chandal'? In the history of the world religious, their is perhaps nothing like our treatment of the suppressed classes. The pity of it is that the treatment still continues. What a fight in Vaikom for a most elementary human right! God does not punish directly. His ways are inscrutable. Who knows that all our woes are not due to that one black sin! The history of Islam, if it betrays aberrations from the moral height, has many a brilliant page. In its glorious days it was not intolerant. It commanded the admiration of the world. When the West was sunk in darkness, a bright star rose in the Eastern firmament and gave light and comfort to a groaning world. Islam is not a false religion. Let Hindus study it reverently and they will love it even as I do. If it has become gross and fanatical here let us admit that we have had no small share in making it so. If Hindus set their house in order, I have not a shadow of doubt that Islam will respond in a manner worthy of its past liberal traditions. The key to the situation lies with the Hindus. We must shed timidity or cowardice. We must be brave enough to trust, and all will be well."

This statement of M. Gandhi took the country almost by storm. For days it was the subject of talk amongst all political circles. The Mahatma's scathing criticism of the Arya Samaj, however, was highly resented by a good many people and counter-attacks were made on him questioning his capacity to appreciate religious literatures like the *vedas* and *savants* like Dayananda. The Sarvadeshak Sabha, the All-India Aryan League, in its emergent meeting held on the 17th. June at Mussoorie and attended by prominent Arya Samajists and leaders, carefully considered the attacks made by Mahatma Gandhi on the Arya Samaj, and after a prolonged discussion unanimously adopted and then issued the following manifesto :—

The Arya Samaj Manifesto

The Sarvadeshak Arya Pratinidhi Sabha has read with pain and surprise the absolutely irrelevent and uncalled for remarks of Mahatma Gandhi about the Arya Samaj in the statement on Hindu-Muslim tension published in *Young India* of May 29, 1924. The Arya Samajists along with other communities in India regard Mahatmaji as the most revered political leader in the country, commanding the respect and reverence of all sections of the population. It is therefore most distasteful for the Sabha to have to protest against a new item in his destructive programme. Mahatmaji has delivered an attack upon the religion of the Arya Samaj in a document which is purely political. The Sabha ventures to submit that such attacks upon religions in political documents constitute a novel procedure for a political leader of all communities to adopt and a dangerous precedent which if followed will set the whole country ablaze and divide it into hostile camps, warring against one another. Mahatmaji's remarks have instead of easing the situation introduced fresh complications.

Apart from the merits of the unfortunate controversy needlessly started by Mahatmaji, it must be acknowledged by all fair-minded people that the Arya Samajist political workers may very well find their loyalty to their chief in constant danger unless the demolition of certain principles of their religion and the discrediting of their religious propaganda ceases to be an item in his political programme. Be it noted that Mahatmaji has unequivocally declared that the offending remarks have been deliberately made because they were strictly relevant to the situation in the country. In other words Hindu-Muslim unity is impossible so long as the Arya Samaj believes the letter of the Veda to be eternal and does not repudiate the teachings of the *Satyarth Prakash*. As regards the merits of the metaphysical and religious issues raised, the Sabha is at a loss to think what to say. The Mahatma has delivered *ipse dixits* in a dogmatic tone and has not sought to substantiate his statements. Under the circumstances all that the Sabha can do is to reiterate that the belief in the eternity of the Vedas did not emanate from Rishi Dayananda.

It has been the reasoned belief of all the Upanishadkaras, the authors of the six systems of Indian philosophy and of all the mediaeval Achaiyas like the great Shankara, the profound Ramanuja and the versatile Madhaba, Mahatma Gandhi's statement that this doctrine was devised by Rishi Dayanand's brain only shows that he has not even a superficial acquaintance either with the essentials and fundamentals of Aryan (Hindu) philosophy or with the history thereof. Mahatma Gandhi is wrong in the view that indefiniteness makes for narrowness and vagueness and indefiniteness constitutes liberalism. He seems to think that because popular Hinduism before Dayanand had no distinctive feature and every man, no matter what the form of his belief or unbelief was, could be called a Hindu, Hinduism was then liberal. The Sabha venture to say that it was *non-descript* and therefore *non-est* for all practical purposes.

Again, proselytisation has always been an essential part of the Vedic Dharma. The Purans and Indian history testify to the fact that on various occasions tens of thousands of non-Hindus were taken into the Vedic fold. The Vedic religion is essentially and fundamentally a cosmopolitan, universal and missionary religion. The Arya Samaj as a body has never countenanced that objectionable methods of proselytisation which Mahatma Gandhi regards characteristically Christian and whenever and wherever individual Arya Samajists and Arya Samajas have adopted them to any extent they have departed from the spirit of the teachings of their illustrious Acharya Dayananda, the apotheosis of truth, purity and probity. The last four chapters of *Satyarth Prakash* were written to advance the cause of truth. The Rishi's sole object in writting them was love for the people of all creeds and his desire that they should renounce error and learn to make universal Dharma their guiding principle in life. Leading exponents of the religions criticised by the great sage have been driven by the spirit of the times to re-state and re-interpret doctrines which appeared inconsistent with universal Dharma. It is hardly fair to conclude that the Rishi's criticism was not valid at the time it was made. The great Rishi's Hindu, Muslim and Christian contemporaries knew full well and acknowledged that the great Rishi's heart was full of love for his kind, nay, for all sentient creatures and harboured no ill-will against any of his Father's children. He was one of the most liberal religious reformers of all times.

The Sabha regrets that Mahatma Gandhi should have given currency to the defamatory, malicious and absolutely foundationless statement that the Arya Samajists abduct women for purposes of conversion. A responsible leader like Mahatma Gandhi ought to have known better than to have published the allegation without proper enquiry. This method of inviting repudiation is certainly open to objection and is calculated to create unreasonable prejudice. The Sabha desires to place on record that the following remarks of Mahatma Gandhi about Rishi Dayanand have justly caused widespread resentment :—'has claimed to stand for truth and nothing less but he has unconsciously misrepresented Jainism, Islam, Christianity and Hinduism itself. One having even a cursory acquaintance with these faiths could easily discover the error into which the great reformer was betrayed.' They are highly derogatory to the Rishi and are an unwarranted reflection upon the greatest Vedic scholar of his age, whose deep erudition, profound learning, extensive study, keen analytical powers and massive and gigantic intellect are beyond question. The Sabha expects that Arya Samajists will, while emphatically protesting against Mahatmaji's irrelevant and unjustified attacks upon their religion, never fail to speak and write of him with the respect due to a personality so great and a character so lofty.

The Khilafat Working Committee

"An important meeting of the Working Committee of the Khilafat Organisation was held in Bombay about the middle of May to consider, among other things, the situation created by Angora's decision regarding the Khilafat and the future of the Khilafat organisation in India. In this connection Moulana Shaukat Ali, the President, issued the following statement :—

"All the members of the Committee present agreed that it was essential that the people in power at Angora should be convinced of the necessity of maintaining the Turkish connection with the Khilafat, which should remain, as it was designed at the very outset, to be of a world-wide character, not confined to the national concerns of any group of Mussalmans only, but responsible for the religious commonweal of the entire Islamic world. The Working Committee considered it equally essential that a Delegation of Indian Mussalmans should proceed to Turkey to confer with their Turkish brethren in order to remove such misunderstandings as may have interfered with a settlement of the Khilafat question which could be consistent alike with the exigencies of the Turkish National situation and with the Shariat of Islam.

Delegation to Turkey.

"While recording its protest against the refusal of the Government of India to issue passports to all the members of all the various Khilafat Delegations for which passports were asked, the Committee decided to postpone for the present the sending of all other Delegations and to select only the personnel of the one Delegation which was to visit Turkey. This was selected out of the personnel of the several Delegations selected at Cocanada for visiting various Muslim States by excluding those members against whom the Government of India had formulated grounds of exclusion, and including some others against whom no such bar existed. The list thus prepared includes Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Messrs. Sherwani and Pickthall, Haji Abdullah Haroon and Chaudhuri Khaliq-uz-zaman (Secretary.) The Working Committee of the Khilafat and the Jamait-ul-Ulema had, after their joint meeting in March last at Aligarh, already cabled to Angora that Indian Mussalmans did not desire to interfere in the National affairs of their brethren abroad with which the latter alone were competent to deal and it was trusted that this declaration would be sufficient assurance for the Government of India to accept and formally convey to the Turkish Government.

"But since the Government of India still persists, as evidenced by its last letter to us, in the demand for an undertaking from each member of the Delegation, it has been decided that the members now selected should be requested to declare, as required by the Government of India, that "their visit has no relation to the political affairs of the Turkish State, and that they will regard themselves as bound not to endeavour in any way to promote any political changes or to take part in any political movement" beyond endeavoring to settle the Khilafat question in accordance with the Shariat of Islam. The Delegation now selected will set out for Turkey via Egypt as soon as passports are issued, and the Working committee is hopeful that this Indian Mission to Turkey will yet succeed in its endeavours. But it cannot be said with any degree of certainty how soon its great task will be accomplished. The Working Committee had, therefore, to consider to what other work the attention and activities of the Khilafat organisations in India should be directed while efforts are being made in the manner indicated above to arrive at a settlement of the Khilafat question in consultation with the Turks.

Muslims in India.

"It was agreed that while we should continue to press for the freedom of the Jazirat-ul-Arab from every form of Non-Muslim domination and control, work must now also be undertaken to ensure the free development and progress of the Muslim community in India itself. It was recalled that before the outbreak of War in Tripoli in the autumn of 1911 Indian Mussalmans were only engaged on such communal work in India and were endeavouring, on the one hand, to provide educational facilities for their community, expanding the Aligarh College into a Muslim University and by means of work on other such enterprises, and were trying, on the other hand, to take their proper share in the public life of this country after having secured communal representation in the Legislative Councils under the Morley-Minto Scheme of Reforms. Attention was then fixed, so to speak, only on the domestic affairs of the Muslim community in India, but ever since 1911 a succession of events compelled

Indian Mussalmans to pay considerable attention also to the needs of their co-religionists abroad, and in course of time, it led to a daily increasing realisation that the disintegration of the Islamic world and the rapid decline in the temporal power of Islam constituted an imminent peril to their Faith.

"To arrest these processes became therefore their foremost duty even if it entailed the neglect for the time being of other duties, and they responded to its call to the best of their limited capacity. The magnitude of their task came to be recognised more and more clearly as calamity succeeded calamity until at last they realised that nothing short of a reconstruction of the Islamic world and a complete reform of Muslim life in accordance with the ideals of Islam in all its pristine purity was needed. Disintegration and decay were the logical consequences of the fact that for many centuries the Khilafat had not been functioning properly, and the Khilafat was the one institution required now to initiate, stimulate, encourage, and in a general way supervise the work of reconstruction and reform. It was therefore hoped that as soon as Turkey emerged from her troubles, a reform of the Khilafat itself would be undertaken as a preparatory step to the reform of the Islamic world. The decision of the Angora Assembly has however altered the situation so completely that a reform of the Khilafat is no longer immediately possible, and will have to be undertaken when a settlement of the connection of the Turkish Nation with the Khilafat is finally reached. In these circumstances, it was being increasingly felt that the task of reconstruction of Muslim society in India should no longer be delayed.

"Out of evil cometh good, and a religious revival following on the trials and tribulations of Mussalmans has already quickened the Muslim pulse. A far larger number of Mussalmans is now devoting its attention to religious studies in a spirit of free enquiry combined with humility and reverence, and it is to be hoped that added impetus will now be given by the Khilafat organisation to this movement, so that the distance which still separates the ordinary people from the Ulema may soon be reduced in a manner befitting the followers of a Faith that has no priesthood and recognises no distinction between the Laity and the Clergy.

"Bitter experience during our recent trials has shown that our educational ideas and ideals need to be greatly modified. While institutions like the Jamia-Millia Islamia are more than ever needed for higher education, and specially as nurseries for our future public workers and teachers of the masses, and their curricula have to be revised in the light of the experience recently gained at such great cost, a far wider diffusion of education among the masses is a crying necessity of the future. A war of extermination must be waged against illiteracy in order to make the poorest and the humblest Muslim as nearly self-dependent as possible in all matters including religion itself. Vast areas exist in India to-day with large Muslim populations appallingly ignorant even of the elements of their religion, whom neither secular teachers nor preachers of religion have in recent times tried to influence and improve. They must no longer be neglected by the educated members of the community.

"No village or group of neighbouring small villages and no quarter of a town should be without its schools for elementary instruction lodged in the mosque of the locality, and religious and secular education must go hand in hand and must suit the needs and circumstances of all classes of people, particularly the peasants and the workmen. For those who are too old to be attracted to schools, the local Mosque should provide facilities for a wider diffusion of Islamic culture. The appointment of properly trained Imams who could be the teachers of Muslim children, the members of Muslim youths and the guides, philosophers and friends of the more elderly Mussalmans of the locality, and the establishment of a library and reading room attached to every Mosque would make it the social and intellectual centre and the ideal Islamic club-house of the locality. The establishment and organisation of Muslim Orphanages would not only save our orphans from falling into wrong hands and from becoming waifs and strays, but would also provide a chain of nurseries of Muslim Missionaries comparatively freer than others and more like the ASHABI SUFFA who formed the standing army of the Missionaries of Islam in the days of the Holy Prophet. The Mopla orphans are the first charge on our resources, and a beginning must be made with them at once in order not only to save them from starvation but also to change the face of the entire region inhabited by our Mopla brethren and convert it into a flourishing land, the abode of cultured people as peaceful as they are brave and industrious.

"Mendicancy must also be eradicated from the Muslim community, and this noxious parasitical growth which sucks away only too much of the life-giving sap

drawn from the soil by the productive members of society must be uprooted. Work must be provided for the able-bodied vagrants and refuges must be established for those who suffer from grave disabilities, such as blindness or loss of limbs. Charity must be organised: BAITUL MALS must be established, and ZAKAT collected and regularly distributed to the deserving poor. Pious endowments must be saved for the real beneficiaries from trustees who have converted them into private property, and are guilty of committing perpetual frauds upon the public.

"The use of intoxicants must be discontinued, and Muslim society, once more purged of the drink evil, must stand forth as the pioneer of prohibition. Purity of morals must be insisted upon for men no less than for women, and the curse of prostitution removed both in practice and theory. Last, but not least, poverty is itself a great evil and the mother of many other evils, and while organised charity can do a great deal to mitigate its evil consequences, a better economic organisation of the community alone can constitute an adequate and permanent reform. Mussalmans, especially in Upper India, have too long depended upon service for their maintenance to the neglect of trade and industry, and even those who are not ashamed to eat practically the bread of beggary are none-the-less ashamed of keeping a shop and of only too numerous minor professions that have wrongly been considered not respectable enough for gentlemen and the sons of gentlemen, though the companions of the Prophet themselves were not too proud to follow them. These and other such evils are no doubt very grave, and the formulation of the best of policies and programmes cannot eradicate them by itself, and many generations may pass away before appreciable success can be recorded, but unless the best minds of the community can take all these matters into consideration, and sitting, so to speak, in continuous Conference frame policies and devise measures to deal with them, even the least success is hopeless, and further decline is certain.

RELATION WITH OTHER COMMUNITIES.

"Mussalmans have also to be taught to take their proper share in public life and to accept readily and cheerfully their portion of the sacrifices and burdens and responsibilities as members of a composite Nation struggling to be free. They have to be fully awakened to a sense of their duty to their Mother-land, and if they have to safeguard their communal rights against apprehended encroachments of any of their fellow-citizens, they must not neglect to safeguard their National rights against the long-continued and too-long tolerated encroachments of their alien rulers. They must learn to face their rulers as a united Nation, and to face their Indian brethren as a united community.

"They must be taught to shrink from no legitimate sacrifice demanded in the causes of National freedom and of National unity, and far from extorting for themselves special privileges at the expense of sister communities, they should be willing to surrender as much as they can, even of their own proper share of benefits according to the Nation. But this surrender should be made out of love, not out of fear. It must be made out of their strength, not out of their weakness, and it must be made with their eyes open rather than in ignorance or out of political gullibility. It is on these lines that our political ideas and ideals have to be revised and our political activities reorganised. Had the Khilafat been functioning properly, it would have initiated or at least stimulated and encouraged, and in a general way, supervised the work of reconstruction and reform in every department of our communal life except politics which, apart from the diversity of circumstances and distinctive features and peculiarities of different countries inhabited by Mussalmans, is additionally influenced and conditioned in the case of the Mussalmans of India by their subjection to alien rule. But even if the Khilafat had been functioning properly, the execution of policies and programmes in any case would have been the function of the Mussalmans of this country itself.

"To-day, however, we must not only execute but also frame them, and our unaided judgment must do the best it can during the time, short or long, that it may take to reach a final settlement about the Khilafat and to establish it on a firm, democratic, and international basis. These ideas had been the subject of many a Muslim public worker's cogitations and of his discussions with many of his fellow-workers ever since the Treaty of Lausanne was signed, and we secured a little breathing time. The sensational news from Angora, however, forcibly attracted attention once more to Turkey, and the future of the Khilafat once more became the one absorbing topic for Indian Mussalmans, though now in a sense different to

that when its future causes anxiety on account of the hostile intentions of our non-Muslim enemies. Our anxiety is still very great, but thanks to our National slavery, when we cannot even leave the shores of India for other Muslim lands on a religious mission of peace and reconciliation, nothing can be done to relieve that anxiety beyond waiting on our alien rulers once more with a request for the issue of passports on such terms as they choose to dictate in their characteristic arrogance, and hoping that at least some of our prominent public workers who were denied the honor of being declared guilty of offences against the State for doing their duty by Islam and by India would be permitted to proceed to Turkey and to convert their Turkish brethren to their own views on the vexed question of the Khilafat. Other public workers who are subjected to an embargo and are not allowed to go abroad have now leisure enough to take up the thread of their work in India and to resume activities that were interrupted more than a decade ago.

"The Khilafat Working Committee now took great consideration of the vital question whether the Khilafat organisation should continue to confine its scope to the safeguarding of the temporal power of Islam, and in particular, to the restoration to Islam of the Jazirat-ul-Arab after freeing it from non-Muslim domination and control, and to the attainment of Swaraj in India as the best possible means to this end, or to extend it to the entire communal life in India as well. The Working Committee unanimously agreed to extend the scope of the Khilafat organisation and to make all communal work its province, in the first place, because a wastage of energy must be prevented, and all avoidable friction must be avoided, and in the next place, because the community trusts the Khilafat organisation in spite of an insidious hostile propaganda of the most virulent and nefarious character, as it has trusted no other communal organisation before. Much of the dissatisfaction felt and expressed latterly with the Khilafat organisation, and particularly in Upper India, is by far the best and the sincerest compliment that could have been paid to it, for wherever the Mussalmans have suffered or have felt aggrieved, they have petulantly asked why the Khilafat organisation has not come to their rescue, forgetting, of course, that its scope was limited. They had learnt to trust the Khilafat organisation, and that trust continues to this day. But the compliment implied in these repeated complaints is not in reality paid to individuals. It is paid rather to the democratic constitution of the Khilafat organisation. Leaving out of consideration for the moment our Indian brethren of other faiths who have done so much useful work as members and even office-bearers, the Khilafat organisation is open to every Mussalman who chooses to pay four annas a year to its funds, and its creed is no other than the creed of Islam. It sets up no other creed. There is no class of the community which is not represented on it, except those, of course, who are too indifferent to the call of Islam or too afraid of their alien rulers to respond to it, and hardly any Muslim enjoying the confidence of his co-religionists is to be found outside its ranks. With a constitution so broad-based and democratic, the Khilafat organisation is well qualified to accept the additional responsibilities which it is the clear desire of the community that it should undertake. But the decision of the Working Committee is only the first necessary step in this direction.

The Future.

"The Central Khilafat Committee will meet at Delhi in the last week of June, and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema is also invited to hold a joint session along with the Khilafat Committee. The whole question will then be threshed out and finally decided and when work is undertaken in all these directions, and on this large scale, a new chapter will, it is confidently trusted, be opened in the history of Islam in India. Our enemies have never spared us, and repression has followed ridicule, and ridicule has followed repression in a vicious circle. Their attacks have increased in venom and in violence, and the least that the community must expect from them is virulent abuse of the principle workers and assiduous efforts to sow further distrust and doubt in the minds of the masses. But the workers have already passed through this ordeal successfully, and nothing can wean off the masses from them except their own incapacity and their own betrayal of public confidence. On the eve of this great voyage, I wish all my fellow voyagers "God-speed," and hope that, as ever, they will place their trust in God and in their own valiant selves."

All-India Muslim League

The 15th adjourned session of the All-India Muslim League was after four years opened at the Globe Theatre, Lahore, on the 24th May 1924. Mr. M. A. Jinnah M. L. A. presided. A large number of Khilafatists and Congressmen were present including Maulana Mahomed Ali, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Asaf Ali, Dr. Kitchlew, Raizada Hansraj, Messrs. Shuaib Qureshi, Moazzam Ali, Mushir Hussain Kidwai, Dr. Satyapal, Lala Gobardhan Das, Maulvi Abdul Qadir, Zahur Ahmed, Mian Fazl-i Hussain, Dr. Mirza Yakub Beg, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, Maulvi Syed Murthuza of Madras, Mr. Abul Kasim of Burdwan and Lala Dunichand.

The revival of the League after four years, and at Lahore under the influence of Mian Fazl-i Hossain, the great anti-Hindu and anti-Sikh Moslem Minister of Punjab who is responsible for the strong wave of communal feeling of the Moslems that is swaying the whole country since Gandhis' and the Ali Brothers' Hindu-Moslem unity of 1921, lent colour to a strong suspicion that it was an attempt on the part of the Minister further to rally the Moslems against other communities, and to wean them from the Congress. Not more than 33 members out of a total of 130 came from outside the Punjab, most of whom even were members of the Assembly who were going to attend its Simla session next week. The ostensible object of the League was no doubt to prepare the Muslims for the coming constitutional changes which the action of the Congress Party had made inevitable, and to safeguard their interests.

Agha Mahomed SAFDAR, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his welcome address in Urdu, in the course of which he referred to the strained Hindu-Muslim relations in the Punjab and regretted that fighting was nowhere so severe as in that unfortunate province which had become a regular theatre of war. The Muslims demanded right to sit in Councils, Committees, District Boards, Universities, and to share seats in proportion to their population which the Hindus resented. He urged tolerance and requested that all places of worship must be respected and protected. All religious differences could be wiped away if Hindus and Muslims once realised that no religion allowed indiscriminate destruction of man and all religions preached self-control and toleration.

Diagonising the root-cause of the trouble, he made a unique and highly disconcerting statement to the effect that the "majority of Muslims is poor, the majority of Hindus is in better circumstances," and therefore the poor Muslim is ready to rob the rich Hindus at the slightest provocation. He tried to give a touch of "socialism" to the recent Hindu-Moslem fracas, and offered as the remedy the raising of the economic condition of the people, particularly Moslems. "Our ideal, the welfare of India and peace with our neighbours; our immediate need, internal reform".

Referring to the Khilafat, the Chairman said it was a mistake to give the title to Sultans of Hedaz, Egypt or Morocco or the Amir of Afghanistan without due consideration. It was essential that Khilafat should not be wasted in a powerless Islamic Kingdom. The Muslim League and the Khilafat Committee should be amalgamated.

The Presidential Address

After paying a tribute to the late Mr. Bhurgri and referring to the circumstances that helped to his being called upon to preside over the present session of the League, Mr. Jinnah said:—

Survey of the Last Four Years' Events.

"Since 1920, owing to the most extraordinary and exceptional events which occurred one after the other starting with the passing of the Rowlatt Bill, tragedy of the Punjab and horrors of Amritsar, Treaty of Sevres and the Khilafat agitation, the policy and the programme of Non-co-operation enunciated and formulated by Mahatma Gandhi was the order of the day. The League was not able and not willing to keep abreast with the movement started and first approved of at the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress and confirmed by the Nagpur Session of December 1920, and had perforce, in view of a very powerful volume of public opinion that rallied round Mahatma Gandhi's policy and programme, to go into the back-ground. Since the commencement of 1923 it was realised and admitted that the Tripple Boycott was a failure, and that the Mass Civil Dis-obedience could not be undertaken successfully in the near future. Bardoli even was declared by Mahatma Gandhi as not ready for Mass Civil Disobedience; and even prior to his prosecution and conviction, Mahatma Gandhi had to resort to what is known as the Bardoli or Constructive Programme. Long before that, the Tripple Boycott of Law Courts, Schools and Colleges and Councils had failed. The Lawyers, barring few exceptions, did not pay much heed to Mahatma Gandhi's call and the students after a first rush of an impulsive character, realised that it was a mistake. Gaya witnessed a struggle in the Congress Camp and Mr. Das finally laid the foundations of what has subsequently become and is now known as the Swaraj Party favouring Council entry. Boycott of Council as desired by Mahatma Gandhi was far from being effective or useful. Council seats in the country were filled up, the Khilafat organisation which was carried on could not claim any better position and being the hand-maid of the Indian National Congress, it pursued practically the same policy and programme and it succeeded no more or better in giving effect to the programme which it had set up for itself. The Swaraj Party eventually at the Special Session of the Indian National Congress at Delhi in September 1923, prevailed upon and obtained the verdict of the Indian National Congress to permit those who wished to enter the Legislature, to do so. Whatever may have been the resultant good or evil, I think you will agree with me that we must at this moment make use of the good and forget and discard the evil. It is in this spirit that I wish that we should proceed with our future work. Many mistakes have been made, blunders have been committed, great deal of harm has been done, but there has come out of it a great deal of good also. The result of the struggle of the last three years has this to our credit that there is an open movement for the achievement of Swaraj for India. There is a fearless and persistent demand that steps must be taken for the immediate establishment of Dominion Responsible Government in India. The ordinary man in the street has found his political consciousness and realised that self-respect and honour of the country demand that the Government of the country should not be in the hands of any one else except the people of the Country.

Necessity of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

"But while that demand is a just one and the sentiment only natural and requires every encouragement, we must not forget that one essential requisite condition to achieve Swaraj is the political unity between the Hindus and the Muhammadans; for the advent of foreign rule and its continuance in India is primarily due to the fact that the people of India, particularly the Hindus and Muhammadans, are not united and do not sufficiently trust each other. The domination by the Bureaucracy will continue so long as the Hindus and Muhammadans do not come to a settlement. I am almost inclined to say that India will get Dominion Responsible Government the day the Hindus and the Muhammadans are united. Swaraj is almost inter-changeable term with Hindu-Muslim unity. If we wish to be free people, let us unite, but if we wish to continue slaves of Bureaucracy, let us fight amongst ourselves and gratify petty vanity over petty matters, Englishmen being our arbiters.

The Irish Parallel.

"Gentlemen, I quoted in my speech at the Muslim League Session in 1916 from the speech of Mr. Lloyd George which will I think bear repetition and if you will permit me, I will quote again. Mr. Lloyd George said: "He was convinced now that it was misunderstanding, partly racial, partly religious. It was to the interest of both to have it removed. But there seemed to have been some evil chance that frustrated every effort made for the achievement of better relations. He had tried once but did not succeed. But the fault was not entirely on one side. He had felt the whole time that we were moving in an atmosphere of nervous suspicions and distrust, pervasive and universal of everything and every body. He was drenched with suspicion of Irishmen by Englishmen and of Englishmen by Irishmen and worse and most fatal of all, by the suspicion of Irishmen. It was quagmire of distrust which clogged the footsteps of progress. That was the real enemy of Ireland. If that could be slain, he believed, it would accomplish an act of reconciliation that would make Ireland greater and Britain greater and would make the United Kingdom and the Empire greater than they ever were before.

"This quotation, gentlemen, applied to the situation in Ireland in 1916. They apply to India to-day if the words were transposed and instead of 'Irishmen' and 'Englishmen' you were to substitute 'Hindus' and 'Muhammadans.' But it applies no longer to Ireland. Ireland has since attained her freedom and we are still continuing our quarrels. It is for you who come here from all parts of India to devise ways and means and find a solution for the greatest enemy of India—the differences between the Hindus and Muhammadans. I have no doubt that if the Hindus and Muhammadans make a whole-hearted and earnest effort, we shall be able to find a solution once more as we did at Lucknow in 1916. It is only then that India, united and strong, will be able to really galvanise the British Parliament and the British Nation into action and force their hands to grant Dominion Responsible Government to India. In the case of Ireland and Egypt, mark how they have extorted their freedom from the hands of the British Parliament and the British Nation.

Commercial, Industrial and Agricultural Progress.

"But while that is the main goal, upon which must be concentrated the best efforts, the energy and the intellect of the country, we must, in the meanwhile, promote, support and advance the commercial, industrial and agricultural progress and welfare in all their varied activities in the country and strive to get a sound system of finance and currency. We must take steps to organise labour in the country, industrial as well as agricultural, including ryots and peasants, to bring about speedy improvement in their economic condition and protect their interests. We must enable them to take their place in their country's struggle for Swaraj. We must teach them to take their proper share in the constitution of Dominion Responsible Government of India. We must not lose any opportunity to promote and advance mass education so as to make the elementary education universal and thus dispel the ignorance and darkness and bring light to millions of our countrymen who cannot claim even the three R's. We must take steps, if necessary, to see that elementary education is made compulsory. We should, as far as possible, organise and devise means for the purpose of encouraging and establishing Swadeshi industries and manufacture, promoting National Education, removing untouchability and encouraging settlement of disputes by arbitration. There are many other vital and important questions, administrative or otherwise, such as, Railway administration and its management and its finance, defence of India, Indianisation of and raising the National Army, Indianisation of Services, organising and instructing electorates, and supporting candidates for Legislatures, local or central, at the elections. All these questions can be dealt with partly by educative propaganda throughout the country and partly through and by means of the existing Legislatures. While we unflinchingly and with all our might and main support the demand for Reforms, provided the rights and interest of the minorities in any existing scheme or in any scheme of advance will be duly protected and safeguarded, yet we cannot associate ourselves with any policy of deliberate and wanton wreckage or destruction. We ought to be prepared, if the Government do not make satisfactory response to the National demand for Reforms, *as a last resort to make the Government by Legislature or through Legislature impossible* and we should, if necessary, adopt for that purpose all means and measures to bring about parliamentary obstruction and constitutional dead-locks. But in the meantime we

must extract all the good we can from the Government by and through the Legislature by means of such limited powers and influence as is permitted to us to exercise within the scope of the Government of India Act, 1919, as it is constituted to-day.

The Khilafat.

"The Khilafat question has for the moment owing to the recent decisions of the Angora Assembly under the guidance and leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and Ismet Pasha, taken such a turn that no immediate solution can be suggested. But let us hope that a Congress of the Mussalmans of the world, which is in contemplation, will have, when it meets, in its midst all those most qualified and competent to speak on the question, and the united wisdom of those learned in the Law and Religion of Islam will find a solution of what at present appears to be one of the most amazingly complicated questions.

Swaraj.

"Then there remains the question of Swaraj. Thus the immediate issue between India and Great Britain of paramount magnitude and importance is the amendment of the constitution of the Government of India. The Assembly passed a resolution last February by the vote of 76 representatives against 48 recommending to the Governor-General in Council to take immediate steps to establish full Responsible Government in India. The Government only showed its willingness to move by means of a departmental committee to inquire into the defects in the working of the Act of 1919 and further to inquire whether any advance should be made within the Rule-making power—but refused to commit itself with regard to the necessity of amending the Act, except to rectify any administrative imperfection. So we ask for bread and the Government is offering us stone. Surely the position is so manifestly unjust and untenable that it cannot be maintained for long. For, is it claimed that the question as to Provincial Autonomy to be granted to the Provinces and introduction of responsibility in the Central Government cannot even be considered until the expiration of ten years' period contemplated by the Act? Is it possible in view of the universal opinion throughout the country to the contrary to work the Reforms such as they are without further advance until 1929? The Statute does not bar an inquiry being undertaken at any time as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of Responsible Government or to extend the degree of Responsible Government."

After outlining the present system of Government in India, Mr. Jinnah then pointed out its defects and how unworkable it has become and proceeded :—

"Is it possible therefore to allow the present position to continue? I feel that the situation is far too serious and I hope that the Government has already realised it and will not allow any further delay, which, in my opinion, would be dangerous, but meet the universal demand which is being voiced from a thousand platforms all over the country that its immediate steps must be taken to scrap the present constitution and devise a constitution in consultation with the representatives of the people which will give them a real control and responsibility over their affairs and full scope for development of all their resources and enable them to stand as free people under the full-fledged Dominion Responsible Government amongst the ranks of the Nations of the world. This is the task before the All-India Muslim League and the country at large. I therefore earnestly appeal and pray to my countrymen to unite and organise all the resources of our country for the attainment of our immediate goal—that is, freedom for India."

2nd. Day's Sitting

Next day, **May 25th,** the League met again and passed a number of resolutions. The most important of these is the 2nd resolution on the fundamental Muslim rights in the electorates and the Legislatures. Considerable heat was created during the discussion of this resolution.

The Second Resolution

Khan Bahadur Sheikh ABDUL QADIR moved a lengthy resolution about the fundamental principles of the Indian Constitution and in doing so said that in the future constitution of India there must be some guarantee so that people may live in peace when Swaraj was attained. The first fundamental guarantee should be that the Muslim

majority of the population in the Punjab, Bengal and Frontier Provinces should not be interfered with in any territorial redistribution that might become necessary. The second guarantee should be that the basis of representation in the Legislature and in all other elected bodies shall be population except that the very small minorities may be given representation in excess of their numerical proportion in those cases in which they would remain entirely unrepresented in the absence of such exceptional treatment, subject however to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to minority or even to equality. The other guarantees shall be full religious liberty and that communal representation through separate electorates should be continued as at present with the provision that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorates in favour of joint electorates.

Dr. ZIA-UDDIN AHMED of Aligarh moved the following amendment to clause (c) of the resolution that the basis of the representation in Legislatures and in all other elected bodies shall be population, provided that minorities shall have adequate and effective representation in all elected bodies in every province subject however to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to minority or even to equality.

Mian SHAH NAWAZ in suporting the amendment said that minorities should be given more seats than they were entitled to according to population and should be treated more reasonably and humanely. This would promote friendly feelings amongst the communities which are essential for peaceful development of the country.

Chaudhuri SHAHABUDDIN supported the amendment and said that Punjabis should be glad if they gave a number of more seats to Hindus and should not grudge a few seats here and there for the minorities.

Mr. KHALIQ-UZ-ZAMAN opposed the amendment and said that the Punjab, Bengal and Frontier Mahomedans were quite reasonable in claiming representations according to their population and it would be derogatory for minorities to stretch their hands to majorities for a few more seats.

Maulana MAHOMED ALI then rose amidst deafening shouts of "Allah O Akbar" and said that all representations should be settled on friendly basis with minorities. He strongly opposed communalism against nationalism and boldly stood out for Hindu minorities.

Mian FAZL-I HUSSAIN, Education Minister of the Punjab Government, said if any community in India had made any sacrifice of their interests in 1916 at Lucknow it was the Mahomedan community and he was glad that he was one of them. But since then the other communities had been systematically demanding more sacrifice from the Mussalmans. Time has now however come when they should stop and consider how far this could proceed in that manner. (A voice:—Is Mian Fazl-i Hussain speaking as Minister of Government or as a member of Muslim League?) Mussalmans should see, he said, how far the other communities were ready to sacrifice their interest in the struggle for liberty (At this stage there was an uproar in the House and voices asked the President whether Mian Sahib would have unlimited time for his speech.)

The Amendment was then put to vote but the House being sharply divided a division was taken according to provinces and resulted as follows :—126 voted in favour of the amendment, 83 against.

Dr. Zia-Uddin's amendment that minorities should be given not proportionate but adequate and effective representation was declared passed, because Mr. Abul Kasim and his friend from Bengal were declared to have 30 votes each. By the rules of the Muslim League, voting goes by provinces and Bengal as the province having the largest Muslim population is entitled to get 60 votes. Moulvi Abul Kasim and his friend were the only two men present and they carried all the 60 votes with them. The total number of members present amounted to 130, out of which many were Government officials. Even of these, 97 came from the Punjab and only 33 from outside the province.

Mr. ASAF ALI moved the following amendment to clause (e) : "If the other communities of India agree to reservation of seats in Legislature in direct proportion to numerical strength of their population and common electorates, common general and special electorates should be substituted for existing exclusive constituency."

Mr. Asaf Ali's amendment was lost after a short debate.

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were adopted at the All-India Muslim League held at Lahore on the 24th and 25th of May :—

Resolution No. I.—The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad and untimely death of the Hon. Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri and feels that in him the Mussalmans of India had lost one of the greatest patriots, politicians and disinterested servants of the community and desires that this expression of sorrow on behalf of the community may be conveyed to his family. (From the Chair.)

K. B. Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Bar-at-Law of Lahore, then moved and Sheikh Neyaz Muhammad of Lahore seconded the following Resolution :

Basic Principles of Swaraj.

Resolution No. II.—Whereas the speedy attainment of Swaraj is one of the declared objects of the All-India Muslim League, and whereas it is now generally felt that the conception of Swaraj should be translated into the realm of concrete politics and become a factor in the daily life of the Indian people, the All-India Muslim League hereby resolves that in any scheme of a Constitution for India that may ultimately be agreed upon and accepted by the people, the following shall constitute its basic and fundamental principles :

(a) The existing Provinces of India shall all be united under a common Government on a federal basis so that each Province shall have full and complete Provincial autonomy, the functions of the Central Government being confined to such matters only as are of general and common concern.

(b) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time become necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority of population in the Punjab, Bengal and N. W. F. Province.

(c) The basis of representation in the Legislature and in all other elected bodies shall be population, except that very small minorities may be given representation in excess of their numerical proportion in those cases in which they would remain entirely unrepresented in the absence of such exceptional treatment, subject, however, to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to an equality.

(d) Full religious liberty, i.e., liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association, and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.

(e) The idea of joint electorates with a specified number of seats being unacceptable to Indian Muslims, on the ground of its being a fruitful source of discord and disunion and also of being wholly inadequate to achieve the object of effective representation of various communal groups, the representation of the latter shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorates in favour of joint electorates.

(f) No bill or resolution or any part thereof affecting any community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the elected body concerned, shall be passed in any Legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of that community in that particular body oppose such bill or resolution or part thereof.

The resolution was put first to the meeting in parts, and the Preamble and Clauses (a) (d) and (f) were adopted without further discussion.

Maulana Mahomed Ali adversely criticised the language and import of Clause (b), but it was put to the vote and carried.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed of Aligarh moved an amendment to substitute the following for Clause (c) of the proposed resolution viz :

"The mode of representation in the Legislature and in all other elected bodies shall guarantee adequate and effective representation to minorities in every Province subject, however, to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to an equality"

The amendment was seconded by Mian Shah Newaz of Lahore and supported by Moulvi Muhammad Yakub, M. L. A. of Moradabad, Chaudhuri Shahabuddin M. L. C. of Lahore, Moulvi Abdul Quasim, M. L. A. of Burdwan and the Hon. Mian Fazl-i-Hussain K. B. of Lahore. It was opposed by Ghazi Abdul Rahman of Lyallpur, Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman of Lucknow and Maulana Mahomed Ali, and on a division being taken, the amendment was carried by a majority of 126 to 83.

An amendment proposed by Mr. Asaf Ali of Delhi and seconded by Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai and another proposed by Syed Habib Shah of Lahore and seconded by Maulana Mahomed Ali to alter Clause (c) were both put to the vote and lost.

The whole resolution, as amended by Dr. Ziauddin, was then put to the vote and carried.

Complete Overhauling of Reform Act.

Resolution No. III.—That in the opinion of the All-India Muslim League the Reforms granted by the Government of India Act 1919 are wholly unsatisfactory and altogether inadequate to meet the requirements of the country and that the virtual absence of any responsibility of the executive to the elected representatives of the people in the Legislature has really rendered them futile and unworkable : the League therefore urges that immediate steps be taken to establish Swaraj, i.e., full Responsible Government, having regard to the provisions of Resolution No. II, and this, in the opinion of the League, can only be done by a complete overhauling of the Government of India Act 1919, and not merely by an enquiry with a view to discover defect in the working of the Act and to rectify imperfections under its rule-making power.—(Proposed by Mr. Asaf Ali of Delhi, seconded by M. Barkat Ali of Lahore and supported by Syed Habib Shah of Lahore).

Committee to Frame Constitution

Resolution No. IV.—That the All-India Muslim League do appoint a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen to frame a scheme of a Constitution for the Government of India, in consultation with the Committee or Committees that may be appointed by other political organisations in the country for this purpose, and to place the same before a session of the League and, if necessary, a special session of the League may be summoned for that purpose at an early date, to consider and adopt the scheme, viz ;—Mr. M. A. Jinnah of Bombay, Hon. Mian Fazl-i-Hussain K. B. of Lahore, Mr. Maqbul Mahmud of Amritsar, Agha Muhammad Sardar of Sialkot, Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai of Gadia, Syed Zahur Ahmad of Lucknow, Hon. Syed Raza Ali of Allahabad, Chaudhari Khaliquzzaman of Lucknow, Hon. A. K. Fazlul Haq of Calcutta, Mr. Asaf Ali of Delhi; Nawab Sarfraz Hussain Khan of Patna; Mr. Abdul Aziz of Peshawar; Mr. Shuaib Quraishi of Bombay, Moulvi Syed Murtaza of Trichinopoly; Chaudhuri Shahabuddin of Lahore and Syed Habib Shah of Lahore.—(Proposed by Mr. Maqbul Mahmud of Amritsar and seconded by Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai of Gadia).

Muslim Activities' Committee.

Resolution No. V.—That a Committee consisting of the following members of the All-India Muslim League be appointed with power to confer with the Working Committee of the Central Khilafat Committee in order to frame a scheme in consultation with it for the purpose of organising the various public activities of the Muslim community and the said scheme be placed as soon as possible before the Council of the All-India Muslim League and if necessary before the next session of the League for adoption, viz., A. M. Jinnah of Bombay, Hon. Mian Fazl-i-Hussain K. B. of Lahore, Agha Muhammad Safdar of Sialkote; Syed Zahur Ahmad of Lucknow; Moulvi Syed Murtaza of Trichinopoly; Moulvi Abdul Qasim of Burdwan; Moulvi Muhammad Yakub of Moradabad; Hon. M. K. Fazlul Haq of Calcutta, Mr. Sultan Ahmad of Bankipore, Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg of Lahore, Mr. Ghulam Bheek of Lahore, Malik Barkat Ali of Lahore, Dr. Shujauddin of Lahore, M. Samiullah Khan of C. P., Mr. Abdul Aziz of Peshawar, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad of Allahabad, Sheikh Abdul Qadir, K. B. of Lahore, and Moulvi Abdul Karim of Ranchi.—(Proposed by M. Ghulam Mohiuddin of Kasur and seconded by Sirdar Habibullah Khan of Lahore).

Frontier Province.

Resolution No. VI.—That the All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government the immediate and paramount necessity of introducing reforms in the N. W. F. Province and of placing this Province in all respect in a position of equality with the other major Provinces of India.—(Proposed by Mr. Abdul Aziz of Peshawar and seconded by Mr. Abdul Majid Quraishi of Lahore).

Hindu-Muslim Relations

Resolution No. VII.—The All-India Muslim League views with great alarm the deplorable bitterness of feeling at present existing between the Hindus and Mussalmans in the different parts of the country and strongly deprecates the tendency on the part of certain public bodies to aggravate the causes of difference between the two communities, thus doing incalculable harm to the National cause, and while placing on record its firm conviction that no political progress is possible in this

country unless it is based on a solid substratum of Hindu-Muslim unity, and that the interests of the country demand mutual sacrifice and an intensive spirit of give and take on the part of all the communities, the League makes an earnest appeal to all public bodies to discontinue all activities savoring of aggression and to concentrate their efforts on the question of establishing Hindu-Muslim unity on a firm basis.

Resolution No. VIII.—Whereas inter-communal unity is extremely necessary for gaining Swaraj, and whereas conditions, political and religious, unfortunately exist in the country on account of which a recrudescence of inter-communal differences takes place every now and then, and it is most desirable that means should be adopted to meet such cases, the League resolves that Conciliatory Boards, consisting of representatives of all communities, be constituted in different districts with a Central Board in the capital of each Province, (1) to settle all matters likely to create communal differences, and (2) to deal with all cases of conflict, and investigate and enquire into acts of aggression on the part of any particular community.

Resolution No. IX.—The All-India Muslim League deplores the present scandalous state of disorganisation existing among the Muslims in all spheres of life, which not only prevents all healthy inter-change of ideas and co-operation for the good of the community, but also seriously handicaps the Muslims in shouldering their proper share of responsibility in the National struggle for progress and Self-Government, the League, therefore, urges the extreme desirability of concerted action everywhere with a view to secure internal solidarity among the Mussalmans of India and resolves that a Committee be formed to carry out a programme of political, social and economic development with particular reference to the following items :

(1) To popularise the League and establish its Provincial, District, Tahsil, Pargana, and Village Branches throughout India.

(2) To collect funds for the League.

(3) To call upon and to co-operate with the Muslim Educational Conference in India in establishing elementary schools in every village and utilising the village Mosques and Imams for this purpose wherever feasible.

(4) To promote female education among the Mussalmans and to establish Schools for the purpose in villages and towns.

(5) To encourage adult education.

(6) To organise the Muslim Boy Scout Movement.

(7) To encourage the use of khadder and Swadeshi goods.

(8) To encourage and help the establishment of Muslim Banks in the country.

Resolution No. X.—With a view to better the economic and political conditions of the workers and peasants of India, the All-India Muslim League considers it most essential that the organisation of the workers and peasants be taken in hand and a movement be immediately started on the lines chalked out by the All-India Congress Committee in this connection in order to achieve these objects; the League therefore resolves that a Committee of five members be appointed by the Council of the League to meet the Committee appointed by the All-India Congress Committee for this purpose to draw up a practical programme for the organisation of workers and peasants of India.

Resolution No. XI.—That this League urges all the Provincial Governments generally and U. P. Government particularly to enforce the Wakf Act of 1923 in their respective Provinces, and further resolves that Provincial Leagues be called upon to appoint Provincial Committees to look to the proper administration of the Wakfs in each Province.

Resolution No. XII.—That a Committee be appointed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League to consider the grievances of the Mussalmans in the matter of their representation in the public services of the country and to submit its report to the League before its annual session with suggestions as to the ways and means whereby the Muslims may be assured of their proper and legitimate place in the administration of the country.

A Resolution was also passed deploring the unsympathetic attitude of the Kashmir Durbar on the needs of Moslems in Kashmir.

After appointing Office-bearers, and the usual thanks, the session then closed.

Provincial Conferences

APRIL—JUNE 1924

Provincial and District Political Conferences are held in India about the second quarter of each year to discuss local as well as all-India affairs and also to take stock of the work delegated to them by the bigger all-India organisations. Accordingly some very important conferences were held throughout India during the months of April to June last. The most important of these is the Bengal Provincial Conference at Serajgunge, where the much talked of Gopinath Saha resolution was passed, a full account of which is given in the following pages. Of the other conferences may be mentioned the following of which the more important ones are given in somewhat greater detail here.—

Of the Nationalist Conferences where Congress-men hold sway, whether Swarajists or No-changers, the following are important.—

APRIL 27th—Maharastra Provincial Conference at Jalgaon Peth with Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande in the chair. At this Conference Mr. Deshpande made a scene by scathingly attacking the Swarajists who did not attend. Mr Gangadhar Rao is one of the leading No-changer disciple of M. Gandhi and his exhibition of ill-temper was much commented upon.

MAY 1st—Third Karnataka Provincial Conference at Gokarn with Shri Sankaracharya of Saradapith in the chair (see p. 680.)

MAY 2nd—Seventeenth Godavari District Political Conference with Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu as president (see p. 681.)

MAY 3rd—Sixteenth annual session of the Nambudri Yogakshema Sabha at Trichur with Mr. M. T. Vasudevan Nambudri in the chair. This was held mainly to discuss the untouchability question and to devise means to help the Vaikom Satyagraha (see p. xii.)

MAY 3rd—Godavari District Volunteers Conference at Almeru with Andhraratna Gopalkrishnayya in the chair. This was a conference of the Congress Volunteers formed in Andhradesha at the time of the last Congress at Cocanada. The Conference resolved to reorganise the Volunteers and to adopt the "Ramdandu" as a part of the Volunteer organisation.

MAY 7th—The S. N. D. P. Yogam at Vaikom under Dr. Kunhi Kannan as President. This was a Conference of the 'untouchable' Ezhavas who wanted to remove the ban under which they suffered. It supported the Vaikom Satyagraha and joined hands with the Nairs' Conference held at the same place for the same purpose.

MAY 13th—The Seventh Gujerat Political Conference at Borsad under Sjt K. Kalelkar was a great N.-C.-O. Conference a full account of which is given on p. 678.

MAY 15th—The Depressed Classes Conference at Borsad under Sjt. V. L. Fardke passed resolutions for the removal of untouchability and was important because M. Gandhi who sent a message to it was personally concerned in its proceedings.

MAY 18th—Fourteenth session of the Tanjore District Conference at Mannargadi under Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar was important in as much as Mr. Iyengar who was believed up till now to be an out and out No-changer gave out his mind that he was veering towards the Swarajists. He however advocated Congressmen capturing the seats in the Councils and then keeping them empty.

MAY 18th—The Tanjore Mirasdars Conference at Mannargadi with the Hon. Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar in the chair was organised in protest of the enhancement of rent of the land-holders of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. The Mirasdars resolved to start a no-tax campaign. An interesting interlude arose when a policeman walked up to the dais and served a notice on Mr. Satyamurti prohibiting him from addressing the Conference.

JUNE 1st.—The Bengal Provincial Conference at Serajgunge under M. Akram Khan as president. Mr. C. R. Das and his Swarajists dominated the conference and the Bengal No-changers suffered a signal defeat (see p. 666). This conference showed that Bengal was overwhelmingly Swarajist.

JUNE 15th—The First Omalur Adi-Dravid Conference at Kamalapuram under Mr. K. V. Subba Rao was more or less a N-C-O Conference where M. Gandhi's lead was followed. Messrs. Rajagopalachari, M. G. Vasudeviah and other N-C-O leaders were the prominent speakers.

JUNE 28th—The Utkal Provincial Conference at Cuttack under Dr. Sir P. C. Ray who gave a very important address on Khadder and the Charka (see p. 682).

Moderates' Conferences

Of the Conferences of the Moderate party three are given here; *viz.*, the U. P. and Bombay Liberal Conferences and the U. P. Liberal Association. These are the only "live" organisations of the now declining Moderate Party, being still under the guidance of such men as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Sastri, and Mr. Chintamoni. The Western India National Liberal Association held its fourth annual general meeting in Bombay on May 3rd. It was presided over by Sir Dinshaw Wacha who assured the members that "the future of India was in the hands of the Liberals alone". The session was not important.

Non-Brahman Conferences

Of the important Non-Brahman Conferences may be mentioned the meeting of the South India Liberal Federation (given on p. 685), and a social Conference of the C. P. Non-Brahmans under the Hon. Mr. Jadhav held on the 19th April.

On JUNE 17th was held the Adi-Dravida Conference at Trichinopoly under Sir A. P. Patro in which the caste question was fully discussed and the defects of Diarchy was exposed. The President strongly attacked the Swarajists and outlined the work done so far by the Madras Govt. for the Depressed classes, and asked them to turn away from the non-co-operators.

Europeans & Anglo-Indians.

Europeans and Anglo-Indians have no very strong party organisations of their own perhaps because they do not need any. The European Association of Calcutta and Bombay are however strong enough to make even Viceroys and Governors quail before them. Their real strength lies in the different Chambers of Commerce situated in the provincial head-quarters. The Annual General meeting of the Calcutta European Association was held on the 4th February last an account of which has been given in the *Annual Register* 1923 Vol. II *Supplement* p. 316. Another important meeting was held in May last which is given here on p. 690.

The Bengal Provincial Conference

SERAJGUNGE—1ST JUNE 1924.

The famous SERAJGUNGE CONFERENCE, or the "Bengal Branch of the Indian National Congress" as some *sub-janta* M. P.s put it in the House of Commons, commenced its Session on June 1st under the Presidency of Maulana Akram Khan. It was a great triumph of the Swarajists, as quite a crop of other Conferences were held mainly with a view to draw away people from the great Political Conference of Bengal where the influence of Mr. C. R. Das reigned supreme. A Mahomedan conference organised by Mr. Shiraji, once a prominent nationalist, but now an instrument in the hands of the reactionary Ministerialists, was set up with Khan Bahadur Musaraff Hossain as president, but it proved a miserable failure as the majority of the Mahomedans could easily see through the lure and spurned it. Of the other sister conferences, the Khilafat Conference under Haji Abdul Rashid Khan, a Student's Conference, a Hindu Conference where Swami Shraddhananda, the great protagonist of *Suddhi* and *Sangathan* movement, was present on behalf of the Benares Hindu Mahasabha, and a Khadi Exhibition opened by Dr. Sir P. C. Roy, deserve to be mentioned. Trouble was anticipated owing to the great difference between the No-changers and the Swarajists and between the Ministerialist and and the Swarajist Moslems, and every party wanted to carry the Conference by *coup de force*. A strenuous attempt was made by the No-changers of Bengal to castrate some of the resolutions, mainly those on Council-entry, Gopinath Saha, and the Hindu-Muslim Pact, but they had to collapse before the overwhelming majority against them in the house. The conference showed that Bengal was 90 per cent. Swarajist. The Gopinath resolution, however, has since then become historic. It has formed the subject matter of grave deliberation amongst the Europeans and Anglo-Indians, from the House of Lords and Commons down to the petty Eurasian Clubs of Calcutta, and has been the parent of much acrid controversy in the press, from which even Mahatma Gandhi could not keep out. A chorus of angry protest was raised by the London *Times*, the *Morning Post*, and other Tory papers in England who took up the cry from the *Pioneer*, the *Englishman*, the *Times of India*, and other leading Anglo-Indian papers in India who discovered in the resolution a secret incitement to the murder of Englishmen, and roundly accused Mr. Das as the intigator of the crime. The real object was of course to make out a case for Govt., to forthwith intern Mr. Das, and thus to strike the Swarajist party of Bengal out of action.

The following is an account of the proceedings of this very important conference.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Moulana Mahammad AKRAM KHAN opened his presidential address in Bengali with a sweet Urdu song.

Referring to the present condition of our national activities, the President said that loss of political freedom was at the root of all our ills and that unless and until a burning desire for freedom possessed the soul of our countrymen, specially of the upper classes, the talk of freedom was a mere cry for the moon. Slavery had vitiated our whole life. Even those of our educated countrymen who appeared to have responded first to the call of the Motherland, had not been truly imbued with love of freedom. There was not the passion, the fire, the insatiable desire for freedom in them. They had not fully awakened; their life and soul had not been possessed by a firm resolve to attain freedom. The national body was inert to-day under the influence of morphia, so to say. It could not even realise that it had been diseased. When a sick man failed to feel his disease, it could be said with certainty that he was lost for good. Such was the case with our nation. Petty jealousies, strifes and feuds born of selfishness were hacking her soul to pieces. Had her sons truly awakened, we would not have to see such a sad spectacle. When the mother's house was on fire, was it meet and proper for two brothers to remain idle or to engage themselves in fratricidal strife over trifles? The mentality of the whole nation required a complete change.

FEARS AND DISTRUST.

That fears and distrusts reigned supreme in our midst was eloquent of the fact that our leaders and workers had not been captured by real desire for freedom. All our tolerance, all liberality and largeness of heart ended with the deliberations in the Congresses and Conferences and as soon as we got out of them we forgot ourselves and

indulged in our party or communal jealousies. Our unity was a seeming unity got up to throw dust in the eyes of the British.

Continuing the President said that there were people in both the communities, Hindu and Moslem, who were mortally in dread of the immediate advent of Swaraj.

A section of Musalmans feared that if Swaraj really came now, twenty-two crores of Hindus would keep them under the thumb; for the Hindus were larger in number and more prosperous and advanced in education. So Swaraj would be the cause of Moslems' ruin. A section of Hindus too on the other hand had a particular dread of the ghost of Pan-Islamism. They thought if the English left the shores of India to-day, Pan-Islam would fall upon them with all its gruesome terrors. The fact was that many of the educated Hindus and Musalmans did not want Swaraj.

The President then said that the Moslems' fear of the Hindus was entirely baseless. To those of the Moslems who thought that, as the Hindus were larger in number and more powerful being far advanced in education and wealth than the Moslems, it was better for them to cling to the third party, he said that Moslems were never a docile nation easily to be petted or crushed. Moslems' rise and power had come through war and strife. No repression had been able to kill them in the past and no repression would be able to kill them in future too. Moslems were not a weak nation. The President did not think that Moslems were objects of the world's pity. A nation powerless and devoid of self-trust was, he said a curse, fit to be thrown into perpetual oblivion.

The Moulana could not understand now Swaraj would mean a Hindu Raj. The Hindus were more powerful than the Moslems. There was no doubt about it. But it passed the Moulana's comprehension how under a Swaraj Parliament the Hindus would be able to keep the Moslems under their thumb. He said, "Suppose we have got Swaraj now and a Parliament under it. Take this conference as the said Parliament. What can the Hindus do here to undermine Moslem interests? So far as I can understand, they will adopt measures for the redress of the grievances of our peasants and these measures will do good to Moslems more than to Hindus; for the bulk of these poor peasants of Bengal come from the Moslem community. If they adopt measures to protect our countrymen from the ravages of malaria and other epidemics, it will benefit Moslems more than the Hindus."

Referring to the Moslem grievance against the Hindus on the question of public services, the president remarked that those who did not want Swaraj for fear of the Hindu Head Clerks (Bara Babus) should try to understand that the interests of a few Moslem service-seekers were not identical with those of the vast majority of Moslems who neither could get nor cared at all for services. The Moslem community did not consist of a few English-knowing service-hunters.

A Pact Necessary.

Continuing the President remarked that Swaraj could not come as a gift from the British. It was idle to expect that one fine morning the British would tell us, "You are making so much noise about Swaraj, take it; we are going away bag and baggage." Swaraj would have to be snatched from unwilling hands; it would have to be won. But without Hindu-Moslem unity the attainment of Swaraj was a dream. These two great communities should be imbued with the same inspiration and enlivened by the same resolution if they wanted to win Swaraj. Therefore, the formulation of a rigid constitution and the statement of an unalterable principle, he said, were a necessary preliminary to joint action in the struggle for Swaraj—a constitution in which the legitimate rights of each community would be recognised in the name of God.

As to the baseless fear of some Moslems that after the attainment of Swaraj, the Hindus would act treacherously by trying to alter the constitution to the detriment of Moslem interests, the Moulana said that his twenty years' contact with Hindu leaders and workers had convinced him that it was far from the mind of the Hindu leaders to deceive the Moslems if opportunity came. They were above this suspicion, though there was no dearth of mean and narrow-minded people among the Hindus as among others. He further said. "Suppose they (Hindus) prove treacherous after the advent of Swaraj. Who will protect the Moslems? My reply is that events will take their own course. There will be anarchy and revolution."

The fears of the Hindus too, like those of Moslems, were, he said, quite baseless. The Hindus should not judge Moslems by their own likes or dislikes. The Moslems

might be, the president said, poor, uneducated, bigotted, wayward and fanatical, but to call them chicane and treacherous was to do cruel injustice to them. Thirteen hundred years' history had shown that Moslems, if anything else, were not treacherous as a race, though there was no dearth of mean, narrow-minded individuals among them as among others.

The fear of Pan-Islamism was bassed on a mere myth. Pan-Islamism was a modern invention of diplomatic Europe. There was no such word as "Pan-Islam" in the Arabic or Persian language. The ghost of Pan-Islamism, the President said, had no real existence. The Moslems were not aware of it. But if to render help and succour to a fellow Musalman in distress was Pan-Islamism, there was no help. To feel and express sympathy for others, to think well of others and to protect them from the hands of oppressors was a religious duty with Moslems. The Koran enjoined it. Thus the Koran:

"Help each other in piety and truth but help not any in sin and untruth. Fear God."

"If this ideal of Islam" said the President, "goes against the struggle for Swaraj, then, I say, it is not possible for Moslems to join the Hindus. If this is the general opinion of the Hindus, then, let there be end of all struggle for Swaraj, let the drop-scene fall here."

Continuing the President said that Pan-Islamism, was nowhere in the world. It was not in Egypt, Turkey, Arabia, Persia or Afghanistan. It was Europe's invention pure and simple. Equally baseless were the Hindus' fears, he said, about an Afghan invasion. If the Afghans would come at all, the power that could drive away the British would be sufficient to keep the Afghans off.

Signs of Promise.

However, these fears on both sides, in the opinion of the president, did not stand in the way of Swaraj, rather they were favourable to it. It proved that neither party thought the other party to be weak. If once the sun of freedom rose in the Indian sky, all these baseless fears and distrusts would vanish away like morning mist. The suspicion and hatred that dominated the relation between Hindus and Musalmans twenty years ago, had now to a great extent given place to love and sense of justice. In each community here had arisen a group of men who could justly resent the wrong done to the community to which they belonged and were ready openly to recognise the legitimate rights of the other community. The dominating spirit of the Bengal Pact, whatever might be the differences of opinion as regards its details, was liberality of mind and largeness of the heart. Nobody could deny this underlying spirit. To-day each community could boast of a few leaders who were not prepared to support unjust demands. Those who had no power freely to recognise the legitimate rights of others, had no right to claim Swaraj.

The bones of contention between Hindus and Musalmans, said the President, might be divided into two groups. These supplied the fuel to keep up the flames of strife between the two communities:—

1. Political rights comprising (a) percentage of representation on the Legislatures and (b) percentage of appointments in public services.
2. Religious matters comprising (a) slaughter of cows and (b) music before Mosques.

Moulana's Support of Mixed Electorates.

1. (a) The problem of representation on communal basis had been well-nigh solved. Both Hindus and Musalmans had agreed to communal representation on the basis of population. But the point of dispute was still there about the method of election. All Hindus and some Musalmans were for mixed electorates while other Musalmans were of the opinin that Musalman representatives should be elected by Musalmans alone. The President here narrated his experience of the last two elections and pointed out that separate election had done no good, the fact having been that Musalman voters were influenced by Zemindars and money-lenders with the result that the right sort of men were not always sent up. He was definitely of opinion that those Musalmans who were returned by separate electorates did not care much for the people's opinion or the interests of the country as a whole. These individuals entered councils to further their own selfish ends and voted with the Government in opposition to the country's interests. The cleverest of them however, sought to pose as advocates of the supposed Moslem interests by putting questions now and then on recess for Jumma

prayer, public services for Moslems etc., while they never raised a finger against proposals for increment of taxes or the extravagant budget, as if these proposals would not affect the Musalmans. From his past experience the president was inclined to believe that separate electorate was not what it ought to have been. Hence he said he supported mixed electorates though it was likely to return Pro-Hindu Musalmans.

Referring to the Moslems' quarrel about public services, the president remarked that their charges against the Hindus in this respect were unreasonable. Musalmans were labouring under self-deception. It betrayed their inability to face the truth about the matter. There was the Government circular stating that 30 per cent. of the appointments should be given to Musalmans. But that circular was not acted up to. Were the Hindus responsible for this? Did the Government belong to the Hindus? The omniscient omni-potent Government which could send such Hindu leaders as Mahatma Gandhi, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan and Pundit Shyamsundar to goal, the Government that could intern without trial thousands of Hindu young men in defiance of public opposition, could not give some appointments to Mussalmans for fear of Hindus! Not even a mad man would believe this. Whom did these courts and offices belong to? To the Hindus or the Government? If to the Government, then how could the Hindus be held responsible for not following the standing Government circular?

Referring to the attitude of the Hindus towards the Musalmans' demand for services, the Moulana was sorry to mention that the Hindus' uneasiness on the matter was no less unreasonable. He further said that Musalmans' demand for services in proportion to their number, based on a common standard of qualifications, was not an unreasonable demand. Nay, it was their legitimate right.

11—(A) Cow-Protection and Cow-Slaughter.

The subject of the slaughter and protection of cows was an unpleasant one. After discussing at length the relative merits and demerits of the demands of Hindus to stop slaughter of cows, the president said that it was impossible to stop it by force. The Musalmans wanted a word of honour from the Hindus that they would not try to stop the slaughter of cows by legislation. He appealed to the Hindus to leave the matter to the Moslems and they would see for themselves how much they could do in this direction. He further appealed that the Hindus should try as much as they could for the reservation of pasture lands for cows.

11—(B) Music Before Mosque.

It would be admitted on all hands, said the Moulana, that music or beating of drums before a mosque became a source of disturbance to the saying of prayers. But prayer did not go on for twenty-four hours. No objection should be raised to a procession passing before a mosque except at a prayer time. But if it was said that twenty-four hours were prayer time, then, as in Calcutta, arrangements should be made to have music stopped within a limited area around a mosque. In his opinion, Hindus should not object to this. But for the sake of justice it must be admitted that this rule must be observed by Musulmans too in leading their procession before a Hindu or Buddha temple or a Christian church. But above all, there must be a change of heart, a broader outlook, so that these occasions might not be used as excuses for picking up fresh quarrels.

In this connection the President feared that his address might please no body but he must say in the name of God what he felt to be the truth. He hinted that there was a mysterious party pulling wires from behind the scene of Hindu-Moslem dissensions. The agents of this party were continually sowing seeds of strife and using ignorant and wicked individuals for their nefarious purposes.

In conclusion, he said that as a result of the non-co-operation movement every strata of society had awakened to a new life which was finding expression, here and there, now and then, in rising against oppressive landlords, exacting usurers, untouchability, depression and suppression. The entire manhood of the nation was vocal to-day. The Satyagraha movement of the Sikhs in the Punjab and of the Bengali Hindus at Tarakeswar were but a part of the general awakening of the whole nation. The President welcomed the soldiers of the peaceful war at Tarakeswar and threw out the suggestion that Moslems too might take a leaf out of this Hindu movement and try to reform their mosques and Madrassas in similar manner and rescue their Waqf property from the hands of those " Motaollis " who had been rolling in sin and luxury.

RESOLUTIONS.

On the second day, June 2nd, the Conference met to pass resolutions. After a few formal resolutions the notorious Gopinath Saha resolution was put to the House and carried, and the resolution on Hindu-Muslim Pact was long debated till at half past 1 o'clock in the night the Pact was carried by a huge majority.

Babu Sirish Chandra Chatterjee moved a resolution paying homage to the patriotism of Gopinath Saha. He said that though the Congress had adopted non-violent non-co-operation yet the act of Gopinath was inspired by a noble idea. He wished to rid the country's enemies but said he had made a mistake and killed a innocent man. The speaker could never support the heinous crime of murder and the conference must condemn such an act. But Gopinath's object was noble and praiseworthy. They were not praising his act but his object.

Mr. Chatterjee said the Congress supported the act of Kemal Pasha and he asked if the Congress did that, where was non-violent non-co-operation? The resolution was carried by a majority by a show of hands. Mr. C. R. Das voted in favour of the motion.

THE BENGAL PACT.

Babu Anilbaran Roy M.L.C. a Swarajist moved that this conference fully support the Bengal Hindu-Moslem Pact in toto as adopted by the Bengal Congress Committee. An amendment moved that the Mahomedans should stop music in front of Hindu temples was accepted by the Subjects Committee. Another amendment fixing the percentage of representation in Council as follows:—Mahomedans 45, Hindus 40, and other communities 15 was not carried.

Babu Shamsundar Chakravarty was given an ovation when he rose to oppose the proposal. He admitted that those who were in favour of the motion were actuated by the best of motives. He also admitted that there was a section of people at Sirajganj who felt that such a pact was inevitable. He also found that a number of the young Mahomedans wanted to change the Congress literature. But those people would not admit what the Congress had declared before. It had been said that there existed differences between the two communities. Such differences existed everywhere. There was a difference of opinion between the speaker and Mr. C. R. Das but they were not unfriendly. They would help each other whenever one of them would be in difficulty and distress. When they began work there was no idea of the pact which was only an instrument and machinery. There could never be any good to the country through such a machinery. He was opposing the pact because he did not believe in any artificial machinery. The mission of his life was to preach against all sorts of artificialities and to be true to the central creed as regards civilisation and culture, namely truth and purity in all its forms and to set their face strongly against all that smacked of violence. That was the reason why they opposed to praise Gopinath's action. To seek to do things through such a machinery as the pact without bringing about any change of heart was a sort of unmeaning coercion which had no room in the programme of those whose method of regenerating the country was by self-purification and non-resistance. He praised the earnestness of those who were in favour of the pact. He opposed the pact because he did not believe in machinery. He believed in men. It had been said that all great men were not practical men. They must admit that the Mahomedans like Hindus equally loved the Motherland. The love of country was a part and parcel of Islam. He advised the Hindus that their salvation lay in following the Mahomedans who offered prayers five times a day while the Hindus never did so ever once in day. The Mahomedans were more religious than the Hindus. Their salvation lay not in the pact but in following the dictates of their religion. He said they had misread history. Their patriotism would be hypocracy if they did not admit that selfishness could not go hand in hand with patriotism. If they did not admit it they were not fit for struggle for freedom. Their salvation lay in sacrifice. The Mussalmans might say they did not want his advice but the speaker knew what was good to them. If they did not care to take his advice he would retire and work in villages.

Mr. Chakravarty next referred to the statements made by Mr. Gandhi as regards the pact. Truly, he had said, that they had not arrived at the stage when the pact was a possibility. He appealed to them not to widen the dissension between them, to wait till the proper time came for it. He then mentioned instances of oppression by Mahomedans on the Hindus and said that if they thought that the Pact was a real remedy for it then adopt it by all means. But if by discarding the pact they thought such oppressions should be removed, then discard it like poison. Mr. C. R. Das was not the father of the pact.

They all knew that it came from the Government. Sir Abdur Rahim, Mr. Abdul Karim and Nawabali Chaudhury were the real fathers of the pact. But who would give effect to the pact? The cult of Islam was democracy and that was not by the pact but because they were religious. He did not see the necessity of the pact. To them Hindus and Mahomedans who believed in God the Pact was nothing. The pact was a contract. Where there was a contract there was the necessity for lawyers like Mr. Das and they all knew that every contract created discord. He asked them not to hanker after temporary artificial unity by the pact. His belief was that the pact would do untold mischief. (A voice " you are a false prophet ").

Mr. C. R. DAS with the permission of the President gave reply on behalf of the mover of the resolution. He began by saying that it had been said that there was no necessity for a pact; that the pact if passed would retard progress of Swaraj; that it was nothing but a contract; that it was a mere machinery and people did not want such an instrument. He could not see how the pact was a machinery or an instrument but he asked, was not the signing of the Congress creed or the Congress volunteers' pledge a contract and a promise. Was it not a contract when a Congress worker went from house to house, supplied cotton to villagers and promised something in return. But was there anything in the pact which would retard growth of nationality or by which Hindus would lose their own individuality and self-respect. He would never allow his name to be associated with the pact had it been a mere instrument. In the pact he had requested both Hindus and Mahomedans to make small sacrifices for the cause of Indian Swaraj and it would be to the advantage of both of them. So long as Hindus and Mahomedans did not unite, it was impossible to achieve Swaraj. But how were they to unite? Certainly by federation of the two communities based on self-sacrifice and suffering. Freedom that would thrive on sacrifice and suffering would bring about true union between the two communities. He had asked them—Hindus and Mahomedans—to sacrifice some of their interests for the good of the Motherland. How could that be a contract. Life was certainly above dogma or logic. He did not like that life should only be guided by logic. He asked them to obey the will of God. The pact was necessary for the growth of high ideal of manhood and Indian nationality. Whether they called it a pact, a convenant or an instrument, he believed it was necessary for the establishment of Swaraj for which Mr. Das was prepared to make every possible sacrifice, even to shed every drop of his blood. As for the allegation that the pact had sown seeds of discontent and distrust where there was none, Mr. Das said the disunion was not owing to the pact but because of opposition to it for which Hindu Sangathan and no-changers were responsible to a certain extent. This had helped Government and Moderates because it was to the interest of the bureaucracy that there should be constant friction between Hindus and Mahomedans as that would retard the advent of Swaraj. They were also aware that the Ministerial party was busy in a systematic campaign of organising counter agitation in every district of Bengal against the pact, and therefore against the growth of Hindu-Moslem Unity. As an illustration he referred to the Local Moslem Congress which he said had been organised at the instance of some Mahomedan members of the Ministerial party. He made a fervent appeal to accept the Pact and welcome Swaraj by making sacrifices and by suffering.

The resolution was passed and the house then dissolved.

Next day the Conference discussed seven other resolutions, the most important of which referred to Council entry.

NON-CO-OPERATION AND COUNCIL ENTRY.

Mr. Protap Chander Guha Roy moved the resolution which was as follows:—Whereas in the opinion of the Conference working in the Council is not opposed to the principle of non-violent non-co-operation as accepted by Nagpur Congress as its declared policy, this conference requests the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to at least try to act according to the resolutions accepted at Delhi and Cocanada Congresses thus allowing the Swaraj Party to do the necessary and legitimate work in Council and put forward their constructive work there.

Babu Narendra Nath Bose moved an amendment urging deletion of the preamble namely " Whereas in the opinion of the Conference the working in the Council is not opposed to the principle of non-violent non-co-operation."

Mr. C. R. Das in support of the resolution said:—

He wanted to make his position clear. Non-violent, non-co-operation was an old thing. It was he who moved the non-co-operation resolution at Amritsar Congress when Mahatma Gandhi still wanted to co-operate. When Lokmanya Tilak suggested respon-

sive co-operation he opposed him and he had a tough fight with Mahatma. But even at the Calcutta Special Congress while supporting non-co-operation he did not admit that council entry was opposed to it. At Nagpur Congress he did not change his views and Nagpur resolution did not say that council entry was against non-violent, non-co-operation. But the councillors were asked to come out because it was against democracy. After referring to Delhi and Cocanada resolutions Mr. Das said, in his opinion council entry was not against the principle of non-violent non-co-operation. He asked were those no-changers who paid taxes to Government non-co-operators? He failed to understand how in this they were showing disrespect to Mahatma Gandhi. It must be admitted by all that there was not the least doubt that Mahatma Gandhi was one of the greatest living men but if there were some who disagreed with him in all points were they showing disrespect of the Mahatma? He failed to understand how those who professed to be orthodox followers of the Mahatma should at once cry shame and flourish lathi should a speaker by a slip or mistake fail to add Mahatma before Gandhi. In opposing the amendment Mr. Das asked was there not a movement going on to remove Swarajists from the Congress Executive although the fact remained that it was owing to the Swarajist activities that Mahatma Gandhi was released. Was it not good work done by the Swaraj Party in passing a resolution demanding the release of political prisoners and, with a view to destroy diarchy refused the ministers' salary. In conclusion Mr. Das said they were attempting to remove the Swaraj Party from the Congress Executive and with all humility he pointed out that from the time of the trial of Aurobindo Ghose up till now there was not a single forward movement in the country with which he was not associated. His firm conviction was that they should attack bureaucracy from every possible point and every institution that perpetuated the hold of the bureaucracy in the country must be destroyed. They must attack their citadel and fight the bureaucracy both inside and outside the council. It was for Bengal to decide whether Mr. Das was fit to hold sway over the Congress. They had elected him President of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. Would they now wish that he should resign? If that be their decision he would accept it and bow to that decision.

The Amendment was defeated and the original motion was carried by a large majority.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

The following are some of the more important of the resolutions passed by the conference :—

This Conference, whilst denouncing (or dissociating itself from) violence and adhering to the principle of non-violence, appreciates Gopinath Saha's ideal of self-sacrifice, misguided though that is in respect of the country's best interest, and express its respect for his great self-sacrifice.

Whereas large quantities of salt can be produced free of costs from the soil and water, and whereas Government compels us to use imported salt by depriving us of our birth-right by legislation, this Conference urges upon the country to manufacture salt for consumption in vindication of their birth-right and in indignant protest of the unjust law.

This Conference expresses its sympathy with the Mahabir Dal who have launched Satyagarha under the leadership of the Swamis Viswananda and Sachidananda for management by a representative Hindu Committee to be elected by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee of the Seva of Tarakeshwar, the temples, the palace, and Debutter properties and other moveable and immoveable properties standing in his and other persons' names by deposing the immoral and oppressive Mohunt Satish Giri, and his "Chela" Pravat Giri. This Conference requests the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to take charge of and lead the movement and call upon the country to bring the movement to a successful issue with men and money.

Whereas this Conference is of opinion that Council-entry is not against the principle and programme of non-violent non-co-operation as adopted in the resolution of the Nagpur Congress, this Conference requests the Provincial Congress Committee to see that to enable all to work unitedly the compromise resolution adopted in Delhi and Coconada Congress Sessions is adhered to, that no obstacle is placed in the prosecution of the Swarajya party programme and the both parties do make special efforts for the furtherence of the constructive programme of the Congress.

Whereas the refusal of the Ministers salary by the elected representatives of the

people in the Bengal Legislative Council is an expression of Bengal public opinion, this Conference enters its indignant protest against the unjust and the unlawful conduct of the Ministers in continuing in office in utter disregard of such public opinion and it hereby expresses its total want of confidence in them.

Whereas Lord Lytton, the Governor of Bengal, has taken recourse to various improper means to impede the work of Bengal's representatives in the Council, this Conference is of opinion that he is unfit to remain as Governor and should resign his office.

Whereas the Government of Bengal have clapped into prison under Regulation III of 1818 several distinguished, experienced and devoted Congress workers, who are thoroughly believers in the principle and programme of non-violent non-co-operation, on the ostensible plea of their being revolutionaries, but really with a view to throttle the Congress movement, and whereas the Government have given those persons out to be revolutionaries in utter disregard and in contempluous ignorance of unanimous Indian public opinion that has expressed itself so clearly in open public meetings, this Conference declares that if faith in non-violent non-co-operation and devotion to Congress work is regarded as tantamount to revolution, every Congress worker in Bengal is a revolutionary.

This Conference advises the establishing and organising of village associations, Congress Committee, workers' and Peasants' Unions for the purpose of protecting the masses from the high-handedness of the Zmindars, the police, and other people.

This Conference, while placing its perfect faith in the movement of non-violent non-co-operation as propounded by Mahatma Gandhi and adopted in the Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya, Delhi and Cocanada Congress Sessions, urges upon the country to proceed along towards freedom in accordance with the ideal and principle of the movement.

Whereas the use of alcoholic substance and of narcotics is detrimental to the physical, mental and national progress, this Conference requests the country to scrupulously avoid the use of such commodities, and further requests the Provincial Congress Committee to take proper steps for the carrying out into practice the purport of the resolution. This Conference, moreover, declares the imposition of excise revenue on such alcoholic substances to be unjust and unlawful.

सत्यमेव जयते

The U. P. Liberal Conference.

ALLAHABAD—18TH APRIL 1924.

The Fourth Session of the United Provinces Liberal Conference met on the 18th April last in the Mayo Hall, Allahabad. Among those present were Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Dr. Annie Besant, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Pandit Gokaranath Misra, Mr. A. P. Sen, Mrs. Jwala Prasad, and a number of delegates. Munshi Narayan Prasad Ashthana, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in proposing Mr. Srivastava to the Presidential chair, implored the Liberals to approach the questions to be discussed in a practical manner and not to be swayed by sentiment.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The President, Mr. Bishweshwarnath SRIVASTAVA, then delivered his Presidential address in the course of which he first offered to the Labor Party, to Mr. MacDonald and Lord Olivier, their hearty felicitations, and hoped that during their tenure of office, India would have early redress of her grievances and speedy fulfilment of her just demands. On the subject of Kenya, the President spoke at length and warned the Government that unless they were prepared to reverse the policy embodied in the White Paper, the consequences to the relations between Britain and India would be disastrous, and appealed to his countrymen to stand firm by their brethren in Kenya in their struggle to uphold their National honor and to remove the racial stigma which is sought to be imposed despite solemn pledges and promises. He pointed out that they had tried sufficiently long and sufficiently hard to bring the turbulent South African Whites to a reasonable frame of mind by arguments of persuasion, and they had failed. The country could no longer tolerate their growing anti-Indian bigotry, and they must do whatever lay in their power to show their intense dissatisfaction and resentment. The British Guiana Emigration Scheme was also strongly commented on Mr. Srivastava urging on India to definitely make up her mind to cease supplying coolies for white capitalists and exploiters.

While rejoicing at the release of Mr. Gandhi, the President hoped that he would use the tremendous influence he wielded in the country to work successfully those constructive proposals of the Bardoli programme which would help to promote solid unity between the communities and bring them nearer their common goal of Swaraj. The President criticised strongly what he considered to be methods and tactics of a doubtful character which persons of the position of Messrs. Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das had adopted for some gains in the elections to the Councils, and as to their obstructionist policy, Mr. Srivastava apprehended that their action was more likely to cause a set-back to their progress and to alienate the sympathies of the British people, not excepting the Labor party, rather than to succeed in coercing the Government into submission.

Referring to the Reforms, the President felt convinced that the defects, which had been noticed from the very beginning, could not be completely remedied without a revision of the Act, and earnestly hoped that Lord Olivier would realise the justice and necessity of the advance demanded by the country, and would see that a possible line of approach is by means of the immediate amendment of the rules and by the appointment of a statutory Commission as provided for by the Act.

He said that the history of the Indianisation of the Public Services was a long-drawn out agony of broken pledges and promises. The powers as regards the appointment and control of Civil Services in India, if the Government is intended to be made responsible, should be transferred to the Government of India, Local Government and their Legislatures. He then strongly attacked Sir Malcolm Hailey's statements in the Assembly in re the debate on Round Table Conference, and showed that both schemes of a Round Table Conference, as proposed by Pt. Nehru, and of the National Convention, as proposed by Mrs. Besant, were unworkable and the only practicable thing was to press for an early statutory commission under the Reforms Act.

Referring to army expenditure, the President said that unless it was very considerably reduced, there could be no prospect either of the country being relieved from its present heavy taxation or of sufficient money being available for even the most necessary expenditure on their Nation-building departments,

In conclusion, the President made a strong appeal to the Liberal Party to reflect over the causes of their failure at the elections and to devise suitable means to remedy them, to enforce more strict Party discipline, to organise a Party fund, to increase their membership, to improve their organisation, and to carry on continuously and incessantly the work of educating the electorate. They should also start newspapers, especially in the vernaculars, and organise an influential deputation to be sent to England at once. The President said: "We are unpopular for the time being, but I am firm in my belief that our diagnosis of India's condition is true, and our prescription is sound and wholesome, not fanciful or poisonous, and must, if applied, lead to the country's good. Our constructive and beneficial work is embodied in the solid achievement of the Reformed Legislature during the last three years, achievements, political, economic, social and National. We appeal to our Non-Co-Operator friends not to undermine the edifice raised by the devoted labors of Naoroji and Gokhale, Bannerji and Mehta, and we appeal to the best in England to be true to her real self, and to complete the edifice of our National Freedom, the foundations of which she herself has deliberately laid."

THE RT. HON. MR. SASTRI.

Mr. SASTRI said that for some time he had felt that the chief political aim of all parties in India should be the speedy attainment of self government, and, in order to achieve that end, all parties should forget their differences and unite in the furtherance of their common object. He had made his business to offer co-operation. He had recently observed Swarajists in Delhi at close quarters, and he had to say that their example might be followed by the Liberals to some advantages, They had a great organisation; their leaders had made enormous sacrifices; they had put forward mighty efforts; and they seemed, above all things, to understand their own mind. While their efforts had been comparatively misguided they had demonstrated what no other party in India had ever demonstrated before, namely, what could be achieved by recognising a leader and by following him. They had set an example which was very valuable indeed but those virtues, eminent as they were, could only lead to poor results if they were not united to reason and to practical good sense.

The sovereign element of success had been wanting in the Swarajist programme. There were some who maintained that between the Swarajists and the Liberals as between extremists and moderates there was hardly any difference.

The Swarajists maintained that the Government of India Act was a sham and a fraud, and if they could tear up this Act and reduce India to a state of anarchy they would be doing a great service to the country. They (the Liberals) held exactly the contrary view. They thought that the Reforms had much in them which was of value for the building up of the future Indian nation. They believed also that if they worked the Reforms they could through them rise to greater and higher things.

He asked the Liberals not to put their faith in the Government. Gratitude was not one of the outstanding characteristics of governments, but for that reason they should not turn their backs on their Government, ungrateful and unprogressive as it was.

Regarding the refusal of the Budget demands by the Swarajists, Mr. Sastri said that he thought that when driven into a corner the Indian politician would be perfectly justified even in refusing supplies to the Government, but at the same time he must condemn his Swarajist friends for having used this power upon an occasion when the circumstances did not require or when the circumstances did not justify it. They had thrown away a great opportunity by not acceding to the request of their friends in England and he had to say that the work of the last Assembly session had been barren.

RESOLUTIONS.

Various resolutions were then passed. Sir TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU moved the first resolution which alone is of all-India importance, namely, (a) This conference places on record its deliberate conviction that the time has arrived when the Government of India Act should be revised or some other legislation passed by Parliament so as (1) to establish complete responsible government in the provinces; and (2) at the same time to modify the constitution of the

Government of India with a view to establishing a responsible form of cabinet government in regard to all departments, excepting the Army and the Foreign and Political, and that the control of these departments be also transferred to the Indian Legislature as soon as it be considered wise and expedient in the light of further experiences.

(b) This conference expresses its regret at the vague and indefinite attitude of the Government of India and of the Cabinet in England towards constitutional advance, and while taking note of the statement of the Government of India that they will institute an inquiry into the working of the Reforms with a view to determining what modifications in the Government of India Act, or the rules thereunder, are necessary, it expresses its strong protest against the exclusion of the non-official element from such inquiry.

(c) This conference is strongly of opinion that with a view to considering the entire question of constitutional advance and the best method of giving effect to it, it is necessary that a commission with wide terms of reference and containing a strong element of non-official Indians should be appointed, and it also expresses the hope that as soon as the inquiry promised by the Government of India is completed, the appointment of such commission will be announced.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said that he ruled it as absolutely impossible that the Government in England would decide to go back on the Government of India Act, and the only question, therefore, was one of advance. He urged British statesmen not to indulge in vague and indefinite statements. The danger of those kind of statements was that they involved the good faith of Great Britain in suspicion and doubt. It was for that reason absolutely necessary that British statesmen should clear their minds and ask themselves what they were going to do with the Government of India Act.

The Bombay Liberal Conference.

AHMEDNAGAR—MAY 21ST 1924.

The Third Session of the Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference opened at Ahmednagar on May 21 last. Mr. B. S. Kamat of Poona presided. The attendance was about five hundred including nearly 200 delegates and members of the Reception Committee, almost all the districts except Sind being represented.

In the course of his presidential address Mr. KAMAT described the events and the general political conditions during the last half year leading to the advent of the Swaraj Party in the Reformed Councils. He congratulated the party on their display of party discipline and qualities of leadership shown by their leader. He said:—The presence of the Swaraj Party in the Councils dispels all doubts that the 1921 Non-Co-operation programme is dead and let us hope will soon be buried, the principal mourner being Mr. Gandhi sadly watching the coffin being gently lowered into the grave on the sands of Juhu. The Liberal Party welcomes the Swarajist prodigals to the Councils as our misguided comrades, wisely retracing their steps from the cross road of 1921. Their past record, a strange combination of sacrifice and childish strategy, leads to the hope that some of them, the younger colts, although kicking off over the traces for a time and dragging old stagers with them, will soon settle down in the Councils to pull with the team and will be tugging at the ministerships. The Swarajists facilitated their entry into the Councils by a discreet declaration obtained through a roving committee that the country was not ripe for Civil Disobedience. We have reason therein to rejoice that the world is safe for Swarajism, if not for democracy, and so long as Mr. Gandhi does not join hands, with his erstwhile faithful lieutenants.

Swarajism alone cannot torpedo the Councils. Constitutional advance will follow constitutional evolution and cannot be forced up like a hot house plant by so cheap an expedient as the Swarajists imagine. Obstruction in Councils cannot succeed in bringing us full Swarajya at once, but only if the Swarajists are prepared to follow their programme outside the Councils by a revolution of some form or other. They have neither the courage to do this nor can public opinion support the idea. We cannot give our approval to their scheme of Round Table Conference on which they are staking their opposition to the Govt. Lord Olivier's speech in connection with the Reforms may not be satisfactory, but his refusal to accept such a fantastic conference was not in my opinion wrong. Rejection of the Finance Bill in the Assembly

by the Swarajists-cum-Independents seems to be therefore exceedingly ill-advised and impolitic.

Mr. Kamat then referred at length to the constitutional advance. He admitted that the constitution had serious defects. It is a case for mending it and not ending it, and the issue before the country at present should be the best method of mending the constitution. The irreducible minimum of change which has become inevitable was provincial autonomy and a logical corollary thereof, namely transfer of responsibility to the ministers for all corresponding subjects in the Central Legislature; in other words, full responsible Government minus only the army and foreign relations. Mr. Kamat then dwelt on the Reforms Enquiry which was then going on and declared that the Government of India were doing everything they could to enhance suspicion about their ultimate intentions. The terms of enquiry, he urged, should be wide, enbracing larger fields, so that there may be recommendations for a substantial advance to make the constitution really workable. The only way out of the present position was a Royal Commission. The Round Table Conference as demanded by the Swarajists was an unworkable proposition, and even if a Royal Commission was finally refused, the country must be ready with a well formulated scheme for discussion as soon as the recommendations of the present Reforms Enquiry are submitted to Parliament and the country for criticism. He appealed to the Swarajists not to plan any chimerical programme of their future policy, but to set themselves to the task of assisting at an agreed practical scheme.

RESOLUTIONS.

Of the resolutions passed on next day, 22nd May, the Self-Government resolution was moved by Dr. PARANJPYE, and after being seconded by Rao Bahadur CHITALE and KALE and Messrs. GANDHI and PATWARDHAN was enthusiastically carried. The resolution demanded the establishment of complete responsible Government in the Provinces and a responsible form of Cabinet Government in the Central Government in regard to all departments excepting Army, Foreign and Political, and transference of the control of these departments to the Indian Legislature in due course. It also expressed the keen dissatisfaction of the Liberal party at the vague and indefinite attitude of the Government of India and the Cabinet in England towards India's constitutional advance and called upon the Government to make a clear statement of their policy.

The enquiry into the working of the Reforms by the Muddiman Committee was condemned as being secret, one sided, and unrepresentative.

The Conference also demanded the immediate appointment of a Royal Commission to consider the entire question of constitutional advance.

The Conference then passed a comprehensive resolution dealing with the army and Indians overseas.

Next day, May 23rd, a number of important resolutions were discussed and passed. The resolution dealing with the Village Panchayat Act, Bombay, as unworkable requested the Government to take steps to amend it. Another asked the Bombay Government to provide better facilities for technical education so as to open new careers for Indian young men. The resolution asking for the removal of the residential qualifications in Council elections was moved by Dr. Paranjpye and passed. Resolutions urging the separation of judicial and executive functions, the abolition of Divisional Commissionerships, the allotment of one seat each in the Local Legislative Council to Kolaba and West Khandesh districts, the use of Swadeshi articles, both by the Government and the people, uncouragement of indigenous system of medicine, the repeal of the Princes' Protection Act and the removal of the disqualification in regard to membership of the Council and the Assembly were passed. A resolution urged a change in the Government's Excise policy in the direction of total prohibition in less than ten years. It recommended the adoption by the Government of free and unrestricted local option and such other remedial measures as are recommended by the Excise Committee.

The U. P. Liberal Association.

ALLAHABAD—JUNE 4, 1924.

A meeting of the committee of the United Provinces Liberal Association was held on Wednesday, June 4, at the 'Leader' Office, Allahabad, with the president, Sir TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, K. C. S. I., LL. D., in the chair. The committee considered the report of the Lee Commission and adopted the following resolutions:—

Point of View Wholly Wrong.

1. While reiterating its conviction that the appointment of the Royal Commission on the superior civil services in India by the Secretary of State for India was a most ill-advised step, particularly because the future of the Services in India cannot effectively be dealt with independently of the future of the constitution of India, the committee places on record its deep sense of disappointment with the report of the Commission. While recognising that by the terms of its reference the Commission was precluded from dealing with any issue of a constitutional character, this committee is of opinion that the point of view adopted by the Commission and the basis of the report are wholly wrong.

Obnoxious to Indian Objective.

2. In the opinion of this committee the recommendations of the Commission with regard to the preservation of certain proportions between the European and Indian elements of the services for an indefinite period of time are wholly obnoxious to the recognised objective of the Indianisation of the services.

Secretary of State's Powers.

3. Further, this committee strongly protests against the continuation of the powers of the Secretary of State in relation to the services. In the opinion of this committee the powers now exercised by the Secretary of State should be transferred to the Government of India, acting under the control of the legislature.

Provincialisation.

4. This committee is also of opinion that the scheme of provincialisation of the services associated with the administration of transferred subjects, while seemingly satisfactory, so far as it goes, cannot be approved inasmuch as the Indian demand is for the transfer of all subjects in the provinces to the control of the legislature, as the Commission's recommendation will create a new motive of opposition to this demand on the part of the services, now reserved, and as the recommendation itself is far too limited and qualified to result in an effective increase of the control of Ministers and legislatures over these services.

No Recruitment Abroad.

5. While this committee welcomes the recommendation about the increase of proportions of Indians in the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, and other services, it feels that the period prescribed for working up to that increase is much too long. In the opinion of this committee it is impossible to work up any scheme of dominion self-government in India without adopting the principle that the venue of recruitment for all higher services shall be India, the Government having the power to recruit abroad for special appointments on special terms if and when this may be necessary. This committee looks upon the Commission's recommendation on this subject as wholly inconsistent with the Indian point of view.

Medical Service.

6. While the committee approves of the establishment of a civil medical service, it is of opinion that the proposals with regard to the constitution of the military medical service by the R.A.M.C. (India), and to the large proportion of civil medical posts to be filled from the latter will amount to a continuation of the present Indian Medical Service in another, and from the Indian point of view, a more objectionable form. In the opinion of this committee there should be two distinct medical services—an Indian military and a provincial civil—the former entirely independent of the British War Office and recruited both in England and in India, and the latter wholly in this country.

The Financial Recommendations.

7. While this committee would not object to the removal of such real and legitimate financial grievances as the services may have, it is strongly of opinion that the recommendations of the Commission in this respect are unreasonable in themselves and also impose a much heavier strain on the finances of India than they can, consistently with the need of the country, bear.

COMMITTEE DEPRECATES HURRY.

8. This committee expresses its dissatisfaction with the report in so far as it fails to give any satisfactory reasons for many of its recommendations or to refer to evidence given before them. This committee expresses its surprise that the evidence should not have been published and urges the Secretary of State to do so without any delay. This committee further desires to enter an emphatic protest against the Secretary of State and the Government of India desiring to give effect to what they consider to be some urgent recommendations without waiting for or in opposition to the expression of opinion by the Indian and the local legislatures, and feels that such action on their part, and the report itself, instead of creating any harmonious relation between the services and public opinion in India, will bring about an alienation between the two.

The Guzerat Political Conference.

BORSAD—13 MAY 1924.

The 7th Guzerat Political Conference met at Borsad on May 13th under the presidentship of Prof. D. B. Kalelkar. There was a large gathering and those present included Messrs. Jamnalal Bajaj, Vallabhai Patel, Mr. Abbas Tyebji, Mahadeo Desai, Vaman Mukadam, Indulal Yagnik, Manilal Kothari and other followers of M. Gandhi.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Kashbhai Zavebhai Patel, in a short speech welcomed the delegates on behalf of Borsad and said that the Kaira District had a valiant spirit and had given to India men like the Patel Brothers, Mr. Gopaldas Desai and many others. Kaira had given its full quota to the Nagpur Flag Struggle. After the victory of the Borsad Satyagraha they were engaged in prosecuting the constructive programme vigorously. He dwelt upon untouchability and drink habit and appealed to Gujarat to subscribe 10 lakhs of rupees to the Gandhi Purse Fund.

Prof. Kalelkar was then formally elected to the presidentship of the conference amidst cheers.

MR. KALELKAR'S ADDRESS.

Reviewing the history of the Guzerat Political Conference, Sjt. Kalelkar said: "Seven years ago the first Parishad was held, and at that time Mahatmaji said in blessing the Parishad that the step Guzerat had taken was full of consequence and that if only the foundations of its public life were strongly laid there would be nothing left to be desired as to the result. Mahatmaji further said that it was to be the object of the Parishad to bring into being a set of political workers whose sole occupation it would be to carry into effect all its resolutions.

In the light of these words it is now possible to review the exact measure of progress in Guzerat. To-day the Parishad is conducted and its deliberations are mainly guided by those very workers whose whole-time occupation it is to toil in the service of the country. It is a healthy sign of our progress that this happy circumstance has come to pass. As Swaraj is of the people, it is incumbent on them to exert towards it. The work of construction is of the essence of Swaraj and when it is done, the externals of self-government will have been easily secured. This work has to be done among the masses and through them, and necessarily the educated classes on whom the burden of propaganda falls ought to make strenuous attempts to reach the ears of the peasants, farmers and labourers. Guzerat may well be proud of the fact that its workers are from the people and of them.

PROGRESS OF SATYAGRAHA.

Again, 7 years ago the ideal of Satyagraha was first inculcated in Guzerat by the teachings of Mahatmaji. Since then the ideal has gained ground and the people of this province have come to realise that it is the only instrument through which oppression and all evil can be overcome. When truth and non-violence come to be established firmly among the people, then there will have been true victory and triumph. At the Ahmedabad Parishad, which was the third for Guzerat, the programme of non-co-operation was first taken on hand. It is a proud fact to be remembered that it was only after the Ahmedabad Parishad that the Congress in a special session at Calcutta confirmed that programme. The Ahmedabad Parishad also started the Guzerat Vidyapith. The next Parishad at Broach worked the Bezawada programme.

Then came the most trying of all tests for Guzerat, the arrest and imprisonment

of Mahatmaji. Guzerat stood the test admirably and at the Anand Parishad recorded its inflexible determination to continue the struggle which the leader who had just been taken away from their midst had launched. After the Anand Conference followed the repression by Government which carried away most of the leading workers, and the inquiries by the Civil Disobedience Committee of the Congress. Guzerat at that time gave a handsome gift to the country in the shape of the Vidyapith and also organised the spread of Khadi. Notwithstanding differences among the country's political leaders, Guzerat stood resolutely by the original programme. There are now to-day fewer differences between Hindus and Mussalmans in Guzerat than in any other province in India, and I venture to ask what would not be possible for a province like this to achieve, one which could conduct successfully mill strikes in big cities in an absolutely peaceful manner, send volunteers by the national flag, and launch on a fight such as that victoriously carried on at Borsad.

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

Sjt. Kalelkar has his own statement of the Hindu-Muslim problem. The differences in religion, he said, between Hindu and Mussalmans do not stand in the way of unity between them. They may be overcome, if any, by each community endeavouring to understand the other better than it has hitherto done. In so far as antagonisms are caused by the question of political rights which each community may desire under the future government of India, they can be amicably settled by the communities taking a broad-minded and liberal view of each other's claims and generally by arbitration. Speaking as a Hindu, I say that I do not mind conceding much in favour of Mussalmans. The real cause of continuing friction between Hindus and Muslims to my mind seems to be the lack of control which is to-day exhibited by the educated classes of either community over the less educated fanatical and inflammable sections of the population. It is because of this that arbitration has become difficult and even impossible. The coward and the bully have got the better of the good elements in the communities. This pernicious influence has got to be removed and the Hindu-Muslim problem will present no insuperable obstacles. Not a Hindu Sangathan but a Rashtriya (National) Sangathan ought to be the national endeavour.

The great leaders of the country are attempting to find out how best to mitigate the evils arising out of Hindu-Muslim tension and I might throw it out as a suggestion to them that the promotion of popular education and the service of the masses are two certain remedies to meet the present situation. The first step in mass education is to make the people understand their own straits and difficulties. They must be made to put into practice what they believe in. It ought to be the aim of mass education to elevate mass character and conduct. In cultivating the spirit of self-reliance among the people, their education has to find fruit.

Concluding, Sjt. Kalelkar said that he deliberately omits mentioning anything regarding the policies of Government and urges the importance of pushing constructive work through the country. The spread of national education, the removal of the blot of untouchability and the universalisation of Khadi are the three essentials to the realisation of freedom. Few weeks of strenuous work at Borsad will have achieved far more than few years of liberal education so far as the masses of the people are concerned. What Guzerat should set itself to in earnest is the carrying out of the work of construction which is so hard to pursue but which, if achieved, would bring us appreciably near Swaraj.

Message from Mahatma.

The following message from Mahatma Gandhi was then read:—

Let this be my message. Borsad has crowned Gujerat with victory. Borsad has done Satyagraha, has sacrificed comfort and has thereby rendered a service to itself and to India. Borsad has cleared the ground which has now to be built upon and the task is hard. Still I know that this work is progressing. The work can be said to be complete only when Borsad ceases to use any other cloth or other stuff, when its last shop stops dealing in foreign or mill cloth, when alcohol, opium and bhang become merely a name to its people, when theft and prostitution come to a deadstop, when its children, boys and girls belonging to the depressed class or otherwise attend national institutions, when litigation and quarrels become a memory of the past, or if they are present their solution is sought by a resort to arbitration, when Hindus and Mahomedans become welded in a common bond of brother-

hood, and when its depressed class people come to be loved and respected. All this is easy of accomplishment if we have a will. I am sure if Borsad accomplishes this it will achieve Swaraj for India. I wish that you should take a vow to achieve it and that you should have the strength of will to take this vow. But it may be taken only when there is the firmest determination to accomplish it. Harishchandra's resolution should be behind it to carry it to its logical fulfilment, otherwise it would be wiser not to indulge in any vow.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED.

Resolutions were then moved from the chair expressing thankfulness for release of Mahatma Gandhi and wishing him long life, resolutions congratulating Nagpur Satyagrahis from Gujerat and the people of Borsad on their victory.

The principal resolution passed was that the Borsad Taluk should prepare itself whole-heartedly to carry on the constructive programme as laid down by the Congress and Congress-workers of the taluk should take a lifelong vow to prepare Borsad according to the Congress Programme until the Taluk was fully ready.

Another resolution reiterated Gujerat's faith in the constructive programme and appointed a committee to report within two months on the ways and means to promote and co-ordinate constructive work going on in different areas and also to frame a scheme of national service.

Karnatak Provincial Conference.

GOKARN—1 MAY 1924.

The Third Karnatak Provincial Conference began its sessions on May 1st at Gokarn under the presidentship of Shri Shankaracharya of Sharadapeth.

The President, who spoke for three hours, in sweet Canarese dealt at length with the relation of politics to religion. He conclusively showed that the present ideas of democracy, republic, election etc., are not foreign to us. If we read our religious literature, we shall find instances of Kings who were elected and deposed when they did not fulfil the people's wishes. Four things can be clearly seen in our Dharma :—(1) Kings should be elected by the people; (2) Kings should act up to the wishes of the people; (3) Kings should always be engaged in protecting their subjects; (4) money collected from the people should be spent for the people. He gave a number of instances in proof of these statements.

He then discussed the Council entry question and showed how we go against our Dharma in entering the Councils. But, he added, those who conscientiously believe that real work can be done through the Councils should attempt in that direction. The majority who do not believe in councils should work out the constructive programme. While discussing Hindu Muslim Unity, he said toleration is the basic principle of the Hindu religion and if we are true followers of our Dharma we can show the same spirit towards our Muslim brethren and easily bring about unity.

As to Untouchability, he said, the Hindu religion which preaches equality not only amongst men but even amongst animals can never ask us to keep a large section of our brethren at arm's length. Some people misread religious injunctions and preached inter-marriage and interdining. If we restrict ourselves to the mere removal of untouchability we can have the full sympathy of all orthodox Hindus.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED.

On the 2nd day resolutions were passed. The first expressed their firm faith in Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. The second resolution about the constructive programme contained six clauses: (1) Village propaganda, (2) spread of Khaddar, (3) unity amongst different castes, (4) removal of untouchability, (5) Hindu-Muslim unity, (6) recommending Congress Committees, municipalities, local boards and other bodies to take immediate steps for the uplift of the Untouchables.

On the 3rd day five resolutions were put from the Chair and passed unaimously. They are :—(1)This conference requests all District Committees to give the necessary support to workers who have been selflessly working for the last 3 years in non-violent non-co-operation; (2) This Conference congratulates the Hindi Pracharak Mandal on their opening a branch at Hubli to teach Hindi and requests all Kannadagas not only to help but to avail themselves of the branch; (3) This Conference congratulates the Vykom Satyagrahis on their efforts to establish the natural rights of all communities

to use public roads; (4) This Conference sympathises with the Satyagraha movement of the Sikhs at Jaito and congratulates them on their complete non-violent conduct; (5) This conference resolves that all Congress Committees do spread anti-drink literature through their special volunteers with a view to resume picketting if and when necessary to stop the increasing drink vice.

Godavari District Conference.

The 17th Godavari District Conference, which is the political conference of the Andhra-desa, met on May 2nd at Alamur under the presidency of Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu of Salem.

Both the President and the Chairman, Mr. Satyanarayana, in their speeches had some favourable remarks to make on the question of Council-entry which are conducive to unity between the No-changers and the Swarajyists. About the question of council-entry Mr. Satyanarayan observed:—"From what we had observed in the Legislative Councils, and after carefully following the procedure adopted by the followers of Desh-bandhu Das in the various Legislative Councils, I suspect that there is not much wrangling over the efficacy of this method in the country. Due to the stirring activities within the Councils fresh life and enthusiasm have been infused into the country. Many believe that by Council-entry and its activities people in general will be goaded to think seriously of civil disobedience and if necessary to start it. Thus they push on towards the extreme point of civil disobedience in the programme as laid down by Mahatma." Dr. Naidu, too, delivered himself of the following remarks in his concluding address: "Non-violence should be strictly adhered to, but our programme and methods should be guided by expediency and discretion. The triple boycott is a failure and the less we talk of it the better. We should sink all communal squabbles and give battle to the bureaucracy through Councils, Municipalities and Local Boards and outside them. If pressed on all sides the Government will yield and responsible government will be established. Complete Non-co-operation is impossible."

The resolutions passed by the Conference were common-place, but one fact deserves to be mentioned that, a resolution about undertaking Hindu Sanghathan on the lines laid down by the Hindu Maha Sabha was ruled out of order by the President for reasons not stated.

Moved from the chair, the Conference expressed its regret over the demises of Lenin, Kasthuriranga Iyengar, Vajpai and Maulana Sharar. The House also offered its heart-felt prayers for the restoration of Mahatma Gandhi.

After reiterating its faith in the Non-violent Non-Co-operation programme of Mahatma Gandhi the House also adopted the resolutions passed at Cocanada by the Indian National Congress.

The following resolution occupied the attention of the House for nearly two hours:—"This Conference exhorts the people of this district to push on the constructive programme of the Congress with a view to hasten the speed of Satyagraha."

Amendments were moved and resolution 6 of the Cocanada Congress came in for much criticism. Various meanings were read into it. Those who were in favour of the amendment pointed out that the ultimate goal of the nation was the attainment of Swaraj and not civil disobedience. When put to vote the amendment was over-thrown by an over-whelming majority. The main resolution got through the house without any difficulty.

A resolution on untouchability was moved by Mr. Mandapaka Rangiah Naidu of Cocanada. In moving the resolution the speaker urged upon the people of the district to wipe out the blot of untouchability from their midst.

Four resolutions dealing with (1) the starting of Libraries attached to Taluk and Village Congress Committees, (2) the difficulties of people inhabiting the fituri area, to enquire into which the District Congress Committee was requested to appoint a committee consisting of not less than five people; (3) exhorting the people to improve the condition of Sanskrit schools in the District and also if necessary to start new schools (4) spread of Hindi in the District. A resolution giving detailed suggestions for doing propaganda work in the villages on certain definite lines was moved by Mr. T. L. Narasimham and after some opposition from Messrs. K. L. N. Somayajulu and others, was passed by an over-whelming majority.

The resolution recommending that District Congress Committee should arrange to capture the Municipalities and Local Boards in the District, was moved by Bikanna Venkataratnam and Duvurri Venkataswaralu respectively and passed without opposition.

Next came the resolution regarding the boycott of British goods which was carried.

Next came up for discussion the resolution which called upon the Hindus in the District to organise themselves on the lines of the Hindu Maha Sabha. But the resolution was ruled out of order by the President.

Doctor Subramaniam then moved that in the opinion of this Conference at the Belgaum Congress the word " Swarajya " in the Congress creed be changed into " complete independence." Mr. K. L. N. Somayajulu moved an amendment that in the opinion of this Conference the Congress at Belgaum would do well to formally declare independence. The resolution and the amendment were both lost.

The Utkal Provincial Conference.

CUTTACK—JUNE 28, 1924.

The Orissa Provincial Conference was held in Cuttack on the 28th June with Dr. Sir P. C. Ray as the President. The learned doctor gave a very impressive address as president, in the course of which he said as follows :—

" As you are aware during the days of the unrest caused by the partition of Bengal, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald made a tour in India and embodied his impressions in his " Awakening of India " published in 1911. He lays particular stress on the economic problems and is of opinion that nine-tenth of the Military expenditure of India is undertaken for Imperial purposes and as such it ought to be borne by England. In other words, the huge army maintained at the expense of India is mainly for the upholding of British predominance in Asia. It has been well said that the peace of India during the critical period of the late war was kept with the help of the Police force, as India was practically denuded of the Indian and the white soldiers. Lord Hardinge very aptly said " India was bled white." Herein lies the keynote to the present policy of British rule. At present more than 50 per cent. of the revenues of India is swallowed up by the military up-keep. This means that Provincial resources are mainly drained into the Imperial Exchequer. Bengal is the worst sufferer in this respect as, by what is known as the Meston award, at one fell swoop fully 2-3 of her revenue was ear-marked for the Imperial coffer. No wonder that all the beneficial measures which go to the building of a nation are starved. After a century and half of British rule barely 5 per cent of her people are literate. The masses are kept steeped in ignorance. Our activities have well-nigh been paralysed, and when we ask for grants miserable pittances are thrown out and we are treated as so many Oliver Twists. I say with all the emphasis I can command that the 50 lakhs which the Behar and Orissa Government proposes to spend for palatial structures ought to be ear-marked for primary education. No protest can be too strong against this insane, I had almost said criminal, waste of public money.

Next to the Military expenditure, that of the Civil Service demands our attention. Like the horse leech's daughter the members of this pampered service keep constantly crying : " give us more, give us more." I need only refer to the Lee Commission Report. It is true that in order to make the bitter pill palatable a few sops have been thrown to the Cerberus i.e. the purely Indian element. When the Islington Commission was appointed and we were clamouring for more posts being thrown open to our countrymen in the Civil and Imperial Services in general, Sir Henry Cotton warned us against the insidious danger we were courting : "An Indian Civilian," said he " meant an Indian lost to the country for good." Never were truer words uttered. An Indian Civilian becomes a limb of the bureaucracy—his angle of vision becomes entirely changed. He looks at things only from the official points of view. In one word, he ceases to be an Indian. An Indian Minister under the Diarchy is no better. He too like Jove begins to nod. To me a more pitiable sight can seldom be witnessed than an Indian Civilian clothed in authority.

In fact the Civilian Service has outlived its period of usefulness and has come to be an anachronism. An Indian member of the Service is a miserable creature who has to blunt his conscience and sell his birth-right for a mess of pottage.

The Government policy is—pay taxes, sit quiet ; everything should be done for you and nothing by you. Prompted by its own selfishness, the official hierarchy who holds us permanently in leading strings would not admit that if the period of tutelage is extended the child grows helpless.

Swaraj is the only remedy for these ills ; with this end in view we must make strenuous efforts and sink all our party differences, parochial and communal.

All the social evils we suffer from must be removed. The curse of untouchability

more than anything else stands in the way of our nation building. We must draw into our bosom the so-called depressed classes and make them feel that we are one with them. The disruptive tendencies and elements of orthodox Hinduism must be eliminated.

I would like to mention what I understand is a sore point with you at the present moment. It is the dismemberment of the Oriya speaking people. How the Government rides rough-shod over the feelings and sentiments of the people and disregards its linguistic and cultural unity is well known to us in Bengal. Even after the union of the two Bengals in 1912 the whole of the Surma Valley which is as much Bengal as Dacca or Mymensingh has been sliced away and tagged on to Assam. There is no reason why Ganjam and Sambalpur should be alienated from Orissa proper.

The Congress has divided India into provinces according to the linguistic and ethnical divisions. The only way to counteract the effects of such political partitions is to make the Congress divisions real. If we feel that, whatever the Government does, we are one by the ties created by the Congress, if the organisations and its representations throb with life and reality, then the Government attempts to partition will not touch you or perhaps draw you closer. I wish you would make the Congress organisations a real factor in the course of your daily vocation and life.

ORISSA'S APPALLING POVERTY.

The most striking feature of Orissa is its appalling poverty. People live on the scant amount of food and have no reserves. The distress on a single failure of crop becomes unsurmountable and wide-spread. The cultivators are in the grim clutches of the moneylenders.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald says in his "Awakening of India":—

"We have made the money-lender and the grain forestaller great and from being public functionaries our administration has made them self-seeking exploiters, the banias and money-lenders holding liens on crops."

Poor as the people are, the opening up of communication by Railway has rendered them poorer still. As soon as the harvest is over, comes the money-lender to realise his debts, and the capitalist to pay down cash for the produce which on account of the facility of transport he can carry away without difficulty. The whole of India pays dearly for the blessing of modern civilisation in the shape of railways and telegraphs and your province is no exception.

"Railways have added to the difficulty and have widened the apparent famine area,—one firm alone sucks the sap of Indian life like tropical sun, leaving dust and barrenness behind—a week or two after harvest India's surplus wheat and rice have passed into the hands of dealers and when the next monsoon fails she starves." These are the words of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, our present Prime Minister. The export of food grains without caring for immediate needs or a future surplus must be stopped. But how can we do it? There is only one way, which is the attainment of Swaraj. Whichever direction of our life and activity we follow, our investigation leads to one reply—we must have Swaraj. We must knock and knock persistently till we are able to lift the bar over our way.

It ought to strike us as marvellous that a vast and poor population should sit idle and starve and yet buy their clothing from the hands of a rich nation when they could clothe themselves by their own labours. It appears to be miraculous. So perfect was our ignorance that it required a Mahatmaji to disillusion us.

Mahatmaji, who sought his heart and found a remedy of most of our evils in charka and then asked the people to spin, was a bold man. I did not believe him then and scoffed, but have remained to pray. I know there are many people who even now do not believe in the feasibility of charka standing against the mills. Those who do not believe, their position is quite clear—let them work out the salvation in their own way, honestly doing what they believe to be right. But those who believe in charka or say they do, it is for them to follow up the matter to its logical conclusion. In Orissa you have got an excellent field of work. You still use coarse cloth—coarser than what in Bengal we are accustomed to. The tradition of spinning is still not entirely dead with you.

When you begin to spin and use khaddar a very large amount of luxuries are necessarily eschewed. We buy these imported articles of luxuries by paying for them in food stuff. When we give up one item of imported article of luxury we keep a morsel of

food for our poors within the country. This is a simple calculation. The mentality which spinning and wearing khadi will induce will at once simplify our mode of life.

To what extent we have been carried away by a desire to show off will be illustrated from an incident which occurred in Orissa and described by Mr. Nevinson in his book, While a cruel famine was raging in Orissa and thousands were starving, one of your chiefs thought it worth while to spend four to five thousand rupees in arranging for a reception and breakfast for a Lieutenant Governor. This mentality is not peculiar to Bengal or Orissa. Happily those days are gone. By one stroke of boldness the master-man has put an end to this sham. His loin-cloth symbolises our poverty—he has ruthlessly exposed our poverty before the world. Now it is for us to own him and thereby the masses whom he, more than any one of us, represents.

Our real work lies in the villages. All the items of constructive programme can be taken up efficiently only in the villages. Take for example national education. The village schools are the best institutions to begin national education from. Instances are frequent where the text books are used for poisoning the minds of pupils in the Government controlled institutions. If we are to counteract this tendency of poisoning of our children and youths by School and University education as it is now run at present, we must begin from the beginning. We must have small National Schools started where children will be taught self-help and to imbibe love for the land of their birth.

Habits of drunkenness appear in the grossest form in towns and in the neighbourhood of mills. Should any of your villagers show sign of advance in this item also, attempts should be made to cure the habit root and branch from the villages. We can expect only opposition from the Government even in this endeavour, but that should only add to the strength of our strife. Government looks on with complascence, nay encourages habits of drunkenness and litigiousness because all these vices bring in additional revenue. We have to fight not only against long contracted vicious habits but against the Government also which waxes fat on the miseries of the people, and goes to the length of quoting Shakespeare in the Police Gazette to make drinking fashionable!

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolutions were passed on the second day. One expressed joy at the release of the Mahatma, and the second welcomed Pt. Gopabandhu Das and Mr. Bhagirathi Mahapatro back from jail. The second resolution was moved by Mr. M. S. Das, the ex-Minister of the B & O. Govt., who had on the previous day signed the Congress creed and had thus become a Congress-man. In moving the resolution Mr. Das felt sorry that we were under a foreign rule. But this, he said, should not trouble us as our bodies alone were subject to the alien rulers but not our souls which formed a part of God. It was the treatment of the Government which taught us non-co-operation. The first thing the Government taught us was non-co-operation with God with the result that the soul was lost and humanity was transformed into animality. They drove out God and taught us to earn money, fill up the belly and go to rest. There was no God but it was the Government servants who were to be worshipped. One lesson which Gopabandhu obtained was that "don't be afraid of those who can only torture the body." It was the released two who gave an inestimable treasure to the country by their suffering and he assured his audience that the troublous times had ended and a glamour of light would envelope the country.

Much excitement was evoked in connection with the 5th resolution which ran as follows: "This Conference re-affirms its belief in the principle and policy of non-co-operation movement and the constructive programme as expounded by Mahatma Gandhi; and keeping in view the absolute necessity of non-co-operation in Congress work, it advises each member of the Congress organisations of the province to carry out in detail the programme by their own efforts." An amendment was moved.

Mr. M. S. Das said that he had just signed the Congress creed and a proper interpretation of it was that the original resolution should be adopted. They had no business, the speaker said, of shilly-shallying. If the Congress was determined to destroy the bureaucracy the best and surest methods should be adopted though of course there were other ways too. After a heated debate the original resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

South Indian Liberal Federation.

MADRAS—MAY 19, 1924.

The second annual meeting of the South Indian Liberal Federation (city branch) was held in Madras on the 19th May last, Sir. P. Theagaraya Chetty presiding. Thirty gentlemen were present.

This Federation, it should be remarked, has nothing to do with the Indian Liberals; it is an organisation of the non-Brahmans of Madras of the "Justice" party, the main aim of which is to promote Non-Brahman interests alone, to the exclusion of the Brahmins. Though its membership is small the party itself is very influential as from its ranks the Madras Ministers have since the Reforms been mainly recruited.

Mr. RANGIAH NAIDU, one of the Secretaries, presented the report of the Managing Committee on the working of the Association during the year ending November last. In the course of the report the Committee say:—

"The Committee did not meet as many times as it ought to have done, as its time, and in particular, the time of its Secretaries, was wholly devoted for canvassing votes for and securing the success of, the candidates for the local Legislative Council and the Assembly, put by the Association at a special meeting held for the purpose on 13th May '24 at "Soundarya Mahal" under the Presidentship of the party leader Sir P. T. Chettiar. For the same reason the Committee was not able to hold any public meetings as in the previous year. Owing to unhappy differences in our camp, the work of canvassing became an uphill task and the results of the election were prejudicially affected to some extent. It is needless to point out that but for these differences, a Brahmin, however influential he might be, would not have been representing our city in the Assembly. The Committee notes with much pain that these differences still exist, even though subsequent events have proved beyond doubts how fatal they are to our cause and to our movement if they are allowed to exist. The Committee notes with regret that in consequence of the weakness introduced into our party by internecine quarrels, the Government has changed its attitude towards us.

"It is an open secret that the Communal G. O. for which our party men fought so vigorously in the last Council is now being treated more or less as a dead letter. As proof of the changed attitude of the Government, the Committee begs to recall a few instances of neglect of Non-Brahmin claims. The Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan was nominated to the Council of State, and Sir P. Sivaswamy Iyer to the Legislative Assembly. The other day in the papers appeared the news that Rao Bahadur C. V. Visvanatha Sastriar has been nominated to the Assembly. It is regrettable to note that no representative of the depressed classes was thought of even though competent candidates are available among that class. To the Universities' Conference which is to meet at Simla, two Brahmins have been chosen again. Are there not competent Non-Brahmins available for these offices? Why were the claims of veteran educationists like Dewan Bahadur R. Venkataratnam Naidu ignored? What about Prof. Ratnasamy, Prof. Candeth, Mr. J. P. Kotilingam; Mr. S. E. Ranganatham and Mr. C. R. Reddi? Cannot these people discharge their duties as effectively as the Brahmin Candidates chosen to sit at the University Conference? Unfortunately things do not stop here.

"Thinking that we are divided, the Swarajists are now trying to swamp the Madras Corporation by setting up candidates to contest the elections in the ten divisions which are to elect the representatives this year. You are aware that already in the Madras Corporation there are six Brahmins out of the elect strength of 30, though according to the numerical strength they are entitled to not more than three seats and you may be sure that under the guise of Swarajists, they will try to see the return of more Brahmins and thereby to consolidate their position. The Committee without further references to anomalies of this kind appeals to all Non-Brahmins to sink their private and personal difference and to work hand in hand for the righteous cause for which that Noble Soul, Dr. Nair, gave up his life in a foreign country and for which our revered leader Sir P. T. Chettiar has been selflessly toiling day and night. By uniting we can still avoid difficulties and disappointments otherwise in store for us.

"The Committee is taking steps to send a Non-Brahmin deputation to England lest the cause of our movement should go by default especially when deputations of other political bodies are busy doing work in England. The action of the Committee has received the approbation of several mofussil branches and the Committee fully believes that our leaders will spare no pains to see its efforts crowned with success.

" The movement founded by the late Dr. Nair and Sir P. T. Chettiar and now being carried on under the leadership of the latter was fast spreading all over India and is bound to become an All-India movement. Though there is an apparent lull here, its activities can be seen in Bombay and in the distant Central Provinces where it is flourishing with vigour. Let us not therefore smother the main organization by petty quarrels and puerile differences. Let us therefore straight away begin propaganda work. As matters stand at present, except holding confederations in the city and Conferences in the Mofussil, nothing tangible is being done to educate the masses as to the necessity of the movement and yet the movement has taken deep root in the soil, not so much because of our work but by reason of the essential righteousness of the cause for which we are all fighting. This the Committee confidently say from its personal experience gained at the time of canvassing votes at the last elections. Such a state of things is not quite satisfactory and the Committee has therefore resolved to spare no pains to see that the non-Brahmins' confederation is held in August or September next as proposed by our party leader and to see that at the confederation a suitable constitution is framed and adopted and that due provision for vigorous propaganda work is made."

SIR P. T. CHETTY.

Sir THEAGARAYA CHETTY in winding up the proceedings of the meeting made an important pronouncement on their aims and object and the policy of their political party. He said: I have been connected with this movement from the very beginning. Dr. Nair and myself together started the work. Unfortunately for us he had been taken away leaving me alone to continue the work. You ought to consider that it is impossible for one man to do anything. We had several friends working with us and I am sure they are still working with us. Unfortunately differences have arisen but surely not differences worth mentioning. However they were made into mountains by our friends, the Intelligentsia of the country. They found in the course of two or three years the non-Brahmin movement has been making rapid strides and now they find that their interests would suffer. And in fact there were indications that their influence was waning. The best way they could meet it was in their own usual way of creating dissensions. I say in their own usual way, because they are accustomed to do so for centuries together and they have partly succeeded. The poison has been introduced and it has done a good deal of injury for centuries together and as they have been in ascendancy for centuries, it is but their duty to see that their ascendancy is kept up.

"THE POLITICAL BRAHMIN."

But it is not just nor is it right that they should always be in the ascendancy and crush the aspirations of our community who have also to come up. We must know in India it is not that community of Intelligentsia which is maintaining the Government. It is the merchants, the traders, the landholders, and the labouring classes that make the country. It is these that pay taxes to the Government and maintain it. That the whole power should be kept in the hands of one community and that a small minority community should always be kept suppressed, is what even Providence will not permit (Hear, hear and laughter). The time has come for their ascendancy to go down but it is not our intention that they should so go down. But we say we must rise up. (Hear hear.) The principle with which we began the movement was not the hatred of the Brahmin but the raising of the non-Brahmin community. I say therefore there is no difference between us and the Brahmins. In the famous words I uttered years ago I merely said 'don't vote for a political Brahmin'

Sir Theagaraya Chetty proceeding referred to the communal G. O. and said that it was in the hands of the Legislative Council to see that this order did not become a dead letter and to see also that the Government did report to the Council the progress made in respect of the action taken by the Government in pursuance of the G. O. Non-Brahmins need not despair of the present depression. He would appeal to them to give up their differences and stand as one man. If they did that their success would be near at hand. He next spoke with satisfaction the achievements of the Madras Ministry and instanced the Madras Government's recommendation to the Secretary of State against dyarchy and the reduction in the strength of the Executive Council by one and also for transference of more subjects to the Ministers. Such a thing was not possible in other presidencies. Why? because their Ministers were men with heads, unlike some of the " heart-headed fellows " that were seen in the North, who were more fond of talking than doing.

In closing Sir Theagaraya Chetty once again appealed to the Non-Brahmin community not to fall a prey to the dissensions that were being created by 'his Brahmin friends' and to stand united and go forward.

S. I. L. F. on the Lee Report.

Another meeting of the South India Liberal Federation, Madras City Branch, was held on Saturday the 7th June last to protest against the recommendations of the Lee Commission. Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu presided and among the large audience present were Sir P. Thyagaraya Chetty, Dewan Bahadur S. Gurusami Chetty and P. C. Ethirajulu Naidu, Rao Bahadurs T. Varadarajulu Naidu and O. Thanikachala Chetty, Messrs Rangiah Naidu, P. S. Gurusami Naidu, K. Visvanatha Menon, T. K. Kurup, P. N. Marthandam Pillai, S. E. Sudarsana Mudaliar, B. Moppurappa and several others.

Sir K. V. REDDI NAIDU in opening the proceedings, said that the report of the Lee Commission was one of those events in the history of this country, which if carefully handled might mean good to this land, and if handled in a wrong way might place great impediments in the progress of the country. Unfortunately the Lee Commission had come to India under very inauspicious circumstances. Nobody wanted that Commission just at this time. The Legislative Assembly refused to sanction the expenditure of the Commission and the amount was certified by the Governor-General in the teeth of public opinion. It was not the amount of expenditure involved with which they were most concerned. If the various concessions recommended by the Commission were limited to the existing services, he would not have quarrelled with the Commissioners and would not have been a party to a protest meeting of this kind, but the trouble was that the Commissioners did not recognise the promises held out to this country in the famous Declaration of August 1917, a declaration which was practically incorporated in the Government of India Act of 1919. According to the recommendations of the Commission it would take fifty-five years to reach the minimum of the European element fixed for the public services in India. Was it fair to the Indians to be under the tutelage of European officers for 55 years to come?

It was calculated that the cost of giving effect to these recommendations would eventually amount to Rs. 1¾ crores. Could India afford that cost?

Within three or four years of the Reforms the superior services had three increments and within the last ten years the percentage of increase in the pay of the I. C. S., was 19, in the case of forest service the increase was 41 per cent; in the case of police service the percentage of increase was 71 and in the I. M. S. there had been an increase of 20 per cent. In spite of all these increases, the Lee Commission now recommended all round concessions in every direction: in pay, pension, travelling, exchange, house rent and medical attendance. At a time when England was itself unable to find employment for its people, when all over the world prices had risen enormously, for the Commission to tell India to pay more than the market value to any public servants whom it might engage hereafter was most unfair to this country. In conclusion, the Chairman laid emphasis on two points, one, that there was no justification for any concessions to new recruits, and second that the Lee Report was detrimental and contrary to the promise held out by the British Cabinet and in fact most damaging to their ambitions and aspirations to achieve full Responsible Government in this country in the near future. The meeting ought to protest strongly against any indecent haste in giving effect to the recommendations before the Secretary of State ascertained the opinion of the Legislative Assembly on the recommendations.

RESOLUTIONS.

Dewan Bahadur S. GURUSWAMI CHETTY then moved the following resolution:

This meeting of the citizens of Madras places on record its keen sense of disappointment at the recommendations of the Lee Commission on Public Services and views with deep regret the attitude adopted by the Indian members of the Commission.

He said that the history of the Lee Commission was a challenge to the Indian Legislature. The Commission after spending about Rs. 5 lakhs of the poor Indian taxpayers' money surrendered to the clamor of the services. The Secretary of State seemed to be powerless and had already committed himself about the grant of passages. The decision as regards that concession was most objectionable, because

the Commission committed India to an extravagant proposal without laying down any limitations as to the review of the rate of passage on a future occasion. The most unfortunate feature of the report was that it was unanimous and that the two non-official members, who affixed their signatures to the report without any protest, were members of the so-called Liberal party, who subsequent to the publication of the report were given high offices.

Mr. K. VISWANATHA MENON moved the following resolution:

This meeting is emphatically of opinion that the recommendations should not be given effect to until full opportunity is given for discussion by the Indian Legislative Assembly and until reasonable changes are made and the services are brought under the control of the Legislature and a more rapid rate of Indianisation is guaranteed.

The resolution was carried unanimously as also the following. Mr. T. K. KURUP moved:—

This meeting is of opinion that future recruitment of Europeans should be reduced, and that in future, recruitment should be limited to particular posts requiring technical, scientific or special knowledge.

The Chairman, in terminating the proceedings, observed that it was his hope that such concessions as were given to the European servants would be for the advantage gained from their efficient services and not in order to meet their unreasonable and extravagant demands. He also hoped that the Secretary of State and the Government of India would not drive the members of the S. I. L. Federation, who were representatives of 27 millions of people in this Presidency and who were loyal to the core to the British Government, into the arms of those who had not shown such loyalty to the British Empire.

सत्यमेव जयते

European and Anglo-Indian Politics.

Early in the year the Europeans in India were stirred out of the depths of their occupation by the infamous Day Murder (See p. 8), and this together with the rousing activities of the Swarajists have since thrown them into a ferment, and very genuine efforts have since been made from time to time to lift the whole community from money-grabbing to the politics of the day. For this purpose a conversazione was held under the auspices of the European Association, Calcutta, at the Grand Hotel Buffet on Friday, the 11th January, when Col. Crawford, the able Secretary of the Association, sounded the alarm and asked the 70,000 Europeans of India to rally. The Annual General meeting of this Association was held on the 4th February, 1924 of which a full account is given in the I. A. R. 1923 *Supplement*, pp. 315—336. The Day murder furnished the occasion for stimulating recruiting for the European Auxilliary force, for the G. O. C. Presidency division, Calcutta in an ardent representation to the Bengal Chamber deplored the smallness of his resources in Regular troops in the event of really serious trouble, and appealed to all the big European firms to make a strenuous effort to get their employees to join the Auxillary force. At the Calcutta Scottish Dinner held in March last, Col. Craddock raised a hue and cry for calling recruits to the Calcutta Scottish and proposed to have compulsion introduced by law. The false alarm, however, soon died out, and this failing an alarmist manifesto was issued on April 21st over the signature of Mr. Carr, the President of the European Association. It was a letter adressed to the Secretary of State for India, which was stated to have the whole-hearted support of all branches of the Association throughout India. The letter runs thus :—

THE EUROPEAN MANIFESTO.

To

The Secretary of State for India,

India Office,

Whitehall.

SIR,—The Council of the European Association beg to confirm their telegram of the 19th instant which they particularly desired to place in your hands at an early date :—

" Europeans in India draw attention to irresponsible tactics of the Swarajists in the Assembly and Councils which they consider due largely to the belief that Government may be induced to alter the Government of India Act. While welcoming any examination and alteration of any rules under the Act which may make the present stage of the Reforms Government more practical and acceptable to constitutional Indian opinion, they strongly oppose shortening of the transitional period and insistently urge the absolute necessity for Government to stand by loyal Indians and to support the Viceroy and Administration in India who at present stand between orderly Government and progress of the non-vocal masses of Indians and the chaotic condition which must inevitably ensue if Swarajists current policy as expressed in propaganda and actions be carried into effect."

The confirmation had of necessity to follow later as they required time to prepare a statement to place before you and the British public regarding the political situation in India to-day as seen by them.

Their cable drew attention to the irresponsible tactics of the Swarajists in the Assembly and Councils and they feel that the information you have as to the manner in which supplies have been refused in *toto* in the Assembly and the Councils for such subjects as customs, judiciary, and the public services, regardless of the consequent chaos in the country, were Government to act in accordance with the legislatures' instructions, requires no amplification from them.

The activities of the Swarajists have been explained by their leaders as directed to making the operation of the Government of India Act, in its present form, impossible, as a preliminary to the attainment of Swaraj, or the form of government which is euphemistically called Dominion Self-Government.

CHANGING SITUATION.

May we remind you in this connection of the rapidity with which the political situa-

tion in India is changing and has changed, especially within the last three months, and of the great change which has occurred in the interpretation of Swaraj in the last year or two. In 1922 the demands of the Indian Congress amounted to Home Rule on a Dominion status. At the 1923 Congress a demand, which was narrowly defeated, was put forward for "full independence," but since that date this demand has increased.

At the present time the leaders of the Swaraj Party claim the sole right to govern, although the ideal of an Indian Empire as it exists is a purely British conception, and can only be attained if British supplies the cement with which to effect the cohesion of the many heterogenous sections of India without engendering racial heat.

In this respect we would draw attention to the mental attitude of Mr. C. R. Das, a present leader of the Swaraj Party, as exposed in his speech at the Gaya Congress in December, 1922. On that occasion he laid emphasis on the 61st clause of the Magna Charta as "being for our purpose securing as it did to the subject the liberty of rebellion" and, again, "where such laws are not only not based on the consent of the people but profess to attack their fundamental rights, the subjects are entitled to compel their withdrawal by force and insurrection."

DEFIANCE OF LAW

Referring to the report of the Committee to examine the repressive laws, Mr. Das said "they little think, these learned gentlemen, that these statutes, giving, as they do to the Executive, wide, arbitrary and discretionary powers of constraint, constitute a state of things wherein it is the duty of every individual to resist and to defy the tyranny of such lawless law."

That Mr. Das has not changed his mental outlook since that date is abundantly made clear from the fact that, in spite of constant challenge he has never repudiated the statement that the aims of his party are frankly revolutionary. Further, some of his trusted lieutenants have recently been arrested under Regulation 3 of 1818, in connection with the assassination of European Government officials, which so recently culminated in the murder of Mr. Ernest Day and the discovery of a bomb factory in Calcutta.

Mr. Das' influence over his followers is supreme, and the actions of the Swarajists throughout the country have provided ample evidence of their intentions, while their methods at the last general elections effectively prohibited any expression of free opinion by electors.

The modern Swaraj creed gains the wide publicity that is afforded by repetition and elaboration in the Indian and vernacular Press, which freed from the wise control of the Press Act, and unrestrained by that sense of responsibility which influences the Press in Western countries, disseminates lies and revolutionary propaganda amongst the uneducated masses in India. A few examples of this are attached.

It must be admitted that the dislike of the Swarajists for the Reform Government to-day is no greater than was entertained by that large body of Europeans and Indians, who in 1917 took strongly antagonistic lines to the introduction of the Government of India Act. The motives operating in 1917 and 1924 are, however, wholly dissimilar. In 1907 we recognised, as our records show, that it was impossible to secure representative legislative bodies because there was no electorate. To all who know something of the country, it was patent that the greatest success which could be hoped for from the reforms would only substitute an Indian bureaucracy for British administration. It was the certainty of this tendency which made the reforms wholly unacceptable to those interested in the practical necessity for good government, rather than in the sentimental satisfaction of an Indian intelligentsia.

THE SENTIMENTAL VIEW.

In using the term "sentimental," we in no way express any lack of sympathy for the natural desire of Indians to be associated with the administration of the country —a desire which has been fostered by the schools and colleges introduced by Britain into India. We do, however, feel very strongly that the sentimental view must not be adopted at the expense of the practical one, which is based on a frank recognition of the facts.

Those facts reveal unquestionably that the Indian Empire of to-day is a joint British-Indian undertaking to which the British have supplied the vastly larger part of the initiative, efficiency, work and finance necessary for bringing the Empire to its

present point of development. Consequently we have an acquired right to the retention of such a standard of British government in India as will ensure safety and tranquillity for both British and Indian subjects, and adequate assurance for the safeguarding of their interests. Furthermore, we are of opinion now, as we were then, that the unvocal and uneducated masses, which comprise the vast majority of the people of India, can only be adequately protected by an impartial British Government. The intelligentsia do not represent them and in our opinion will not adequately safeguard their interests.

The Reform Government did not in our opinion tend towards fair or efficient Govt., but the Govt of India Act having become law Europeans felt that they were bound to give the system their loyal support though it was essentially bad in principle and fantastic in design. The records of many members of the community, who have expended a maximum of effort to assist the operation of the Act, satisfactorily bear witness to the sincerity of our community in this attitude.

In the opinion of the European Association the only condition under which the Reforms Government can function freely postulate a degree of co-operation by all parties which has not yet been approximately attained, even if it ever can be. Consequently, this association stands firmly opposed to any shortening of the present transitional period of the Government of India Act, and it is confirmed in this attitude by the general tenor of racial feeling against Europeans as exemplified in speeches delivered not only in the Congress and other meetings, but also in the Legislative Assembly.

Further, the attitude of important bodies such as the Bombay Municipality towards the Empire is illustrated by the following note governing the purchase of stores :—

" Intending contractors should note that the Corporation have expressed the opinion that no articles manufactured in any part of the British Empire outside India should be used by any of the departments of the Municipality or by any of its contractors except when they are not available in any other part of the world."

The European Association is emphatically of the opinion that there is not now and never has been any genuine appeal from the peoples of India for self-government, and in the present condition of racial feeling which has been deliberately manufactured by the Swaraj Party, the association holds the considered opinion that any general advance in autonomy for India, while it would militate against the interests of the British Indian Empire and jeopardise sound administration, would not in any way inure to the benefit of the main bulk of the peoples of India. The Association considers, however, that at the present stage alteration and modification of the rules under the Government of India Act are required and believe that for this limited purpose only an invitation to all parties to participate in a conference would be advantageous.

The Association recognises the probability that such conference might fail to secure co-operation, but whatever the result, it urges you to secure for His Excellency the Viceroy and the Administration in India such degree of support as will enable them to carry on the government of the country by the powers granted them under the Act, until the country evidences that return to sanity and to goodwill towards the Empire which the Association believes to be the fundamental characteristic of the vast majority of its Indian fellow-subjects.

In securing these essentials for tranquillity in the country the European Association believes that one of the most potent factors will be stability in the main principles of government and in this respect the benefits of a firm though liberal attitude are to be observed in the improved political situation which ensued on the action taken by the Government of India against the leaders of the non-co-operation movement. This is, in the Association's opinion, as necessary to hearten moderate opinion as it is to prove to the present vociferous school of politicians, so much in evidence, that Great Britain, while not too small to rectify errors in legislation, is too great to change its principles, to shirk its responsibilities to the non-vocal masses of the Indian peoples or to desert its loyal citizens, of whatever race, at the dictates of those who wish to usurp a position in the conduct of Indian affairs to which neither their achievements nor their members give any just claim.

In conclusion, the past history of British rule in India, justifies our opinion that British influence has proved of inestimable benefit to India and to the progress of the people, and that even a partial withdrawal of that influence at this juncture would prove a serious menace to her future prosperity.

THE GOPINATH RESOLUTION AT SERAJGUNGE.

A further activity of the European Association was exhibited against the Swarajists

early in June last attacking the latter specifically for the Gopinath Saha resolution that the Serajgunge conference of Bengal had only a few days ago passed. On June 4th, the Association hastily summoned its members at a meeting at the Grand Hotel where a fiery denunciation of the Swarajist methods was made and its leader, Mr. Das, was loaded with personal abuse. The meeting unanimously adopted the following resolutions:—

"This meeting desires to record its indignation at the resolution passed by the Bengal Provincial Conference extolling the patriotism of a man convicted of a particularly revolting murder.

"This meeting considers from this resolution that the Swaraj Party and its responsible leaders have definitely issued an incitement to a campaign of murder and anarchical measures for the attainment of their political objects. That the Council be instructed to draw up a clear statement for the Home Government and give full publicity at Home and India to the proceedings of the Serajgunj Conference in relation to the murder of Mr. Day."

Mr. LANGFORD JAMES in a speech urged Europeans in view of the latest Swaraj tactics at Serajgunge to join the Association.

The Anglo-Indian Association.

Following in the steps of the European Association, the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European community made a rally of their strength ostensibly to rally against Swarajism but really with a view to earn a decent recognition at the hands of the Europeans who had always regarded them as socially inferior.

In connection with the amalgamation of various Anglo-Indian Associations, the Bengal, U. P., Madras and Burma Associations, which have hitherto led an independent existence, Col. Gidney's negotiations with the Bengal Branch to amalgamate met with an unanimous response from members of the Branch. On Monday, the 23rd June, a general meeting of the members of the Bengal Association was held at the Y. M. C. A., building, Corporation Street, Calcutta.

Mr. BARTON in opening the proceedings said the object of the meeting was to discuss the question of linking up all the existing provincial associations in India and Burma into one body. The question had been exercising the minds of the leaders of the community for some time at least for the past fifteen years. Difficulties had come in the way, disagreements on certain points had arisen and so the matter had never come to a head. Later the matter has been repeatedly discussed.

The various provincial branches, said Mr. Barton, have been approached for the purpose of ascertaining their views on this question, and the majority feel that the time has arrived when all the Associations should link up into one large powerful organisation. Seeing that an All-India organisation was very necessary to handle questions of vital importance to the community, the wisest course for the meeting to adopt would be to agree to form one organisation right away.

Col. GIDNEY, in course of a powerful appeal, said that the community's right to live had been challenged by the Indians. The Indians were entering into a pact with Government and between themselves, without taking the Domiciled Community into any consideration whatever. The Community's right to special protection, which the authors of the Reforms Scheme had placed as a sacred trust in the hands of the Governor General and the various Provincial Governors' had not been or could not be given effect to, because Government, in its desire to obtain peace at any cost, and to satisfy the clamour of the Indian, were impotent to look after the interests of the Domiciled Community. He saw the shadow of the spectre of Indianisation growing darker and more sinister as far as the Domiciled Community was concerned. The Community to-day is not wanted by Government and Indians—we are the things of yesterday—Government can only think of the Indians to-day and to-morrow. Col. Gidney appealed and urged amalgamation, not only of the various Provincial Associations, but of every departmental Association, which caters for the economic needs of the Community.

Colonel GIDNEY said he thought that what they suffered from to-day was a multiplicity of organisations. The question they had to admit to-day could be summed up in one short sentence. The community's right to live in India had been seriously challenged.—By whom? By the authors of the Reform Scheme. If they have a claim

to live in India they must see to it that that claim is observed. What is the remedy? They want the right to live; they must therefore establish that right. How? By amalgamation, not only of every association but of every departmental association as well for they cannot get away from the spectre before them of Indianisation which really meant to-day ex-Anglo-Indianisation. If they formed one big body, which would really be a big labour combine, they could effectually challenge Indianisation.

The Community has a right to live in India, if not here, then in some part of the British Empire. It must do its utmost to organise its forces and put in a counter-challenge to Indianisation. " If you do not wish to accept this challenge " said Col. Gidney, " then dissolve all your Associations and degenerate. If you accept the challenge, then amalgamate at once, for in Unity alone lies your strength."

The following resolutions were then put to the meeting and carried unanimously :—

(a) " That the existing body known as the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Bengal be altered to the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of All-India and Burma."

(b) " That the articles of the existing body be expanded to meet the requirements of the reconstituted organisation."

THE TUNDLA RAPE CASE.

This righteous rousing to perfervid amalgamation was perhaps stimulated by a scurrilous event which happened in May last. This was the infamous Tundla Rape Case in which two Anglo-Indian Ticket Collectors were found guilty of an act of fiendish lust upon an Indian girl passenger. The Allahabad High Court awarded a sentence of 9 months rigorous imprisonment and in addition a whipping of 20 stripes. Not ashamed of the act which blackened the whole community, the Anglo-Indian Association had the effrontery to send a representation to the Viceroy complaining that in Indian jails whippings are administered by the lowest caste Indian convicts, and Col. Gidney wanted to say that that was a form of punishment to which no European had hitherto been subjected and that it was a humiliation which was viewed as a slur by the whole community which was intensely resented. Col. Gidney further protested that the whipping should be administered by persons of the same nationality, and there should not be any " undue " humiliation on the " innocent " members of a community which, the gallant Colonel said, had always been distinguished for its loyalty!

सत्यमेव जयते

The Trade Union Congress

The fourth session of the Trade Union Congress met at the Calcutta University Institute Hall on 30th March 1924.

For some time past a controversy had been raging in the public press over the election of the president of the Congress and some matters relating to the constitution of the Reception Committee as a result of which Mr. C. R. Das, who was the President of the All-India Trade Union Congress held at Lahore last year, dissociated himself from the Reception Committee and notified in the press that the Congress which was fixed to be held in Calcutta was not proper. On the other hand the Reception Committee at their meeting decided to hold the Session in Calcutta as arranged with Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., as President and issued letters to the press and to the different Unions all over India to that effect. Mr. Kutubuddin Ahmad was elected new Chairman of the Reception Committee in place of Mrs. Santoshkumari Gupta who had been elected the Chairman previously. In accordance with this notice Messrs. Baptista, Joshi, Ginwalla and other labour leaders as well as delegates from different Labour Unions arrived in Calcutta. A series of conferences were held between Mr. C. R. Das and other labour leaders who had come from outside Bengal with a view to come to an amicable settlement and as a result of a meeting held on the morning of the 30th March at Mr. C. R. Das's house it was agreed that the Reception Committee would make an apology in the open Congress to Mr. C. R. Das and would then request Mr. Das to preside over the Congress. It was further agreed that Mr. C. R. Das would preside over the Congress and Mrs. Santoshkumari Gupta would act as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. According to this arrangement the Congress met 5 o'clock in the evening. There was a large gathering of delegates and visitors including some ladies.

Apology to Mr. C. R. Das.

Before the proceedings commenced Mr. Mukundalal Sircar, Secretary to the Reception Committee, read out the apology whereupon Mr. C. R. Das took the chair. At this stage Mr. Abdul Jubbar Palwan objected to the apology. On this Mr. Das explained to the Congress the position clearly and said that if any member of the Reception Committee had any doubt as to how the compromise had been brought about, he would adjourn the Congress to enable them to meet again and discuss the matter. At the intervention of some gentlemen Mr. Palwan withdrew his objection. Messrs Baptista, Joshi, Ginwalla and several other gentlemen addressed the meeting expressing their satisfaction at the compromise and congratulating both Mr. Das and the oppositionists on the happy termination of an unfortunate dispute.

Mr. Baptista then proposed that the Subjects Committee would meet and moved that it be composed of the Executive Council of the Congress and two representatives from each province. Several delegates pointed out the unconstitutional procedure suggested by Mr. Baptista and said that according to the rules of the Congress the Subjects Committee should consist of at least two members from each Union besides the members of the Executive Council.

Mr. C. R. Das observed that if the rules were strictly adhered to some difficulties might arise which might tend to the break-up of the Congress and suggested what he described as a workable method that instead of taking representatives from each Union two or three or five delegates from each province might be elected to the Subjects Committee.

Disorder in Meeting.

Several gentlemen questioned the validity of this procedure while others put forward amendments whereupon Mr. Das withdrew his suggestion. One of the amendments was under discussion when Mr. Das pointed out that according to the rules the Unions had nothing to do with deliberations of the Subjects Committee excepting forwarding resolutions to the Executive Council. There was an uproar and some confussion prevailed. Mr. Das adjourned the Congress announcing that the Executive Council would

meet at 9 o'clock to consider the resolutions and asked the delegates to forward draft resolutions to them. He also announced that the Congress would meet at 6 o'clock on the next day at evening.

Several gentlemen stood up, and said that they would continue the meeting. Mr. Das maintained that as the meeting had been adjourned it could not be continued and then left the hall with the President of the Reception Committee.

Replying to one criticism levelled against his suggestion as to the constitution of the Subjects Committee Mr. C. R. Dass described the circumstances in which the Congress had met and said that every Union was asked to elect two members to the Subjects Committee on every division. Question might arise as to which delegate or which union were valid. If they once got into that he was almost sure that the meeting would break up (cries of no, no.) He suggested that the Executive Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress, such of them as were present and two or three or five members from each province should constitute the Subjects Committee (Voice —as a matter of grace?)

Mr. Das.—No as a matter of reasonable arrangement. Will you allow me to make my suggestion?

Voice.—If reasonable, yes.

Continuing, Mr. Das said that it was a reasonable suggestion. He warned them against other course. If they said two members from each Union he was sure that having regard to the spirit that had been displayed there, protests would be made by one party, or the other as to the validity of this union or that. If they went into that this would simply break up the meeting (Voice—It will never break up).

After this the meeting broke up. The President declared the meeting adjourned and left the hall.

This was followed by an uproar. Hot words were exchanged between different parties who questioned the legality of the conduct of each other. In disgust some left the hall while others hung on attempting to restore order but to no effect. While this was in progress electric lights were switched off and the hall for some time was in entire darkness. Lights were lit again and while a member was attempting to address the House a group of young men on the balcony clapped their hands and shouted, and on the intervention of some men who went there from the floor the parties came to blows. Such rowdy scenes prevailed for over a quarter of an hour when order was partly restored and at the instance of some leaders the assembly ultimately agreed to what was suggested by Mr. Das.

MR. DAS'S EXPLANATION.

The terms of the apology referred to above were as follows:—

"We the members of the Reception Committee of the fourth annual session of the All-India Trade Union Congress humbly apologise to Mr. C. R. Das, Chairman of the Executive Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress for the affront given to him by the committee in recent resolutions and as specially mentioned in Bulletin No. 4 of the Reception Committee. We beg that Mr. C. R. Das will accept this public apology and we trust he will see his good way to preside over the present Congress and guide its deliberations."

In explaining the situation, Mr. C. R. Das said that there were differences of opinion between himself as the President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, and the Reception Committee or some members of the Reception Committee formed in Calcutta and according to his discretion he gave notice that the meeting which was called by the Reception Committee and of which the date was fixed by them was not the meeting of the All-India Trade Union Congress, but inspite of that certain members had arrived here and certain others did not arrive. At the instance of some members of the Executive Council—members who were held in respect by the All-India Trade Union Congress—met at his house and on their suggestion they tried to settle all disputes and differences. Messrs. Baptista and Joshi placed certain terms before him which he thought satisfactory. He then asked them whether it would be necessary to have a meeting of the Reception Committee but the majority of the members said that there was no occasion for any such meeting. It was only in that view that Mr. Das accepted the invitation which was made to him and the terms that had been placed before him.

Mrs. Santoshkumari Gupta, President of the Reception Committee, after welcoming the delegates said that Indian civilisation could not afford to adopt the methods of the

West in their industrial concerns. Therefore, to save labour from the existing evils which come by way of industrialism they must combine together and devise means which would do away with such institutions and at the same time make their country industrially great. That was the problem which the All-India Trade Union congress must keep in view and should have to solve.

Mr. Kutubuddin Ahmad in the course of his speech said that they wanted co-operation based on fraternity and not competition because the state would reach to a degree of organisation and importance far greater than it could possibly reach under a regime of competition. In 1830 the watchword of English Trade Unionism was that property not earned by labour was theft and that economic power preceded political power and that salvation would come from organised power of workers. He wanted that every workman must have a right to wear good clothes, have comfortable living and just the work to keep him in good health.

Concluding he said:—Ours is a fight for not only political rights, but also for economic privileges and social changes as we are being tormented, oppressed and exploited. Our problem is a material problem. We will therefore not fight by exploiting the ignorance of the masses; rather we will educate and bring about mass consciousness. We will also not exploit the fanaticism of the mases. Religion was in the past a consolation to the poor. In the middle ages it stood against science and now it has become a weapon in the hands of the oppressor, and is creating economic divergencies. We must have discipline and loyalty to the common will and above all we must have mass solidarity. Our movement must not be based on sentiment otherwise it would be ephemeral. Our solution lies in us and therefore it is essential that we must organise and if we once organise we stand like a mountain when no tempests nor hurricane can move us, and if we move we move like molten lava and nothing in the world can arrest or dam our progress.

The Congress then re-assembled on the next day, Monday, the 31st March, 1924. Mr. C. R. Das as President then addressed the Congress.

The greater portion of the proceedings was occupied in recording resolutions on various subjects all of them touching the vital interest of the different labour unions. The most important of the resolution referred to the revision of the present constitution of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

RESOLUTIONS FROM CHAIR.

The President at the outset announced that the Executive Committee of the Congress which had held its sitting in the morning had framed a number of resolutions which he would place before the house in due order.

Resolutions were moved from the chair expressing joy at the recovery of Mahatma Gandhi and praying for his early recovery and also recording sorrow at the death of the great Soviet leader, Lenin. These were accepted unanimously.

Another resolution was also passed congratulating Mr. Macdonald, leader of the British Labour Party, at his forming the cabinet.

In moving this resolution, Mr. Das observed that the resolution was merely one of congratulation and as such he had no objection to its passing, though of course, he urged upon the house to remember, that he personally did not believe that India could get anything from any particular party.

After the string of resolutions had been passed Mr. Joseph Baptista proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.

Mr. C. R. Das rising to respond to the votes of thanks, thanked Mr. Baptista and the gentlemen present. The President then turned to the exposition of his own views about labour. These views, he said were his personal views and not of the Trade Union Congress. When that institution would realise those views, Mr. Das was confident, then and then only would glorious days dawn upon the country.

Continuing Mr. Das warned the organisers of labour in this country not to be misled by European ideals and European catchwords such as "trade union" "trade guilds" and the like. Our problem was different from those of the west and the same solution did not apply to the conditions of both.

The clash between the classes and the masses was entirely a thing European. According to the cultural traditions of this country there was no distinction between the classes and the masses in India.

Indian Deputation to England

An account of the activities of the Indian Moderate Party was given in our last issue. On April 22nd a National Convention was established at Allahabad (see Vol. I p. 80) and deputations were arranged to be sent over to England to carry their "Home Rule for India" campaign there. The first batch led by Mrs. Besant and Mr. Sastri left Bombay for London on April 26th, followed by a second batch on May 10th. Besides this "National Convention Deputation" many prominent leaders were at this time in England in various connection. Lala Lajpat Rai had gone much earlier, while Messrs. Rangachariar and K. C. Roy went in connection with the Colonies Committee. The advent of Labor in the Government of Britain had also drawn a large number of curious Indians, so that in May—July there was a tolerably big company of Indian visitors in England. They created a great stir in political circles by their speeches and writings and managed to rouse the interest of Britishers on India. The activities of the Indian leaders as also the work done by the Besant Deputation are recorded below.

Indian Parliamentary Committee

On FEBRUARY 23rd an Indian Parliamentary Committee was formed mainly with the efforts of Major Graham Pole M.P., and other leading Labour M. Ps. Mr. Lansbury was elected as the Chairman. This Committee was pledged to secure Dominion Status for India, and began to work in Parliament disseminating views about India and giving informations to other M.Ps. But it soon fell under the official ban of the Conservative Party. The whips of that party "in view of the character of the Committee's activities" thought it desirable to recommend that no Conservative should be a member of the Committee, and the Liberal whips followed the same course. They took the further objection that no Committee was entitled to call itself a Parliamentary Committee unless it was representative of all parties and composed entirely of Members of Parliament. To meet their objection a meeting of the Committee was held in the House of Commons on May 28th and it was decided to change the name to the "British Committee on Indian Affairs," with the declared object: "To furnish Members of Parliament and the British public with information concerning the development of public opinion in India in relation to the desire for the further extension of Self-Government until such time as India finally secures Dominion Status."

Among others present at the meeting besides the members were the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Krishna Gupta, Munshi Iswar Saran, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, M.L.A., Muriel Countess De La Warr, Lady Emily Lutyens, and the following among other Members of Parliament: Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, Mr. Hope-Simpson, Commander Kenworthy, Mr. Mallhead, Mr. Snell, Mr. Patrick Lawrence, Mr. Morgan Jones (Under-Secretary of the Board of Education), Mr. Walter Baker, Mr. Walter Ayles, Mr. W. Raynes, Mr. W. Whitely, Mr. Charles Dukes, Mr. Arthur Henderson Jr., Mr. Scurr, Colonel Williams, Dr. Haden Guest and Mr. Marsh.

The Indian Parliamentary Committee held monthly or periodical meetings at which prominent Indians were invited to address. On March 19th Sir Ali Imam, who was accompanied by Mr. Harkishen Lal and Sir K. G. Gupta, addressed the Committee at the House of Commons. The meeting was largely attended by members of Parliament. Sir Ali Imam made a powerful speech on India's demand for self-government. Lala Harkishen Lal who was pressed to speak promised to address the Committee on 2nd April. Subsequently Sir Ali had a long talk with the Secretary of State at the India office. On the 2nd April Lala Harkishen Lal was the speaker at a well attended meeting of the Committee. His disclosures of the actual working of Diarchy were a great revelation. After he had sat down Mr. Purcell, M. P., President of the Trades Union Congress, spoke on labour conditions in India and wanted to come in closer contact with Indian labour. A suggestion was made that the British Trade Union Congress should send a deputation to India in the near future. But it should be rembered that such apparent philanthropy also actuated some previous deputations from England to India which culminated in the Govt. of India being forced by the India office to impose duty on Indian Cotton produce for the benefit of Lancashire.

Mr. T. Rangachariar arrived in London on the 29th March and forthwith proceeded to the India Office where on the 31st. he had a long interview with the Secretary of State.

On APRIL 6th, at the Indian Students Union, Mr. Arthur Greenwood M. P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, gave a lecture on "Labour in Office," Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, M.L.A., presiding. Mr. Greenwood was questioned at the end of the lecture about the Constitutional Reforms in India and about the position of Indians in Kenya. In reply he stated that the Labor Ministers had first of all to get accustomed to the working of a machinery, and in many cases they used to carry out the policy of their predecessors in office and especially so in the case of the India Office. He asked them to be a little more patient with Labor Ministers, but said that Labor whole-heartedly was with the aspirations of the Indian people for Dominion Status. He himself, he said, was ignorant about the affairs in India. This point was cleverly turned on the lecturer by the President who remarked that the British people had assumed a trust and left it in the hands of their representatives in the Parliament who, in almost all cases, were as ignorant as the lecturer. "It is high time," said Mr. Rangachariar, "that you put an end to this state of affairs which is absolutely scandalous"

On APRIL 9th at the House of Commons Mr. T. Rangachariar gave a very fine address on the working of the Reforms in India and the illusory nature of the supposed gift of Self-Government by the 1919 Act. Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir Ali Imam, Sir Sankaran Nair, Mr. Oswald and Lady Cynthia Mosley (ex-Viceroy Lord Curzon's daughter), Mr. Snell, Mr. Scurr, Mr. Mills, and quite a number of other Members of Parliament, and Indian and other members of the Committee, were present under the Chairmanship of Mr. George Lansbury M. P.

Arrival of the National Conference Deputation.

On MAY 10th the National Convention deputation, consisting of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mrs. Besant and Munshi Iswar Saran reached

London. Almost immediately they were plunged into a mass of work interviewing cabinet members, members of Parliament, and making plans about their tour campaign in England, of which the following pages give an account.

On MAY 15th there was an interesting little gathering, on the invitation of Messrs. Harkishen Lal and S. R. Bomanji, at a London hotel to see how far the representatives of Indian political feeling were agreed as to a common working policy. They were all agreed, of course, on the fundamental question of the absolute necessity of self-rule in India. They agreed to keep in touch with each other, and to meet once a week in order to co-ordinate their work in their different spheres. On the 21st, they met as arranged, and decided to prepare a memorandum (p. 703) for discussion next week, and signature, if approved.

The first public meeting arranged for the deputation by the British Auxiliary was at Bradford, Yorkshire, on May 18. Mr. Charleton, M. P. was the Chairman. Mr. Sastri, who explained that he was a representative of the Liberal Federation of India as well as of the National Convention, said that all parties in India were united in demanding Dominion status. The new legislatures under the Act of 1919 had done remarkably well. Sir Frederick Whyte, the president of the Assembly, had borne emphatic testimony to the Indian capacity for parliamentary institutions. The official part of the Assembly joined the non-official part in 1921 in asking for a revision of the constitution before 1929, and it was surprising that people should now ask why, if India was prosperous and well-governed, she should clamour for self-government. The question should rather be, Why *not*? Self-government was the natural and proper thing. It was too late to start fundamental objections and difficulties. They were there in 1917 when the famous declaration was made pledging the Parliament of Great Britain to the grant of responsible government to India. Diversity of racial types, languages, and religions did not come into existence during the last year or two. Government must combat the difficulties along with the chosen representatives of the people. Their long and honourable history, their literature, philosophy, and art were sufficient refutation of the theory of natural unfitness. The suggestion of unfitness was galling to the pride of eager Indian parties. These were making up their minds that if, forgetful of her pledges and disregarding the lessons of history, England desired to have trouble, she should have it with a vengeance. Was it not a tragedy that trouble should be necessary as a proof of India's earnestness? It was in keeping with the growth of English freedom. It was a history of constant struggle, of refusal of supplies, of rebellion and bloodshed. It was against the traditions and contrary to the peaceful and gentle character of the Indian people. But they were apt pupils, and stern necessity was schooling them to the violent methods of Western political agitation. The recent proceedings of the Assembly in rejecting the Finance Bill of the Government was but the beginning and but a mild beginning at that. Why did English politicians and statesmen profess surprise and even resentment at it? What else could people do whose hearts had been made sick with hope deferred? To secure their unstinted support during the war England made big promises, but when the time came for payment, she was seeking pre-

texts for getting out of them. Let her dismiss idle fears. Trust begot trust in the East as well as in the West and generous treatment would be rewarded a thousand-fold in India. It was safe to give her Home Rule. And it was becoming unsafe to withhold it any longer from her. To go back upon the Government of India Act would be an act of political apostasy. Such was the purport of Mr. Sastri's speech.

Munshi Iswar Saran said that to a lawyer the theory of trusteeship of India was utterly untenable. Who created the trust? For how long was this trust created? What was the object of the trust? Questions such as these could not be satisfactorily answered. If they could conquer or occupy a country, the fact of conquest did not constitute them trustees for the people of that country. There were certainly Hindu-Mussalman differences, as well as between Brahmins and non-Brahmins in certain parts of the country. The position of the depressed classes was certainly not satisfactory. These difficulties were greatly magnified and exaggerated there. What country was there which had not its own social problems to solve? People in England had no idea of the efforts that were being made in India to put these things right. Why did they not hear of these Hindu-Mussalman troubles in the Indian States? 'Leave us to solve our own problems,' he exclaimed. 'We shall not take long to solve them.' If a riot took place in one part of India people in England seemed to imagine that the whole country was in a disturbed state, forgetting that at the same time millions upon millions of people of all sects and communities were living in peace and friendship with each other. India was seething with discontent and matters might easily become dangerous unless something were speedily done to ease the situation. India was not asking for generosity, but simply for justice.

On MAY 17th Lala Lajpat Rai attended the Students' Union at Gower Street, London, and delivered a long and, on the whole, a temperate speech to a large audience consisting mostly of students, some of whom presented him with a purse of £80 with an address.

He drew a distinction between the approach to constitutional questions by Mr. Sastri and his friends and the Swarajists. The former, he said, asked that certain important things should be given them. The latter asked for complete Swaraj, subject to such agreements as might be reached by two equally-treating parties. He promptly stopped some abusive criticisms of Mr. Sastri from one or two youthful members of the audience, saying that whatever might be their political differences, their objects were substantially the same; they were countrymen. He indicated that he was gradually veering away from Mr. Gandhi towards the Swarajists. He briefly described Mr. Gandhi's differences from Messrs. Das and Nehru, and repudiated on Mr. Gandhi's authority the 'Daily Telegraph' correspondent's story that Mr. Gandhi was about to recommend co-operation.

Mr. Fenner Brockway, one of the prominent labour leaders, who recently opposed Mr. Winston Churchill at the Westminster by-election, presided. He said that the Labour Government had missed a great opportunity of reconciling Britain and India. If on taking office Labour had said to India that it could not recognise any inherent right of the British people to rule India, had released all political prisoners,

and had invited representatives of the Indian parties to make proposals for the revision of the Constitution for discussion at a Round-Table Conference, there would have been an instant response from the Indian people, and the disastrous period of estrangement would have ended. The National Council of the Independent Labour Party, he said, had passed the following resolution: "The National Council of the I. L. P. welcome the statement of the Prime Minister at York on April 19 that the British Government will be prepared to meet elected representatives of the Indian people to discuss the best possibility with them of settling the dispute, and that a conference should be held of representatives of different Indian parties with representatives of the British Government to consider the best government of the Indian people."

On MAY 19th one of the most representative gatherings of Indians in London took place at the Hotel Victoria when the Secretary of State for India was entertained to a private dinner. There were no speeches, as it was purely a private function, but there were very valuable conversations.

In the meantime Lala Harkishen Lal had two interviews with the Secretary of State, as also Lala Lajpat Rai. The Prime Minister saw Lala Lajpat Rai on May 21st and Mrs. Besant on the 23rd and had a long talk with them. Mrs. Besant, among other things, spoke to the Premier of the wish of the Labor Union of Madras for an urban franchise for wage-earners, and the latter promptly assured her that such a franchise would be under consideration when the steps to revise the form of the constitution would come up for consideration after the Reforms Enquiry going on in India had terminated.

On MAY 27th there was a select gathering at the Rembrandit Hotel, London, arranged by the British Auxiliary of the National Conference to receive the Indian deputation. Speeches were made by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. Annie Besant, and Munshi Iswar Saran. There were also present Mr. F. O. Roberts, M. P. (Minister of Pensions), Mr. C. G. Ammon M. P. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty), Sir Ali Imam, Sir Krishna Gupta, Muriel Countess De-la-Warr, Sir Dorab and Lady Tata, Mr. J. Hope Simpson M. P., Mr. Harkishan Lal, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mr. Graham Wallas, Major Graham Pole, Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar M. L. A., the Hon. Gertrude Kinnaird, Dr. Chapple M.P., Sir Thomas Bennett, and Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.

Mr. Sastri devoted his speech almost exclusively to the Report of the Lee Commission published on the very day in England. He was very frank about it. The recommendations of the Commission, he said, would only embitter the political situation. He pointed out that India objected to its appointment from the beginning and never regarded its proceedings with confidence. It represented an attempt to prejudge the question of India's right to Dominion status. He argued that if India was to gain the power of controlling her own affairs this power must include the right to determine all questions relating to the recruitment and regulation of her public services. He did not know where India was going to find the money for the extra expenditure involved. If India became a Self-governing Dominion as they demanded, the elaborate arrangements recommended by this Commission could not come into operation. If those recommendations were adopted as they

stood, it would mean that the Indian services would still be controlled by the Secretary of State and Parliament. The view of the deputation, on the contrary, was that the Secretary of State in Council should be deprived of most of the powers he now exercised and that those should be transferred to the Government of India.

Mr. Sastry had no great objection to offer to the proposed Public Services Commission, provided it was properly constituted and subject in the last resort to Indian control; nor did he wish to speak of certain other recommendations in terms of wholesale condemnation. He said that some of the proposals made tended to emphasise the subordination of his country in a way that every patriotic Indian would resent. Fuel would be added to the fire of discontent. At present there was no considerable school of thought in India favourable to withdrawal from the Empire, and it would take much to drive them out of it. But Mr. Sastry was afraid that the recent actions of Great Britain were taking them very near the limit.

Munshi Iswar Saran also addressed the company. He dealt mainly with the military question and complained bitterly of the way in which India had been treated in this regard. It ill became those who had deprived Indians of their power to defend their own country to taunt them with their dependence upon British protection. He urged that it was in the interests of England herself that India should be free.

Mrs. Besant's speech was as outspoken as any one could desire. She put the demand of India alongside those of the United States of America and Ireland, and begged England not to allow history to repeat itself in this case. She insisted upon the inherent right of India to control her own affairs too. She repudiated the British claim to trusteeship—a claim which had no justification either in fact or in experience. Her confidence in the good intentions of the Labour Government had not evaporated, and she still believed that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will serve India well. At the same time she urged that that there was no time to be lost. She did not conceal the serious state of public feeling in India at the present time. After having lived 30 years in that country she had been driven to the conclusion that hatred of the English was never more intense than it was now.

Mrs. Besant addressed a smaller meeting at Caxton Hall on the previous evening, under the auspices of the London Indian Association with Mr. A. Yusuf Ali in the chair, where she found herself in a tough corner. Most of her audience were Indian students. Her discourse on this occasion was, as she put it, informative rather than combative. The lecture was, in the main, a dispassionate account of recent political developments in India. She came to be catechised at the end of the meeting. The interrogators—one of whom was Mr. A. M. Jivanjee—questioned the right of Mrs. Besant and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to represent any considerable section of the Indian people. These people advocated armed force as the only effective method of turning the British out of India, notwithstanding Mrs. Besant's protest.

On MAY 30th Mr. Rangachariar by invitation addressed the Manchester Luncheon club taking as his subject "Indian Swaraj and British Trade". He pointed out very clearly that only by the increase of trade in India and with India can trade in England be increased,

and the increased prosperity of the people of India could only be brought about by the establishment of Dominion Status in India.

Lalas Lajpat Rai and Harikishen Lal left England early in June; the former for Switzerland to undergo medical treatment for his failing health. But about the same time three new arrivals, namely, Mr. Baptista, Pandit Jagat Narain, and Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, strengthened the Indian community in London. On June 2nd the Besant deputation visited Cardiff in South Wales and addressed a meeting on India in the evening They had a very warm reception and were led by Major Graham Pole, the Labour candidate for that city. Next day, June 3rd, found the deputation at Bath where Mr. Sastri presided at a meeting and Mrs. Besant lectured.

The National Conference Memorandum

The National Conference deputation then set themselves busy to draft their memorandum to be presented to the Secretary of State and finished drafting it by June 5th.

On June 11th the Secretary of State received the National Conference deputation officially. Messrs Sastri, Shanmukham Chetty, Ranganathan, Iswar Saran and Mrs. Besant. They submitted their memorandum as given below, and placed before the Secretary of State India's case for Dominion Status and her claim to make her own constitution. The meeting lasted for an hour and a half in which time many questions were asked and answered. The details are ofcourse confidential and not available to the public. The following is the text of the memorandum.—

'I.—We are convinced that the people of India have no real confidence that Britain will, in the near future, give effect to her declared intention of establishing Dominion Home Rule in India, and that the present unrest will continue, and rightly continue, until such Home Rule is established.

'All political parties in India are agreed in making a demand for Home Rule, and the differences between them are merely as to the ways of attaining it, and not as to the fulamenta' principle of India's right to self-government.

'We claim that India should draft her own Constitution, as the present Dominions and the Irish Free State have done.

'II.—We consider;—

'(a) That the central civil government of India should be carried on by the Viceroy, with a Cabinet responsible to the Indian Legislature, the defence of the country remaining in the hands of the Viceroy, subject to such reservations as may be agreed on, until the Responsible Government of India is ready to take it over. Also that foreign affairs (including the relations with Indian Princes, secured by treaties) shall be left with the Viceroy.

'(b) That the provincial Governments should be autonomous, and consist of a Governor, a Cabinet responsible to an elected legislature, with a High Court which should control the judiciary.

'(c) That the relations between the central and provincial Governments should be clearly defined.

'(d) That adequate provision should be made for the effective protection of minorities.

'III.—We believe that the safety of the connection between Britain and India depends on the establishment of Dominion Home Rule in India as quickly as possible, and to that end it is desirable that a Commission should be sent out to India in the coming autumn with wide terms of reference.

'IV. We urge this line of action in order that the sad story of Britain and the American colonies in the 18th century, and of Britain and Ireland in the 19th may not be repeated, and the constitutional party destroyed, as in the latter case, and the people driven to despair.

'We trust that in the 20th century peaceable solution will be found, and Britain and India united in an indissoluble friendship.'

It was signed by Messrs. Rangachariar, Jagat Narain, Sir Ali Imam, Sir K. G. Gupta, and the deputionists. Lala Lajpat Rai and Lala Harkishen Lal gave also their assent to resolutions I & II, but as they had already left England their signatures could not be taken.

The members of the deputation had another meeting with the Secretary of State on the 17th when the memorandum was further discussed. Lord Olivier, who was sympathetic throughout, reminded them of the parliamentary limitations of the Labor party and the obstacles that had to be overcome before their proposals could be accepted by the Govt. He was careful not to commit himself in any way.

On JUNE 18th Mr. Sastri gave an admirable address to the British Committee on Indian Affairs in a committee room of the House of Commons, the subject of his speech being on "the Failure of Diarchy." Mr. Jagat Narain followed him and fully bore him out from his own experience in the U. P. as Minister.

The Queen's Hall Demonstration.

On JUNE 25th there was the great Queen's Hall demonstration, organised by the British Auxiliary of the Indian National Conference, to support the constitutional movement in India towards early Dominion Home Rule. The meeting was crowded and was a very great success. There was very little in the nature of disturbance, unlike on the occasion of last year's Queen's Hall meeting when a few Diehards and hysterical women got a bit out of hand. It is of fatuous interest to recall that the demonstration was held exactly a year after a similar demonstration held at the same place and under the same auspices when Mr. Ramsay Macdonald made his historic promise to India, (see p. 268 last issue) which remains still to be fulfilled.

Mr. Robert Smillie M. P., Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party, presided. In the course of his remarks he said: We had given self-government to all but one of our Dominions. What we had given to our own kith and kin we surely could not refuse to India. The people of Great Britain, he added, had held in the past the attitude towards other nations that they were inferior types which England alone had sufficient intelligence to govern. But he believed that at last the majority of British people believed in India's right of self-government. He knew that the majority of the rank and file of the supporters in the House of the Government desired to confer that right upon India and he believed that the majority of the Cabinet agreed with them. This pronouncement coming from such a responsible quarter is of great significance.

Munshi Iswar Saran, who led off, addressed himself as before mainly to the Army problem and pointed out the inequalities and unsatisfactory character of the present condition both as regards the regular army and the auxiliary forces. He added that the Assembly, in its short career, had passed a great deal of legislation for the protection of the workers, and that the provincial Councils had done what the old autocratic Government had failed to do, taking the first steps for the education of the people on a wide scale.

Sir Ali Imam, who followed, spoke scathingly of the manner in which those who were opposed to Indian self-government in practice, a right

that in theory they conceded, trotted out the question of the depressed classes, though they had done next to nothing for these classes when they were in a position to do so. He paid a warm tribute to Mr. Gokhale's labours—frustrated as they had been by the official majority in the old Legislative Council—for mass education. He described the present reforms as merely a shell, since they did not confer even the ostensible responsibility in the transferred subjects that on the surface they appeared to do.

Mr. Sastri, who had a splendid reception, said that if, in the next revision of the Constitution, further autonomy was given to the nine provincial administrations without steps being taken to introduce autonomy in the Central Government, there would be a situation of perennial friction and misunderstanding. India had acquired, he said sublimely, an almost independent status in certain international matters as an original member of the League of Nations. The Indian delegation thereto had hitherto been peculiar, because alone among the delegates composing the League it had been led by a non-national, by a gentleman who was not an Indian, by a Viceroy, a Secretary of State, and so on. If the Government of India was really answerable to the people it would cease to be represented by a European in the Assembly of the League and at other International gatherings. This was noticed by all other delegates, and was in the nature of an international scandal. It was a libel on India to say that she was incapable of producing even one man who could lead the Indian delegation on such occasions. How long was this to continue? The Kenya decision went to show that India was regarded as a subordinate administration, which need not be listened to. Would the British Cabinet have dared to ignore the energetic and unanimous representations of the Indian Government and people in favour of a small group of White settlers in a Crown Colony had India enjoyed Dominion status? India would not consent to be set aside again and again with contempt and contumely. There were great questions of foreign policy to be dealt with by the various component parts of the Empire. India was not prepared to allow them to be finally dealt with by the representatives of this country, the Dominions, and a Government in India not responsible to the Indian people. There were other questions of the highest importance awaiting decision in India itself. It might be that she would prefer the Canadian rather than the Australian model of a Central constitution, leaving large residuary powers in the hands of the Central Government. There were other complicated and vexing questions, such as whether the extraordinarily perfected codes of criminal law and procedure, the property law and so forth, should be capable of amendment only by the Central Government and Legislature or not, and the redistribution of the provinces which no people in the world would be willing to have settled by a Government not answerable to it. The Central Government must be so reformed that the people would consider it to be their own Government. This speech was in one of Mr. Sastri's best forms and was listened to with rapt attention.

Mr. Shanmukham Chetty urged his audience to remember that although Indians wanted to remain in the Empire, it could only be as an equal partner in a Commonwealth. Indian patience was rapidly being exhausted by the dilatory tactics adopted by those who d not

wish to part with their special privileges or were afraid that their vested interests were endangered. It would be unwise to wait to give redress until that patience was exhausted and another Ireland had been created but on a vaster scale.

Mr. A. Ranganatham M. L. C., declared that it was no longer true to say that the masses were indifferent to political progress, thanks to the magnificent work of the various political organisations during the last ten years.

Dr. Annie Besant received a great ovation. Speaking in quiet tones but with the utmost earnestness, she referred to India as her adopted home and spoke throughout as an Indian. If they refused to give India constitutional self-rule, she said, there would be only one way to rule her, and that was to keep her down by hundreds of General Dyers, if they dared do it in the face of the world. What right had Britain to demand India's case for Home Rule? It was on the contrary for her to make out a case for keeping another race in subjection, if she could, against all her great traditions, all the promises she had made during the war, against every deed that had made her history famous. India, she declared amid loud cheers, came to Britain for what she had the right to take but what India was willing to ask at Britain's hands. Dare they refuse her? The Indian had no home. He was an inferior in his own country, an outcast in every other part of the Empire. Could they expect a country with India's great history to submit to that for long? Dr. Besant added that she and the other members of the delegation from the National Convention had come over to convince the British Government of the necessity of sending to India a commission of Britain's best men to confer with the best men in India of all parties, to discuss with them a scheme for best securing Home Rule for India. If such a commission were sent she believed that statutory recognition would be given to a Commonwealth of India Bill drawn up in India itself. Such a Bill was already in preparation in India. It would eventually be brought to that country and the Government of the day or the leader of the then Opposition would be asked to adopt it. If this were refused, it would be introduced and reintroduced in session after session by private members pledged to the Bill. They would not be defeated in their constitutional endeavours. They relied in the long run upon the justice of their case, the splendour of their cause, and the support of those in England to whom liberty was still a religion. But they should be careful that before then the question had not been taken out of the constitutional arena by those who would have been disappointed at the failure of peaceful methods to secure that to which India was by birth-right entitled. Dr. Besant's speech was received with deafening cheers.

The Queen's Hall demonstration was followed immediately by another successful demonstration in Birmingham on JUNE 27th. An account of this and subsequent activities of the Indian leaders will be given in the next issue of this QUARTERLY. This closes the record up to JUNE.

India in Parliament.

MARCH—JUNE, 1924.

Since the advent of the Labour Party in office in Britain the Indian Intelligentia have begun to take a growing interest in the proceedings of the British Parliament, especially those relating to India. A year back when the Tory Ministry was in power the people of India looked upon parliament with apathy; they had a despairing anticipation of the very worse that might come from people who were the avowed patrons and admirers of Dyers and O'Dwyers, and with a Peel and a Winterton in the India Office nothing better than the infamous Kenya despatch of 1923 and the Royal Commission on the Imperial Services was expected. But with such men as Messrs. MacDonald, Wedgwood, Ben Spoor, Sydney Webb and other sincere friends and sympathisers of India at the helm of affairs things seemed to be different, and their very coming into power was such a revolutionary affair that it suddenly infused new hope into a dying faith, and even the most confirmed of non-co-operators could not but look askance at the turn of affairs in Britain. Some of the utterances of these men before they came into office have been hopeful to India, inspite of the somewhat chilling message which the Labour Premier sent out on the eve of his taking office. These have been reproduced in the 1st issue of this *Quarterly* on pages 265—269. Another important pronouncement of the Premier has since been made outside parliament. The occasion was the annual conference of the Independent Labour Party held at York on April 19 last. It was a great meeting and the demonstration of the Labour party was great. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in opening the conference declared that since January Labour had become bigger, not in size but in mind. He denied the dictum that they were in office but not in power. Referring to India, he said that the condition of affairs in India when the Labour Government came in office did not give them a chance. "We know of the serious condition of affairs in India, and we want to improve it. As Lord Olivier says without equivocation, Dominion status for India is the idea and ideal of the Labour Government. If I may say so to our Indian friends, do your bit for British democracy, and keep your faith in the British Labour Government. An enquiry is being held by the Government, which means that the enquiry is to be a serious one. We do not mean it to be an expedient for wasting and losing time. We mean that the enquiry shall produce results which will be the basis of consideration of the Indian constitution, its working and its possibilities, which we hope will help Indians to co-operate on the way towards the creation of a system which will be self-governing."

The proceedings of the House of Commons and the House of Lords up to March have been incorporated in the last issue of the *Quarterly*. In the following pages are given first, a summary of the subsequent proceedings from March to the end of June, and then reproductions *in extenso* of the more important debates and interpellations from the Official Report of Parliament.

As to the rules of business of the House of Commons, it should be noted that the first hour of a sitting of the House is given to interpellations, and as there are so many subjects on which to ask questions, they are divided up just to make them put in an orderly fashion, and each day is given to some particular topic.

Thus Indian questions are put first on Mondays of each week, and this will explain why there is always a gap of 6 days between the dates of Indian interpellations as given in the following pages. Then, as to debates, readers here will remember that on the motion being made "that this House do now adjourn," it is permissible for any member who catches the Speaker's eye to begin a discussion on any matter he may wish to bring up or on which he may desire to interrogate a Minister with regard to any question of policy. In practice it is customary to inform the Minister beforehand of the subject it is

intended to bring up and the particular points on which the member wishes information. It is also customary to inform the Speaker of the House and it is his duty to divide up the time of the House between the different subjects notified. Generally a day is given during the whole session of a year to India which goes by the name of the "India Day" when the general policy of the Government and other points come into the debate. So far no such day has yet been given. The so called debates on India have been mainly adjournment debates. These are:—

On March 10th.—Mr. Lansbury's motion on the shooting at Jaito, Bombay etc.

On April 15th.—Viscount Curzon's motion on the State of India.

On May 14th.—Mr. Grundy's motion on Indian Labour situation.

On June 6th.—Earl Winterton's motion on the condition of the Indian Services, etc.

Besides these, there was the debate on June 3rd in the House of Lords on Lord Peel's motion on a subject over which he wanted to raise "not even a decent storm in a tea-cup," viz., the Olivier-Satyamurti correspondence.

The Summary of Proceeding.

On MARCH 10th Mr. LANSBURY'S motion on India on the adjournment of the House broke up abruptly without any definite result. He drew attention to the Jaito massacre of the 21 February, the Bombay Mill Strike and the political situation in India and advocated a prompt advance in self-government to be given to India. Mr. Richards expressed the Government sympathy for the *ultimate* ideal of self-government for India, but he had not finished his reply when the Speaker left the Chair automatically at 11-30 p.m. "without question put." This debate is given in full on page 721 to 724.

On this day a large number of questions was asked (see p. 292, 294) the most important of which was one by Sir Henry Craik who asked whether the Government was going to make any further advance of the Reforms in India. Mr. Richards apparently did not understand the question properly and gave an answer which seemed to re-assure the die-hards. This was however subsequently amended.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—17 MARCH, 1924.

On the 17th MARCH, there was again a string of interpellations on India which were not of much consequence. Two days later, on March 19th, Sir Ali Imam accompanied by Lala Harkishen Lal addressed the "Indian Parliamentary Committee" at the House of Commons. Sir Ali made a powerful speech followed by the usual volley of questions.

The reply given by the Under-Secretary of State for India, in reply to Sir Henry Craik's supplementary question on 10th March, caused a considerable amount of dismay on the Labor and Liberal benches and gave satisfaction to no one except the die-hards on the Conservative benches. Sir Henry Craik was asked to repeat his question, which he did on the 24th March, and the Under-Secretary's reply showed that the Government's point of view of the Provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919, was not the same as that of the Conservative Members. The die-hard element became very restive ever since, and they agreed amongst themselves that whoever was successful in the first motion for a ballot should raise the question of India. On April 2nd Viscount Curzon was thus successful in the ballot, and he immediately gave notice of his intention of raising the question of India and moving a Resolution. This important debate came off on the 15th April and is given *in extenso* on pages 734—750.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—7TH APRIL, 1924.

On MARCH 31st and APRIL 7th the Under-Secretary of State for India had not only some thirty questions for answer on the Order Paper, but he was also bombarded with a large number of supplementary questions. In reply

to Sir Henry Craik, Mr. Richards stated that no modifications affecting the Constitution of the Government of India established under the Act of 1919 would be proposed by any Government without due notice being given to the House of Commons. Colonel Howard-Bury had a question on the dismissal of some seven hundred officers of the Educational and Medical Services in Bengal to which Lord Winterton pressed as a result of the Bengal Council refusing the supply, supplementary question as to what the Secretary of State proposed to do if these dismissals took place. The hoped to be able to give some information in the debate next week. Lord Winterton put so many further supplementary questions that there were loud cries of "Order" and other interruptions. He seemed quite peevish because all his supplementary questions were not answered. In reply to Mr. Hope Simpson, the Under-Secretary stated that no member of the depressed classes had been nominated to the Legislative Assembly and that no vacancies at present existed. Mr. W. Joynson-Hicks pointed out that these classes amounted to 50,000,600 of the people in India and asked that steps in this direction should be taken. Sir Bertram Falle showed the extent of his knowledge of modern India by asking whether members of other castes would be willing to sit with representatives of the Depressed Classes! Following on a recent debate in the Legislative Assembly, when Mr. Ramachandra Rao pointed out that it had been admitted that some 35 lakhs of rupees had been contributed annually from the Indian Exchequer to various British training institutions from which Indians as Indians had been specifically excluded, Mr. Richards, in reply to Colonel Meyler stated that India made an annual contribution to the Home Government through the capitation rate, to cover all the services rendered in the work of training the military personnel of India, and that Indians are admitted to these institutions so far as they train personnel for the Indian as distinct from the British Service, and that no racial distinction was made. In reply to Mr. Lansbury who stated that such newspapers as *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Daily Herald* and *Foreign Affairs*, and other progressive journals are being stopped in their free circulation in India, the Under-Secretary stated that there was no censorship of the Press in India. Sir Charles Yate was very much disturbed about the spread of alleged "mischievous falsehoods" in the Indian Press regarding Government officials. In reply to Mr. Wallhead who referred to the Memorandum drawn up by Mr. Findlay Shirass, Director of Labor in Bombay, in connection with the recent Mills strike, Mr. Richards replied that he did not know of any Memorandum answering the description given—an answer that showed a peculiar state of ignorance in the India Office, considering that the Memorandum had been printed in full in the Bombay newspapers that had arrived in London by mail at least a week previously. The India Office, he stated, in reply to a question by Mr. Baker, had no information as to whether the European Government Officers' Association had given evidence in India before the Lee Commission. In reply to Earl Winterton, he said that the Association had been formed with the approval both of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. Mr. Baker had a further question about the Resolution carried in the Council of State at Delhi on 5th March, with regard to a fresh survey of irrigation possibilities from the rivers and wells of India; but although the Government of India in the Council of State had said that they were not prepared to have any fresh survey, the Under-Secretary said he was still awaiting their views and recommendations on the matter. Captain Wedgwood Benn pointed out that the separation of the Executive and Judicial functions had been demanded by the foremost representatives of Indian public opinion through successive Indian National Congresses from 1886 to 1914, and that the Government of India had undertaken to provide machinery for the purpose. The Under-Secretary, however, said that it was not possible at present to give any undertaking as to the date or precise need of the steps to be taken to secure this separation. In reply to a further question of Captain Wedgwood Ben regarding the cases of people interned under the Bengal Regulation III of 1818, and which had been examined by two Sessions Judges "ordinarily under the control of the Executive Government," and not by the independent Judges of the High Court as the Viceroy had said in his public pronouncement in opening the Assembly, the Under-Secretary stated that the misapprehension of the Viceroy on this matter had been subsequently set right by interpellations in the Legislative Assembly, and he resented the slur cast on the impartiality of the judicial officers who were not able to de-

fend themselves against such criticism. He was not prepared to order the release of the detenues or an open trial. This question would, no doubt, have caused further supplementaries had it not been for the fact that it was not reached during the time allowed for questions and the answer was accordingly handed in writing.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—14TH APRIL, 1924.

It was again to a House crowded in every part that the Under-Secretary for India rose to reply to Indian Questions on Monday the 14th April.

Some of the most important points only came out in the written answers. In reply to Mr. F. Gould and Mr. W. J. Baker the Under-Secretary stated that no Indians are being trained for King's Commissioned rank in the Artillery, Tank Corps or Air Force, and that none of these arms are open to officers of the Indian Service. India, he admitted, has to contribute to the cost of the establishments in England for training British Officers for these arms—presumably for the defence of India. It was an interesting comment, however, on the oft-repeated statement that India is not able to defend herself and requires British aid. This point was brought out on the next day by Mr. Scurr in the Debate on Lord Curzon's motion.

In reply to a question by Mr. D. Grenfell Professor Richards admitted that India contributes at the rate of £25 per officer and man serving on the Indian establishment, and that in 1923-24 a provisional payment for this was made to the War Office to the amount of £1,700,000 in respect of the cost of raising and training the recruits required for service in India, this cost of training including *inter alia* the pay of the recruits and a share of the military training establishments maintained in England.

In addition to this, Professor Richards admitted that there had been a further provisional payment to the War Office by India of approximately £100,000 for the Air Ministry in respect of the cost of training Air Force personnel based on a *per capita* charge of £50—and this for a Force from which Indians are specifically excluded!

There were several questions on the Mill Strike at Cawnpur and the casualties to the strikers by shooting, put down by Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. J. E. Mills and Mr. Wardlaw-Milne, but the Under-Secretary had to admit that he was without information from the Government of India on the matter. He pointed out that the responsibility for enquiries into Labor disputes rested with the Provincial Governments, but the India Office are in communication with the Government of India as to the practicability and desirability of devising measures that might tend towards diminishing the risk of their occurrence.

In his reply to Mr. John Scurr Professor Richards said that the responsibility for the taking out of English Reporters to India in connection with the Royal Commission on Public Services was Lord Lee's, as he "particularly requested" that reporters should be taken out from England. No communications, he said, had yet been received on the matter from the Government of India, though it was stated in the Legislative Assembly that such representations were being made.

Mr. Mills had another question suggesting that the whole of the Indian Budget should be made votable by the Assembly; to which Mr. Richards replied that this would require an amendment of the Government of India Act and that no proposal for this purpose had been made. In reply to Mr. Mills' supplementary question, the Under-Secretary stated that no representations to this effect had been made by representatives of India.

Another interesting point was brought out by Mr. Scurr, in reply to whom the Under-Secretary stated that correspondence had passed between the India Office and the Government of India with regard to the desirability of associating non-official Members or Ministers who have had experience of the working of the Reforms with the Enquiry proposed by the Government of India, but the latter have not yet made any final recommendation with regard to it.

Sir Charles Yate again pressed for the re-introduction of the Press Act, but this, Professor Richards said, would not be done, as the Courts of Law in India exist and are made use of in regard to the Press when necessary. Sir Charles Yate denied that the Courts were so used, but he is not one of those members whose up-to-date information is to be strictly relied on where India is concerned.

Mr. Dukes asked about the conditions of Labor under the Assam Labor and Emigration Act and whether protests had been received from Madras in this connection, to which the Under-Secretary replied that the provisions of this Act referred to by Mr. Dukes had been withdrawn some years ago and no such protests had been received either by the Secretary of State or by the Government of India. But it was stated in the Legislative Assembly that such a protest meeting had been held in Madras.

Mr. Lansbury again repeated his question of the previous week with reference to the delay in delivery, and at times confiscation, in India of the *Daily Herald*, *Manchester Guardian* and other paper, but Mr. Richards reiterated his reply that any specific case would be enquired into, but that no such censorship now existed in India.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—15TH APRIL 1924.

On APRIL 15th came the famous debate on Viscount CURZON'S motion. Lord Curzon spoke for nearly an hour and was followed by Sir Henry Craik and, at a later stage, by Lord Winterton. Between them they took up nearly two hours of the two hours and three quarters to which by the rules of the House that Debate was limited—it being a Private Member's Motion.

There was a better attendance of Indians in the galleries than ever before, including several Indian ladies in saris, both in the Strangers' and in the Ladies' Galleries. Lady Imam occupied a seat in the Speaker's Gallery. Amongst others present were Sir Ali Imam, Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr. K. C. Roy, Mr. T. Rangachariar, Sir D. M. Dalal, and Mr. S. R. Bomanji amongst the Indians, and Sir Malcolm Hailey, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir George Lloyd, Sir William Vincent and many other officials connected with India. Lord Olivier occupied a seat under the gallery and Sir Alfred Mond, just back from India, a seat in the Members' Gallery.

The Debate began at 8-15. There was a very thin House at 8 o'clock—only three Members being present on the front Opposition Bench and only one solitary Conservative on the benches behind them. Just before 8-15, Sir Henry Craik came in, followed soon after by Sir Charles Yate and then by Lord Winterton. The Liberal front bench was conspicuously empty most of the time, and throughout the whole Debate neither Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Ian Macpherson, Mr. Masterman, Sir John Simon, nor one of the prominent front bench Liberals put in an appearance. Sir Edward Grigg too was conspicuous by his absence, although he was on the Order paper to second the Liberal amendment.

LIBERAL AMENDMENT WITHDRAWN.

The Liberals had put down a very good amendment that had got precedence over the Labor amendment. Mr. Hope Simpson was to move it. Sir Alfred Mond's influence behind the scenes had been strong enough to make them abandon it. He had just come back from India strongly of opinion that Swarajists must not be countenanced in any sort of way. Probably Sir Malcolm Hailey may have had some influence in the matter also. Colonel Meyler was prepared to make a strong speech supporting the amendment for a Royal Commission, as also were Mr. J. E. Mills, Dr. Hadan Guest, Mr. Snell and others who got no chance, owing to the deliberately lengthy Conservative speeches. It was not till 5 o'clock on the evening of the 9th that the Liberals decided not to move their amendment, and thus left the Labor Party in the lurch after being induced to rely on Liberal support.

LABOR GOVERNMENT'S INDIAN POLICY.

The most important part of the Debate was the carefully prepared written statement which was read by the Under-Secretary of State giving the Labor Cabinet's position with regard to India. In that statement, Professor Richards said that, although His Majesty's Government regarded the appointing of a Royal Commission as premature, it was their obvious duty to see where difficulties and deficiencies existed in the Act, so that they might, if it were possible, remedy them. Consequently, an enquiry into the shortcomings and deficiencies of the Government of India Act was being carried out at the present time. "For the purpose of this enquiry, His Majesty's Government felt it important that the views of representative Indian politicians who had come to the Legislative Assembly in a perfectly constitutional way and who advocate modifications of the Constitution in regard to practical defects in the Act should be given full opportunity of constitutional expression and consideration before His Majesty's Government finally formulated their recommendations. It was the Government's desire to arrange with the Government of India how best these opportunities could be provided. His Majesty's Government viewed with grave concern the estrangement between this country and the elected representatives of the Indian people, and they therefore desired to establish contact with them in the hope that by a full and frank interchange of views they might establish a lasting peace and enduring co-operation for the well-being both of India and of the Empire as a whole."

VISCOUNT CURZON'S SPEECH.

Viscount CURZON read alleged extracts from speeches in India by Colonel Wedgwood and Mr. Spoor. Colonel Wedgwood asked from what he was quoting, as he had no recollection of making the speech attributed to him by Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon accused Mr. Gandhi of being responsible for the loss of many hundred Indian lives and referred to Lord Olivier's statement in the House of Lords that it was repugnant to human feeling that a man of Mr. Gandhi's character should be treated as a criminal. This brought great applause from the Government benches and Lord Curzon singled out Mr. George Lansbury, whose "Hear, hear," was particularly loud, and said that he knew that Mr. Lansbury belonged to the Communist Party. This brought Mr. Lansbury to his feet in hot denial, and he asked Lord Curzon to withdraw his remark. Lord Curzon asked: "Does the Hon. Member deny?" to which Mr. Lansbury replied: "Certainly, I deny it." On Lord Curzon withdrawing the statement, Mr. Lansbury said that he did not see why the noble Lord should make statements that it was necessary for him to contradict. Mr. Lansbury had raised a question in the House on the previous day as to the attendance of the Police secretly at Communist meetings. Lord Curzon said that he had thought the Member for Bow and Bromley was at the Communist meeting on Sunday morning. Sir Henry Craik followed Lord Curzon (who had spoken for over three quarters of an hour), in a speech which frankly bored most of the Members. He claimed particularly to speak for the British Services in India. He reminded the House that he was a member of the Joint Committee in 1919 and was the only one on that Committee who had spoken against the Bill. Among the witnesses then present from whom they had received evidence was "the notorious Tilak," and he did not think that even Labor Members would consider Tilak to have been a good representative of India. Mr. Lansbury immediately shouted across to him: "I think he was. He was one of the best Indians you ever met." Sir Henry Craik retorted that he did not think the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Wedgwood) would support Mr. Lansbury in that, and he seemed rather put out when Colonel Wedgwood immediately retorted: "He was a personal friend of mine."

LIBERAL AMENDMENT NOT MOVED.

Mr. Hope Simpson, although he made a good speech, refrained from moving the amendment that had been put down in the name of himself, Sir Edward

Grigg (Liberal Member for Oldham) and others. Sir Alfred Mond, who had just returned from India, and was following the debate closely from the front seat of the Members' Gallery, had some hand in having this amendment withdrawn. Lord Winterton later remarked that this Liberal amendment was another example of the habit of the Liberals of putting down amendment and then running away from them. Mr. Hope Simpson, after saying the House was grateful to Lord Curzon for using his right in the ballot in order to give the House a chance of discussing Indian affairs, began badly by making an attack on the Government for leaving it to a Private Members Motion.

Diarchy was condemned from all sides of the House. Mr. Hope Simpson said it was a horrible word to describe a horrible thing. He strongly advocated the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the machinery of the present Act, to see whether it was defective and if these defects could be remedied. Mr John Scurr, who followed, did not move his amendment, as he then saw that, at that late hour, there was no chance of having it properly discussed. He pointed out that the ten years laid down in the 1919 Act was not a Law of the Medes and Persians, but if it were found that the Act was unworkable, a Royal Commission should be sent out as soon as possible. He advocated Provincial Autonomy at the earliest possible moment and pointed out that it was foolish to accuse Indians of being unable to defend themselves and then refuse to allow them to be trained in the Artillery, Air Force and Tank Force. He urged the Government to take their courage in their hands and call together Indian politicians of all parties, so that India and Britain should unite together for the benefit of the whole world.

Lord Winterton replied on behalf of the Conservative die-hards. He professed himself more in agreement with the Under-Secretary than with the Members of his own Party who had spoken, and this agreement, as Colonel Wedgwood pointed out, was only reached by his ability to read into the Under-Secretary's speech things that had never been said. By the Rules of the House, the Debate had automatically to come to an end as the clock struck 11, and Lord Winterton had agreed to give way to Colonel Wedgwood at 3 minutes to 11. The Conservatives had no intention of putting the matter to a vote, and the speech was a most unfair and entirely controversial one, which brought in many matters that would have been vehemently denied by both Labor and Liberal benches had there been an opportunity of denying them. Colonel Meyler (Liberal Member for Blackpool), Mr. Mills (Labor Member for Dartford) and Mr. Snell (Labor Member for Woolwich) had all prepared speeches which they had no opportunity of delivering. The Conservative and Liberal newspapers referred to the Debate as having been "talked out" by Colonel Wedgwood. This is only technically correct. Colonel Wedgwood was speaking at 11 o'clock, but Lord Winterton held the floor until three minutes to that hour. One of the remarks that Colonel Wedgwood did get in during the three minutes was his reference to his "dear friend Motilal Nehru." On the whole, the Debate was entirely unsatisfactory from the fact that so little time was available, and most of that time was taken up by the opponents of the Government on the Conservative benches.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—MAY 5TH, 1924.

On MAY 5th, on the House re-assembling after Easter, there were fewer questions than usual addressed to the Under-Secretary of State for India, and there were quite a large number of vacant spaces on the benches of the House when questions began. May Day was celebrated in many parts of the country the day before, and most of the Labor Members had gone to their constituencies, where they were speaking, and those who lived at some considerable distance had difficulty in getting back in time for Questions. The question of Mr. Baker (Labor Member for Bristol West) about the American refusal to naturalise a Hindu in the U.S.A., arose out of the Lalitpur Municipality having refused on that account to give any concessions to Americans, and brought from Professor Richards the reply that the Supreme Courts of the United States had ruled that Indians were ineligible for United States citizenship, but that H. M. Govern-

ment had made representations to the United States with a view to alleviating the hardships resulting from this ruling.

In reply to Mr. Wardlaw Milne, the Under-Secretary gave some figures that rather appalled Members who received them in silence. Professor Richards stated that 25,000 deaths had taken place in March alone in the Punjab from Plague, and that for the week ending April 19th, no fewer than 12,393 deaths had occurred.

Mr. Baker elicited the information from the Under-Secretary of State that in the case of the recent changes in the Legislative Rules, although these had been in contemplation and under discussion between the Government of India and the India Office for the last two years, no attempt had been made to consult the wishes of the Indian Legislative Assembly during that period, nor had the Standing Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament been consulted. He stated further, however, that the decision was not taken as the result of the changed personnel of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

In reply to Mr. Baker's question whether he would consider the desirability of getting the views of the Indian Legislature before any further changes in the Rules were made, Professor Richards said that although the Indian Legislature is expressly debarred by Statue from power to alter these Rules, the desirability of consulting that body before changes are made in these and other Statutory Rules is always considered, when the proposed changes could suitably be made the subject of such consultation.

Mr. Lansbury returned to the question of entry of Newspapers in India for the third time, giving particulars of the delay that had occurred in the delivery of foreign mails addressed to the Navayuga Publishing House. The Under-Secretary of State undertook to make enquiries in India with regard to this. He reiterated the fact that there is no censorship of newspapers, but that did not please some of the Conservatives. Sir Leonard Lyle began to suggest that if "really respectable papers" such as *The Morning Post* were imported in India—but he was allowed to get no further with his question, as it was greeted with laughter by Conservatives and loud ironical "hear, hears," from the Labor and Liberal benches. Sir Charles Yate proposed that the Government of India should have discretion to prohibit the entry of papers into India of which they did not approve. No notice was taken of his proposal.

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HOUSE OF LORDS—LEAVE OF ABSENCE BILL.

On MAY 8th the Government of India (Leave of Absence) Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords. The Bill proposed to give leave of absence to the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and Governors of Provinces, on the grounds of urgent reasons of public interest, or ill health, or private affairs. The Secretary of State for India said that it was proposed, by Rules made under the Bill, to limit the period of leave of absence which may be granted to a Governor to six months, and to limit his leave altogether to one period of leave during his term of office.

Lord Harris pointed out that it was an anachronism in these times, when facilities for travel are so very much better than they were twenty years ago, that these officials should not be allowed to take leave, and he urged that India should be put upon the same basis as in the case of other high officials who are at the head of affairs in the Self-Governing Dominions.

Marquess Curzon urged that the total absence from date of departure from India to return should be four months, and objected to such questions as period of absence, filling of vacancies, etc., being prescribed by Rules under the Bill, on the ground that the practice was capable of great abuse and would lead to recurrent discussions when the Rules were laid upon the Table of the House. To this objection Lord Olivier replied that he saw no reason why such

matters should be so dealt with in the case of *India*, when in the case of the Colonial Service they are regulated by Royal Instructions and similar methods.

Viscount Peel asked the Government if they could state the terms of reference of the Committee recently appointed in India to examine into the workings of the Constitution.

The Secretary of State for India in his reply said that he would obtain from the Government of India the precise terms of reference under which the Committee was working, but personally he had no doubt that the Committee had been asked to address themselves to the purposes clearly stated in Sir Malcolm Hailey's speeches in the Legislative Assembly on February 8th and 18th last, from which he quoted words to show that it was proposed to make a serious attempt to investigate justifiable complaints against the working of the Government of India Act in practice, to assess causes, and to examine the remedies necessary.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—12 MAY, 1924.

On MAY 12th, Indian questions only occupied comparatively few minutes. Sir Charles Yate, in the orthodox style of the good blue-blooded die-hard Torry, was extremely anxious about the representation of the backward and working classes of India at the International Labor Conference at Geneva, and, in his supplementary question, he got the information that Mr. Joseph Baptista was the Indian Labor Representative at Geneva this year.

Commander Kenworthy, in a supplementary question, asked whether workers' organisations in India are, for the most part, considered illegal by the Government, to which Mr. Richards replied in the negative.

In reply to Sir Frederick Wise, the Under-Secretary of State for India gave figures showing that nearly one million tons of iron and steel goods are imported into India annually, and of this nearly 60 per cent. is from the United Kingdom.

Mr. Speel raised a question dealing with taxation being imposed by Executive action without being within the purview of the Legislatures, to which Mr. Richards replied that the Government of Madras had introduced a Bill in the Legislative Council on the lines of the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee in paragraph 11 of their Report of 1919, that the Bill had been rejected, and that no such bill had been introduced in any other Province. He had no information of public protests against the imposition of additional burdens without the sanction of the Legislative Council, but was asking the Government of India for a report.

Mr. Scurr asked about the resolution passed by the Bombay Legislative Council that the land cess for the Sangha Taluka in the Sholapur District should not be raised without the consent of the Council, in accordance with the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee of 1919, and pointed out that agriculturists were being compelled, under penalty of land forfeiture, to pay the increased cess, and, where they refused, their bullocks and agricultural implements had been attached. Mr. Richards immediately answered that he would ask for a report on the whole matter from the Government of India.

In another question regarding the Indian contribution to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, for which Indians are not eligible and which trains exclusively for the British service, Mr. Richards answered that the present policy of the Indian Army is to train Indians for commissioned service in Infantry and Cavalry, and it was not proposed to consider the question of their training for other arms until sufficient time had elapsed to enable the authorities to judge of the success of the present policy.

Mr. Scurr asked the Under-Secretary of State whether he was aware that Pandit Jagdamba Prasad is at present a prisoner in Benares Gaol; that the Pandit had been compelled to drive an oil mill for extracting mustard oil; that he was blind-folded while doing so; whether such work was usually done by bullocks; and whether enquiry would be made into the whole matter. The Under-Secretary of State said that he had no information as to this individual case, but would make inquiries.

Viscount Curzon then raised a point of order, and said that he had many times desired to raise questions relating to political prisoners in India, but was informed that it was a matter for the Government of India and that he could not put them on the Order Paper. He asked, therefore, if Mr. Scurr's question was in order according to that ruling. The Speaker was for a moment taken

aback but remarked that the question had already been answered and that his attention had not been called to it, but he would look into the matter before other questions were put on the point.

Colonel Meyler (Liberal) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies about the segregation of Asiatics on the railways and steamers of Kenya Colony, and whether steps would be taken to see that equal facilities were provided in the waiting-rooms, refreshment-rooms, lavatories, etc., irrespective of race, for travellers of whatever nationality who pay the same fares. Mr. Thomas stated that where separate accommodation is provided every effort is made to ensure that equal facilities are available for persons who pay the same fares.

Colonel Meyler drew attention to the Circular issued in India authorising advance of pay to Government servants to cover their passage money to England, and pointed out that this advance was given to Europeans and not Indians, and urged that such discrimination between members of different races in the employ of the same Government should be abolished. Mr. Richards in reply stated that Indians who are serving in their own country are not under the same necessity of taking leave in Europe, and on that ground he could not admit that the discrimination was unreasonable. There was no opportunity of asking supplementary questions on this matter, as the answer was given in a written reply.

LABOR CONDITIONS IN INDIA.

On MAY 14th an important debate took place on Indian Labour condition. The galleries were well filled, there being amongst other Indians, Sir Ali and Lady Imam, Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Lala Lajpat Rai and Munshi Iswar Saran.

Mr. Grundy who raised the debate is himself a miner, and it was that aspect that he stressed in his speech. Having worked in a mine, he felt the horror of asking women and children to take part in this work, and asked the Under-Secretary about the legislation that was being introduced to end this state of affairs. He quoted, with effect, from the recent Debate on Mines in the Legislative Assembly in March. Mr. J. E. Mills who seconded, made a more fighting speech and expressed the views held by many of the rank and file of the Labor Party. The effect was somewhat weakened by his apparent insistence on the effect of the doubling of the Salt Tax, as if that were still in force! Mr. Wardlaw-Milne (Conservative) spoke as one who had lived in India. The whole burden of his speech was that Constitutional Reforms in India could not be hurried—an eminently Conservative attitude. He was followed by Mr. Fisher (Liberal Member for the English Universities) who dwelt on the industrial advantage to India of their membership of the International Labor Bureau.

Mr. Richards, Under-Secretary for India, compared the relative position of wages in India, Britain, France and Germany, before the War and now, pointing out that a greater relative increase had occurred in India than in other countries. He did not deal with the question of whether these wages were adequate or not. He held out some hope of a revision of the Constitution to follow on the Report of the Committee set up by the Viceroy.

Lord Winterton took up all the rest of the time except about two or three minutes. The tone of his speech was much better than his last speech, but he was, as usual, at pains to point out that the Labor Government was continuing the policy of the late Government of which he entirely approved. It may not be long before he and his Conservative friends find themselves in disagreement on this policy, when the enquiries of the Government are complete.

Colonel Meyler (Liberal) was speaking at 11 o'clock when the Debate was automatically adjourned.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT DEBATE—REFERENCE TO INDIA.

On Thursday, the 22nd May there was a great debate in the House of Commons when a motion of censure and no-confidence was sought to be passed on the Labour Ministry by the Conservatives. Sir William Joynson-Hicks, the great die-hard leader, had tabled a motion to reduce the salary of the Minister of Labour by £100 in order that the unemployment problem may be debated on the floor of the House. The Debate was opened by the Minister of Labor who had arranged with Sir William Joynson-Hicks to allow him to speak first in order that he might state the Government policy and intentions. His speech was all the more important as

the points in it had been carefully considered by the Cabinet beforehand, and it was possible that it might have to form the basis of another General Election. He pointed out how many of the Government's political opponents, at the time the Labor Government took office, had done everything possible to destroy the confidence of the commercial classes and to prove that all sense of security would be gone under a Labor Government, which they predicted would ensure " a headlong rush to ruin."

When Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was called on to form a Government the international situation was extremely delicate and difficult. British prestige had fallen lower than it had been for centuries. Markets in the Near and Far East were crippled by a " blundering incompetence " unknown in the history of the country.

The Minister was frequently interrupted from the Opposition Benches and many of the Conservatives shouted to him for the name of any responsible Minister who was guilty of this. Mr. Shaw stated that he was quite willing to give names, if pressed. The interruptions of " Names! Names!" went on, and he mentioned Lord Curzon as one. He added that when the Government took office, they found a thing which would have been considered incomprehensible before the War: Muhammadans and Hindus combining together in opposition to Britain.

Mr. Ronald Mcneill, who was Lord Curzon's Under-Secretary of State in Foreign Affairs, asked if that was due to Lord Curzon to which Mr. Shaw at once replied that he was prepared to include the remainder of the late Government along with Lord Curzon.

He pointed out that before the War, eight-tenths of the products of the cotton textile industry went abroad, and of these eight-tenths that went abroad eight-tenths went to India. There was no question, he said, that unless this industry could be restored, there could be no revival of trade in England, until either they developed absolutely new exporting industries or made friends of the people of whom they had made enemies. He hoped by the same policy (Labor) which was leading to the pacification of Europe to be able to pacify Turkey and India and restore their markets in those countries.

The Minister's remarks with regard to the changed attitude towards India are of first-class importnace, because of the fact that they were deliberately stated in the House of Commons as the considered attitude of His Majesty's Government.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—26TH MAY, 1924.

On Monday, the 26th MAY, quite a large number of questions was asked on Indian affairs which occupy fifteen columns of Hansard Official Report. Quite a large proportion of the questions dealt with the Indian Currency. Mr. John Scurr (Labor) asked the Under-Secretary of State what steps the Government proposed so take to meet the demand of the people of India to transfer the funds standing to the credit of the Gold Standard Reserve from London to India. In reply, Mr. Richards stated that the Reserve is at present held in the form of sterling investments which could not suitably be held elsewhere than in the United Kingdom.

Mr. Scurr had another question on the paper drawing attention to the fact that the Indian Merchants Chamber in Bombay had demanded that the Indian Currency Act should be amended by the restoration of the rupee at its pre-War rate of 1-4-0. The Under-Secretary of State referred to the letter of the Government of India to that Chamber, dated 25th January, pointing out that in their view it was inexpedient to make any immediate attempt to fix the future gold value of the rupee in view of the existing uncertainty of world economic conditions.

Colonel Meyler (Liberal) asked the intentions of the Government with regard to the establishment of a Gold Standard and the opening of the Mint in India for providing gold coinage. Mr. Richards stated that while the effective restoration of the Gold Standard was the objective of Government policy, economic conditions throughout the world have not yet reached a degree of normality which would justify at present an attempt to establish the gold value of the rupee. He stated that the internal circulation of gold currency does not arise in present circumstances owing to the existing premium on gold in India. Mr. A. M. Samuel, in a supplementary question, asked if it was not a fact that gold had been poured into India for tens of centuries, and that it was always made into ornaments and disappeared from circulation. In his picturesque

manner he asked the Under-Secretary of State if the drain of gold to India would not injure the British Gold Reserve "sinking into the quicksands of India" without going into circulation as currency. He went on to ask what then would be the use of coining gold.

INDIAN EMERGENCY CURRENCY ISSUE.

In reply to further questions of Colonel Meyler and Mr. T. Williams (Labor) as to the advice of the Indian Merchants Chamber of Bombay with regard to the issue of emergency currency to meet seasonable demands, Mr. Richards stated that the actual decisions embodied in the Paper Currency Amendment Act and the Rules thereunder were taken after careful consideration of the views of various representative bodies in India. In addition to expanding the currency by twelve crores of rupees against commercial bills, he stated that a further expansion of twelve crores was effected this busy season against sterling securities in London, making a total expansion of 24 crores this cold weather. The important problem referred to in these questions, he added, was being carefully watched by the Government of India.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT—COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY.

A question on this matter had been put down by Colonel Meyler, and caused quite a number of supplementary questions to be asked. The Under-Secretary of State for India said that the Report of the Committee appointed by the Government of India had not yet been received, but it was purely a preliminary stage and of a formal character. Mr. Richards thought no useful purpose would be served, by laying a copy of this Report on the table of the House. He undertook, however, that the House would be fully informed in due course of any material results of the enquiry that might affect considerations of policy. Lord Winterton and Sir Henry Craik both expressed that the Report should be sent by the Secretary of State to the Standing Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament, but on this Mr. Richards would give no undertaking.

Lord Winterton had given private notice of a question to the Under-Secretary of State showing the anxiety of himself and the other Die-Hard Members of the Conservative Party about the published form of reference of the Committee set up by the Government of India to enquire into the working of the Act, because of the fact that it included the power to recommend amendments to that Act. The point that troubled him chiefly was whether there was any precedent for entrusting to an official Committee, on which there was no Member of the House of Commons or House of Lords, the duty of suggesting alterations in an Act of Parliament. Mr. Richards informed Lord Winterton that he had not time to search for actual precedents, but that he had little doubt that alterations in Act of Parliament had frequently been and would frequently be suggested by Committees containing no Members of either House of Parliament. He maintained that the terms of reference to this Committee were closely foreshadowed in the speeches of Sir Malcolm Hailey in the Legislative Assembly on 8th and 18th February last. Lord Winterton, Colonel Howard Bury and Sir Henry Craig disputed this, but Mr. Richards refused to move from his position. Lord Winterton then gave notice that he would raise this question on the adjournment for the Whitsuntide Recess on 6th June (*see poste*).

Colonel Howard Bury asked the Under-Secretary of State whether his attention had been drawn to the letter written by the Secretary of State for India to Mr. Satyamurti, and whether the letter was published with his consent. Mr. Richards replied that Lord Olivier had written the letter, but that his consent was neither asked, granted, nor refused. Quite a number of supplementary questions was addressed to the Under-Secretary of State, one after another. The Die-Hards were so anxious to get their questions in that frequently several of them rose at the same time and very often two of them began their questions at the same time! Colonel Howard Bury asked if the proper channel for such a communication should not have been the Government of India, and whether there was any precedent for an important communication of policy being made in such an unorthodox manner. Mr. Richards replied that there was nothing in the letter that had not been stated by Lord Olivier in his House of Lords speech. Mr. Ormsby-Gore was very excited when he got up and, with a wave of his arm, asked if it was not the fact that this new policy would cut at the root of representation under the existing Act, and also stated that an important new declaration of policy of this kind

should be made in the House rather than to a private individual. Viscount Curzon asked if Mr. Satyamurti was not an extreme Non-Co-Operator, and how he could come within the Secretary of State's definition that the Government would co-operate with those willing to co-operate with them. Sir Henry Craik suggested that this was precisely one of the points referred to the Joint Committee of both House upon which the Report was made, and before any change of policy, the question should be again referred to the Joint Committee. Mr. Richards made no reply, and he was again pressed both by Sir Henry Craik and Lord Winterton, but he contented himself with saying that all the points in the letter would be found in Lord Olivier's speech. On Sir Henry Craik and Viscount Curzon following up the matter with further supplementary questions, the Under-Secretary of State merely stated that he had nothing to add to his answer. Lord Winterton then stated that this matter also he would endeavor to raise on the adjournment of the House for the Whitsuntide Recess.

Lord Winterton had another question on the Cawnpore Case, which he had been pursuing for three weeks. His real object came out in a supplementary question in which he asked if a White Paper would be laid in the House shewing the ramifications of the case and the funds from which the defence was paid. Mr. George Lansbury asked if, in publishing that White Paper, the Under Secretary of State would also publish the evidence on which the men were convicted. Mr. Lansbury is particularly interested in this matter, as his name was introduced in the trial and it was stated he had received from Russian Communists a sum of £70,000 for the *Daily Herald*.

ASSAM LABOUR PROBLEMS.

Mr. Snell (Labor) had two questions down to the Under-Secretary of State dealing with the recruitment of emigrants from the Ceded Districts of Madras for the Assam Tea Estates and the conditions of labor there. Mr. Richards undertook to enquire into the matter if full particulars of the Questionnaire read to intending emigrants were sent to him. (Articles on this subject have appeared here in *The Servant of India* of 1st May, 1924, and elsewhere from Mr. Joshi and Mr. Andrews).

THE HOUSE OF LORDS DEBATE.

On JUNE 3rd came the famous debate in the Lords on the Olivier-Satyamurti correspondence which had so long been rankling in the hearts of the die-hard Tories. This debate in given in full on pages 761—75. The Motion before the House was in the name of Lord Peel, who resented the fact that the Secretary of State should have written to a Non-Co-Operator and one who was known as a strong supporter of the Swaraj Movement. Lord Peel said that this letter would be examined "by some of the most ingenious minds that you have in the world, by lawyers of great acuteness, by persons who may be said to be the lineal descendants of the old commentators on the Upanishads." He referred to Lord Olivier's comment on Mr. Lloyd George's "steel-frame" speech and stated that in his opinion Mr. Lloyd George in that speech used one loose expression from which at once arose a flood of deduction, of speculation, and of the inference, which seemed to suggest that the Prime Minister was going to go back on the declaration of 1917, and the Act of 1919, that the Reforms were to be stayed, and that the word of Great Britain was to be imperilled.

Lord Peel said that he had examined at the last General Election many of the Labor Declarations and Election Addresses with a view to deciding what their policy was. He stated that they were based on the "most colossal ignorance" of the situation, but that they were all in the same direction—a general feeling that immediate Self-Government should be granted to India. He went on to refer to a statement published in *The Daily Telegraph* which he presumed was issued by the Secretary of State—an indication of how Conservative Cabinet Ministers circulated their views. Lord Olivier immediately disclaimed any responsibility for the *Daily Telegraph* writings.

Lord Olivier spoke for nearly an hour and referred to the extraordinarily trivial and flimsy foundation on which the Motion had been introduced into their Lordships' House. He made quite a fighting speech and stood by his letter. He again reiterated the fact that the Government, while they are open to consider any practical proposals, are not yet satisfied as to what may be the best means for establishing that closer contact and better understanding that is

so manifestly desirable with Indian politicians of all shades of opinion. He believes, and he reiterated the fact, that communal representation hinders the welding together of all the component parts of India as a Nation. He quoted the Southborough Committee Report as being of the same opinion and read extracts from speeches by Mr. Montagu, Mr. Ormsby-Gore and Lord Peel himself to the same effect.

He denied that the Swarajists were anti-British or unconstitutional, and described the whole matter as a "Press Stunt" inspired by a suppressed complex of suspicion, first, of the Labor Government and, secondly, of the Swarajists. He described as "silly" Viscount Curzon's question in the House of Commons as to whether the Government approved of his communicating direct with "this extremist leader" in India. He was perfectly prepared at all times to give a civil reply to any one of any shade of opinion who wrote to him a civil letter. The Swarajya Party, he said, had a constitutional position and a constitutional right to be recognised as enjoying the privileges, the confidence, and the credit attaching to their constitutional position created for them by Parliament. He roundly informed their Lordships that they had no business whatever to say that any one should have any more prejudice against a Swarajist than against a Moderate, or an Independent or a Liberal. They were all of them elected representatives in their various Councils and they were entitled to be regarded without prejudice, either by the Government of India or by the Government of the country. He repudiated entirely the theory that, because the Swarajists gave the Government of India a certain amount of trouble by pursuing their perfectly constitutional aim in what he considered to be a "factious and mistaken manner," they were to be regarded as a kind of political lepers and as antagonists and enemies of Great Britain.

LABOR GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE.

The Government's desire was to arrive at an understanding with all parties and to get as much backings as they could on all political questions from all parties. From reports he had received from the Districts and otherwise, Lord Olivier said that unfortunately he found a tendency on the part of officers of the Government to regard Swarajists as treasonable persons and to treat them in a somewhat objectionable manner, subjecting them to pinpricks, to disparagement and special treatment, regarding the Swarajist Party as the Home Rule Party in Ireland used to be regarded—as one with which no respectable politician could possibly associate or have anything to do. That, he thought, was unfortunate.

The Calcutta Press stunt was, Lord Olivier stated, an indication of the "miserable temper" of supposing that Swarajists were traitorous people and that they were worse than other people and wanted to entrap and bamboozle the Secretary of State and the Labor Party. If by harmless letters any kind of better contact or understanding could be established between the Government and those "advanced politicians" in India, he would be exceedingly glad and would not for a moment be ashamed of what he had done.

Lord Curzon followed in his own ponderous manner to object to the Secretary of State expressing his "philosophical opinions" in this way to politicians in India. He held that it was not the business of Secretaries of State to be philosophers, especially if their philosophy was published to the world in their letters. He hailed with delight the fact that at present there was no intention on the part of the Government to abolish the communal system of voting. His speech was, as usual, as pompous as it was dull.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—6 JUNE, 1924.

Almost the same subjects came up for another great debate in the Commons just 3 days after. Earl Winterton raised the question of India on the adjournment of the House on 6th June. His main objective was of course not the Satyamurti letter but the Lee Report and the Reforms Enquiry Committee. This debate is given in full pages 776—781.

Earl Winterton in his opening remarks said that if Mr. Lloyd George's attitude to Greece, on the one hand, and to Turkey, on the other hand, had been carried to its logical conclusion by his remaining in office, it would have gone a long way towards making the problem of the Government of India absolutely impossible. From his official experience of the India Office as Under-Secretary, he stated that there was no name of any statesman in England more

universally distrusted throughout India than that of Mr. Lloyd George, than whose policy none could be more disastrous to the relations between India and this country.

He dealt with the letter written by Lord Olivier to Mr. Satyamurti and asked the Under-Secretary to give the House an assurance that in future the Secretary of State would refrain from "polite letter-writing to Swarajist gentlemen in India" and rigidly observe the procedure of communicating his views through the Viceroy and the Government of India.

He then asked for an "unequivocal assurance" that there would be no acceleration or retardation of the Reforms within ten years from the passing of the Government of India Act. If there was any trouble on this matter from the Swarajists, the Conservatives, he stated, would alter the Act, but not in the direction of giving the Assembly or the Councils greater power.

The third matter he dealt with was the Serajgunj resolution on Gopi Nath Saha.

Lt.-Colonel T. Williams (Labor), who followed, said that Lord Winterton's Moderateness, which he averred, was of a very die-hard variety. He disagreed with Lord Winterton's attitude of mind with regard to the Indian problem. He subscribed to everything Mr. Hope-Simpson had said in a previous Debate. Things were moving very quickly in India and the problem was really a psychological one.

He pointed out that the Reforms were wrecked by the Rowlatt Bill and showed the lack of imagination and understanding, both here and in the Government of India on that matter. He thought we ought to live dangerously and gamble by advancing the Reforms so rapidly that we put the Indians themselves up against the difficulties of the situation. At present we were forcing our assistance on the Indian people and in consequence they would not listen to us. The policy of getting into close touch either by letters, by Conferences, or by any other means, with representative Indians was, he believed, a sound policy.

Lt.-Colonel H. M. Meyler pointed out that the Labor Party were in favor of Home Rule for India. They had made promises to India, and promises to Indians were sacred. He thought the Labor Party should go forward boldly and redeem their promises and urged that they make a clear and definite declaration of their policy towards India before the autumn races. Colonel Meyler, of course, is quite aware that his own Party is not at all united on this matter, and that if they were, there would be no difficulty in not only making the declaration, but also of carrying it into effect in this Parliament. He pointed out the constitutional attitude of the Swarajists in refusing the Budget on the well-known and accepted British principle of Grievances before Supply.

He urged the early appointment of a Royal Commission. He spoke of the Bengal Resolutions condoning an act of murder and regretted this, but he thought it unwise of Lord Winterton to bring up the matter at this time. The pot should not call the kettle black, and in an English Court only the previous day a Judge had seen fit to condone cases of violence of that sort.

The Under-Secretary of State for India (Prof. R. Richards), in reply, reminded Lord Winterton that the Swarajya Party was essentially a pacific party of non-violence. Viscount Curzon asked if that applied to the party led by Mr. C. R. Das, to which Mr. Richards replied that it did, and that the Swarajya Party was as constitutional as the Liberal, Moderate or Independent Party.

We have to recognise, Mr. Richards said, that the Swarajists have been returned to the Assembly in a perfectly constitutional manner. They form the majority of the Members, he said, in that Assembly. They were in that Assembly in exactly the same position as the Conservatives in the House of Commons. They were His Majesty's Opposition as far as the Legislative Assembly is concerned, and when the Secretary of State received a letter from a Member of the Legislative Assembly, it was only natural that he should reply to it.

Neither Mr. RICHARDS nor any one else seemed to notice that the Swarajists as such had no actual majority in the Assembly, nor the fact that Mr. Satyamurti is not a Member of that Assembly, but of the Madras Legislative Council. That, however, did not affect the main lines of his argument. The letter, he added, in reply to an interrogation from Lord Winterton, gave no indication of a change of policy, but merely expressed the well-known views of

the Secretary of State and many prominent members of all political parties here. The letter was "not even a decent storm in a teacup."

This was the third debate on India in the Commons and Mr. George Lansbury had intended to speak, but found that there was no opportunity, as he did not manage to catch the Speaker's eye—Sir Kingsley Wood being called on to open up another subject of Debate after the Under-Secretary for India had spoken. Mr. Lansbury protested then to the Deputy Speaker who was in the chair, and later to the Speaker, but, being Friday, it was necessary by the Rules of the House that they rise not later than four o'clock in the afternoon, so that, as the Speaker explained, he had to try to divide the times as fairly as he could between the different subjects for discussion that had been intimated to him. So the debate closed automatically.

The great sensation of the week was the O'Dwyer-Nair trial and verdict (see *poste*). When the House reassembled after the recess on June 16, a number of questions were put on the Order Paper with reference to the offensive remarks of Mr. Justice McCardie in his summing up in that case. Mr. George Lansbury had put down a motion asking that a humble Address be presented to His Majesty praying that he will cause the removal from the Bench of Justice McCardie on the ground that "he is unfitted to carry out the judicial duties attaching to his high office." Mr. Lansbury asked of the Prime Minister to give a day for this motion, but a clever manoeuvre only brought out a statement from Mr. Macdonald, and the matter was dropped as given on pages 782-3.

This closes the record of affairs up to June. The following pages give a reproduction from HANSARD of the more important debates and interpellations on India.

सत्यमेव जयते

The Jaito Shooting Affair.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—10 MARCH, 1924.

On March 10th 1924, the House of Commons adjourning, Mr. George Lansbury brought in Indian questions, specially of the shooting of Sikhs at Jaito, before the House.

Mr. LANSBURY said:—I do not apologise to the House, except to those Members who are very tired, for bringing forward the question I propose to bring forward during the period that is allowed to Members at this stage. They are all in connection with India, and I would like to point out that the people of India consist of some 300,000,000 persons, who are more or less under the charge of this House. At any rate, this House is responsible in the last resort for the administration of affairs in that great country. There are three matters to which I wish to call the attention of the Under-Secretary of State for India and each of them arises out of the answers given to questions yesterday. One concerns the disturbances at Jaito, another is in connection with the Bombay strike, and the last is the refusal to alter the decision that no Round Table Conference shall be held between those representing the British Government and the nationalists of India.

I would like to say to my Hon. Friends on these benches that we have a particular responsibility to our Indian fellow subjects in the matter of trade unionism, and also in the matter of freedom of speech, freedom of procession, and so on. We have welcomed Indians over here to the Trade Union Congress and to the national Labour Party Conferences, and again and again we have pledged them our support, not to independence apart from the British Empire or Dominions, but as a free partner with ourselves in a federation of free people. It seems to me that with a Labour Government in office we have a bigger responsibility than if we were sitting on the other side of the House. I am not one of those who think that everything can be done in a moment, or in six or seven weeks, but it seems to me that the new spirit that the Labour Government is supposed to represent should express itself in its relationship with the people of India.

THE JAITO SHOOTING.

A few weeks ago a disturbance took place in connection, I am told, with some religious observances and some people in this country, and, I dare say, in this House, will think it is impossible in a country like India to keep the various sects at peace with one another. I would remind all self-righteous Christians on this subject that there is such a place as Belfast in the North of Ireland, and that in other parts of Ireland, and in our own country, very often in Liverpool and other parts, there are religious disturbances and that it is not only in India where religious bigotry and intolerance are to be found. In the case that I want to bring to the notice of the House, the disturbances took place, the Under-Secretary told me yesterday, because the people who had gathered together to perform a religious observance carried arms. As a result, 21 of them were killed, 33 were wounded, and, I believe, 700 of them are in prison at the present moment. But the extraordinary thing is that we are told there were great crowds of people, and the police were hemmed in, but not a single policeman or soldier was injured. The Under-Secretary himself, in his answer yesterday told me that nobody on our side was injured at all, and yet there were 21 people killed and 33 wounded. The whole benefit of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was vitiated by the Amritsar massacre, and because of the failure of the Home Government to take proper measures in dealing with those responsible. I hold in my hand a telegram, of which, I am told by an Hon. Member who is an authority on India, I ought not to take any notice, but I am going to read part of it to the House, because I feel that it does explain to some extent why no one was injured on the side of the authorities, and these people, who were supposed to be violent, and taking violent action against the authorities, were killed. The telegram has come to me from Mr. D. Chaman Lall, Secretary of the Indian Trade Union Congress. I am sure we on these benches must be very glad to know that they have advanced so far in India that they have a trade union congress now. He is also a member of the Legislative Assembly. I hope the Labour Government will

help the trade union cause in India to the very utmost extent. But this is what he says:

"The Jatha was pledged to non-violence. Not a single individual belonging to the Jatha or any follower carried any firearms. The false report in this connection originated from the fact that the procession of Akalis was accompanied by exhibition fireworks, as is the case with all such processions. The noise of the fireworks was construed by the authorities to have been rifle or gun fire. Although the crowd and the Jatha was absolutely unarmed yet a senseless butchery of innocent men and spectators took place, and the Secretary of State was furnished with false information. Further, the Government never alleged that a single firearm was captured from the Jatha or the crowd, conclusively proving the falsity of the information furnished."

If a great crowd carry firearms, surely the authorities would be able to pick up some of them, especially when they took 700 people prisoners and managed to kill the number I have stated. In that connection I want to ask the Under-Secretary to ask the Secretary of State to request the Viceroy to order a full and impartial inquiry into this matter, so as to get it out of the minds of Indians that the life of an Indian, especially an Indian agitator, is very cheap. I think you must establish somehow in the mind of the Indian a feeling that at least the British Parliament do value the life even of the poorest Indian.

BOMBAY STRIKE.

Coming to the Bombay strike, we on these benches know, and so do hon. and right hon. Gentlemen everywhere know, that when there is a strike or lock-out—and I understand this is a lock-out—when men are hungry, and when there is to be an attempt to get the men back, the employers offering some inducement, there are nearly always crowds doing mass picketing. My information is that mass picketing was taking place in exactly the same manner that it would in this country in order to induce the men not to go back to work. It is said the police were stoned, and that there was an enormous number of men. That there were 150,000 on strike or lock-out. It is said they hemmed the police in, and yet that tremendous mass of people's stone-throwing only injured one policeman. That was the answer of the Under-Secretary yesterday. No one knows who were injured or who got away. It seems to me that there is not the slightest evidence of much stone-throwing or that the police or the soldiers were in any danger but it does prove that, as in the case of the other disturbances, the authorities were quite eager to fire on an unarmed people. There is no question of anyone being armed there. It is a question of stone-throwing and we reply to that by shooting them down. The Under-Secretary yesterday could not tell me what was the cause of the strike, but I should think that, especially Lancashire Members here, who depend very largely for their business on India, would want a full inquiry as to the cause that drives 150,000 men to throw up their work. I am told from trade union sources that the men were being expected to live on a 40 per cent. reduction in wages, that the bonus so-called was a grant-in-aid of their wages to make up for depreciation in currency. Whether this was so or not, we want to know what are the hard conditions of labour that drives 150,000 men out into the streets and keeps them there—because this has been going on for weeks. I think we are entitled to ask the Under-Secretary to give the House full particulars. I repeat again, in this connection, that we ought to insist on a full and impartial inquiry into the firing on crowds. That seems to be quite the usual thing. I know that there are some people who think that the proper way to keep crowds in order is to overawe them. That is the wrong way. The right way to deal any people who have grievances is to remove the grievances. There ought to be some effort made to get this dispute settled on decent terms.

The last point is that these people of whom I am talking are really and literally starving. I would call the attention of everybody in this House to the fact that the 'Times of India,' which is not a Nationalist or Socialistic journal, but a sober organ of sober opinion—(Hon. Members: 'Hear, hear')—Yes, I am using your own language—this journal has put it on record that the people are definitely starving to-day in connection with this dispute. This is a matter for the House to consider, as to whether that condition of things ought to remain or whether the Secretary of State ought not to cable out at once, and for this reason—that the 'Times of India' says what our newspapers very often say,

that because the men are locked out, or because they are on strike, the Government cannot do anything for them. In this country we would not allow people to starve to death under any circumstances, and I do not think that we ought to do it in India. Why I am so expressive in this matter is because friends who have come back from India—who are going backwards and forwards—some have arrived within the last few weeks—are impressing upon everybody they come in contact with that the situation in India is very grave, and that unless something is done, and that quickly, we shall probably have the sort of upheaval that we had at the Mutiny.

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

It happens that Mr. Sastri, one of the most moderate men I have ever met from India, has also not only written but telegraphed to me that the appeal of the Indian Legislative Assembly for a Round Table Conference between some of the representatives of the British Council should be acceded to for the reasons I have given. I heard somebody laugh just now! But I sat up in that Gallery and heard many Members laugh when Mr. Gladstone said that the 'sands were running out' in connection with Ireland. Many members who laugh to-day know how true were Mr. Gladstone's words and know what a bitter running out it meant. Justice was not done while there was yet time. It is because I feel that India is in the same position that I am raising this question here to-night. I am not one of those who want to spread what is called self-determination for every nation. We have sent Europe to the devil in following that policy. I believe in the unification of the nations, one with another. I believe in each nation finding its own self-expression in the community of other nations, and the Indian people are willing to join with us in building up civilization, but you must treat them as equal partners. You cannot go on treating them as a dependent nation. My point is that on Monday the Budget was refused in the Legislative Assembly and an Indian said to me:

'Your people may shoot us down and bring machine guns and aeroplanes. They can run their machine guns through the streets, but they cannot kill our spirits.'

They have recognised as I had a discussion with the leader of the Nationalist party and they have made their protest hoping that the people of Britain will respond to it because they want to remain constitutionally part of the British Dominions. They ask us to meet them around a table to discuss how we can give them a little more self-government. I want the Government to change their disposition, and to meet these people in order that peace may be preserved in India and that India may in that way become a real gem in the Dominions of this great Empire.

Prof. Richards' Reply.

The Under-Secretary of State for India (Mr. RICHARDS): In the very few minutes at my disposal the House will not expect me to cover the whole of the ground covered by my Hon. Friends. I cannot help recalling the words of Macaulay, that an injustice, whether done in this country or in India, is the same. Here the case is exactly the same, and no one rejoices more than myself in that spirit. I sympathise entirely with what he said regarding the attitude of the Government towards the very difficult question of the Government of India. I am sure the Government is full of sympathy with the ultimate ideal placed before this House by successive Governments for the last 40 years that eventually it is the intention of this country to give full and complete self-government to the great Dominion of India.

To come to some of the points referred to by my hon. Friend. He mentioned, in the first place, the Bombay strike. I am able to add a little to the information which I was able to give to the House yesterday. I am quoting not from any telegram that the Government has received from the Government of India, but I am quoting the words of the leader of the strike. He is a man named Joseph Baptista. He was in this case a voice crying in the wilderness, because the men have struck against his advice. The strike really arose over the question of the mill-owners declining to consent to a bonus to the operatives this year. They gave notice apparently that this year they

would discontinue the bonus which had been paid for the last three years. That meant a reduction in wages of something like 8.3 per cent. These are figures given by Baptista himself, and his argument against a strike was this: He pointed out to the men that these millowners are manufacturers and merchants, and not philanthropists, and that clearly it was not the right time to strike.

Against the opinion of their leader, however, the strike began, apparently at one mill, on 17th January, when 2,500 men came out on strike. The result was, as has been already mentioned, that the millowners decided to close the rest of the mills for certain period, and by 20th January 73 of the 76 mills in Bombay were closed and, as I said yesterday, 150,000 people were thrown out of employment. The Governor of Bombay immediately prepared to nominate a committee to arbitrate, and this position was brought to the notice of the men. I ought to say that at first the mill-owners were unwilling, but by the end of February apparently they were willing to arbitrate. By that time, however, there had been some change in the position, and the riot, of which I gave a full account yesterday, was the direct result of an offer on the part of some of the men to go back without any conditions at all. I am sorry that I cannot add anything to the details I gave yesterday, because, by reading a telegram, I then put the House in possession of all the information that we have at the moment.

To turn to the other regrettable incident, the question of the firing: this is really a very intricate and a very difficult situation, a combination, that is to say, of religious fanaticism and political intrigue. We all know and have cause to respect the Sikhs because of their intense loyalty for a great number of years to this country, and the Sikhs are certainly one of the proudest nations which are associated with our great Empire. It is difficult from the little experience I have had, as far as I can see, to distinguish exactly between their religion and that of the Hindus generally, but they emphasise certain points, and they are particularly anxious and perhaps carry these points to an extreme. During the last 20 or 30 years the spirit of religion in the Sikh community has seriously declined, and about 1920 there was an honest attempt made to recover the position and to revive the Sikh religion once again. During that period, when religion had fallen behind hand rather among the Sikhs, it so happened that the sacred places had become the property of other people of whom they disapproved, and one thing that they determined upon was to recover these sacred shrines once again. That meant, of course, coming into conflict with the people who were in possession of the shrines at the time.

The real difficulty of the Government of India, as far as I understand it, is to keep the peace between these two antagonistic elements among the Sikhs themselves. It is an exceedingly difficult position for a foreign Government to try and keep the peace between two wrangling religious bodies. The Government has attempted again and again to get an agreement between them by setting up a board which would in some way adjust the differences, but hitherto without success. The result of that was the passing of the Shrines Act, as it is called, in 1922, setting up a board consisting of the two sections of the Sikh community in order to deal with this particular question but that has not been operative.

It being half past Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Standing Order.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—31 MARCH, 1924.

INTERPELLATIONS.

INDIAN UNIVERSITY STANDARD LOWER!

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE asked the Under-Secretary of State for India what steps are being taken to raise the standard required for entrance to university colleges in India so as to restrict the number of university students to those whose abilities and equipment fitted them to profit by the courses of study laid down, to put a stop to the present system of cheap degrees and easy standards, and to put Indian university standards on the same level as British university standards?

The UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. RICHARDS): As I informed the hon. and gallant Member in reply to a similar question on 10th March, full information is contained in a Report which is shortly to be presented to Parliament.

Sir C. Yate: Is it not the case that students have to come to an English university in order to get a proper degree, and why should they not be able to get a proper degree in India?

Mr. Richards: I would ask the hon. and gallant Member to await the Report.

BENGAL BUDGET GRANTS—REJECTION.

Lieut.-Colonel HOWARD-BURY asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to the rejection of the Vote for Ministers' salaries, which is one of the transferred services, by the Bengal Council; whether he intends to allow this service to be restored to the reserved side and thus enable the Governor to restore the grant; and whether his attention has been drawn to the action of the legislature in the United Provinces who have prevented all development and improvement schemes for the benefit of the people in the provinces from being carried out?

Mr. RICHARDS: As regards Bengal I am aware that the vote for Ministers' salaries has been rejected, but I think that the hon. and gallant Member will agree, on reflection that the solution he suggests is not feasible under the constitution. It is understood that if necessity arises, the Governor will administer the transferred subjects and be responsible for them. I have no confirmation of any such situation as is suggested in the third part of the question as having occurred in the United Provinces.

Mr. ORMSBY-GORE: In view of the rejection by the Bengal Council of the grant for the British Empire Exhibition, will the Governor have power to restore it?

Mr. RICHARDS: I must ask for notice of that question

Earl WINTERTON: Am I to understand that the Governor in taking over these transferred services will have money available in order to carry them on? I understand there is no money.

Lieut. Colonel HOWARD-BURY: Is the Governor going to take over these transferred services?

Mr. RICHARDS: I understand so.

Earl WINTERTON: Do I understand the Under-Secretary to assent to my proposition that the Governor has no money for carrying on these transferred services?

Mr. RICHARDS: I must ask for notice of that question.

Lieut.-Colonel HOWARD-BURY asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that, as the result of the Swarajist campaign in Bengal, the whole of the province has by the vote of the Council been deprived of police, law courts, and gaols and whether he is aware of the manifesto of Roy issued from Berlin and addressed to congress, advocating the destruction of the councils from within; and what steps the Government propose to take to defeat this policy?

Mr. RICHARDS: I am aware that Budget grants under a number of heads, including jails and administration of justice, have been rejected by narrow majorities by the Bengal Council, and that the grant for police has been reduced but I have no reason to suppose that the effect has been or will be that supposed by the hon. and gallant Member. As regards the second part of the question the manifesto referred to is dated December, 1922, and was pub-

lished at that time. It was not noticed by Congress that met in that month. My Noble Friend understands that the Government of India are taking all steps that they consider necessary to deal with Roy's independence propaganda.

Earl WINTERTON: Can the hon. Gentleman say whether the Governor of Bengal, who seems to be primarily concerned, has restored these Votes that the Council has refused to vote? If so, how does he propose to carry on the service mentioned in the question?

Mr. RICHARDS: I must ask the Noble Lord to give me notice of that question.

EX-MAHARAJAH OF NABHA.

Mr. MACKENZIE asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he has decided to allow the King of Nabha, who recently abdicated as the result of pressure put upon him by the Government of India, to state his case in this country?

Mr. RICHARDS: If the hon. Member's question refers to the ex-Maharajah of Nabha, the answer is in the negative.

EAST INDIA AND GREAT INDIAN PENINSULAR RAILWAYS.

Sir C. YATE asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether it is proposed to proceed with the placing of the East India and Great Indian Peninsular Railways under State management in view of the position in the Legislative Assembly and the danger to the safety of passengers and the maintenance of the service that will arise should the present management be weakened under their control?

Mr. RICHARDS: My Noble Friend does not consider that there is any reason to modify the decision to place the East India and Great Indian Peninsular Railways under State management.

Sir C. YATE: Is the hon. Gentleman not aware that the manager of the Egyptian railways has resigned because the Minister there had taken all the power out of his hands, and is the same thing to occur in India?

ARMY (BRITISH OFFICERS).

Sir PHILIP SASSOON asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that great and increasing anxiety exists among British officers of the Indian Army regarding the future of their service and their future prospects therein and whether he can give them any assurance that no changes will be made in the establishment or administration of the Indian Army adversely affecting their careers therein or that if such changes are made adequate compensation will be given them for any resulting loss of employment or opportunity for advancement or pension?

Mr. RICHARDS: I do not think that present conditions give occasion for any such anxiety as the hon. Member refers to, and I cannot give assurances with regard to a contingency which in any case is remote. Officers affected by the recent reductions in the Indian Army received liberal treatment, and if similar measures are found necessary in the future I imagine that they will be carried out by the Government in a similar spirit.

Mr. WARDLAW-MILNE: Do I understand the hon. Gentleman to say that there is practically no case for anxiety for British officers? That is an extraordinary statement.

TANGANYIKA (TRADE ORDINACES).

Sir ROBERT HAMILTON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies in what language British-Indian traders in Tanganyika territory will be required to keep their books under the amended Trade Ordinances?

Mr. THOMAS: Traders of all nationalities may keep their ordinary accounts in any language they please, but for the purposes of the Trades Licensing Ordinance they are required to submit evidence in a form intelligible to the licensing authority sufficient to show the amount of their profits. The accounts necessary for this purpose will have to be, as from the 1st of April, 1926 (but not before) rendered in English, French or Swahili, but this requirement will not apply to the smaller traders whose profits do not exceed £150.

Sir R. HAMILTON: Is the right hon. Gentleman satisfied that a differentiation of that sort, to the prejudice of British Indian subjects, is in accordance with the mandate under which we administer the territory?

NATIVES (TAXATION AND WELFARE).

Sir ROBERT HAMILTON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state the amount of revenue from hut and poll-tax estimated for Kenya for 1924-25 and the amount estimated to be spent during the same period on education, medical service, and other purposes specially directed to the welfare of the native population of the colony?

Mr. THOMAS: The estimated revenue from native hut and poll tax for 1924 is £508,850. In the case of many departments of the Kenya Government, it is not possible to say what proportion of the total expenditure should be regarded as specially directed to the welfare of the native population, but about 90,000 of the Medical Department Vote and—30,000 of the Education Department Vote may be debited to native welfare work.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—7th APRIL, 1924.

DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Mr. HOPE SIMPSON asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether any member of the depressed classes has been nominated as member of the Legislative Assembly of the Government of India; if not, whether any vacancy exists to which a member of these classes might be nominated; and whether it is the intention of the Government of India to provide for representation of these classes by nomination to the Assembly?

Mr. RICHARDS: No member of the depressed classes has been nominated to the Legislative Assembly, and at present no vacancy exists. But the Governor-General (with whom personally the right of nomination rests) informs me that he would certainly consider the claims of these classes should a vacancy occur.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Captain W. BENN asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether seeing that four Provincial Governments in India have demanded the separation of the executive and judicial functions of Government, and that this demand has been put forward by the foremost representatives of Indian public opinion through successive Indian national congresses from 1886 to 1914, and that the Government of India undertook to provide machinery to carry out the demand of the four provincial Governments, he can state when it is intended that this undertaking will be carried out?

Mr. RICHARDS: It is not possible to give at present any undertaking as to the date or precise nature of the steps to be taken to secure preparation.

INTERNMENTS IN BENGAL.

Captain W. BENN asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that the cases of people recently interned under Bengal Regulation 3 of 1818 were examined only by two Sessions Judges ordinarily under the control of the Executive Government, and not by independent Judges of the High Court as was stated by the Viceroy in his speech at the opening of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi on 31st January, 1924 and whether, under the circumstances, he will order their release or an open trial?

Mr. RICHARDS: The cases were examined by two Senior Sessions Judges and the misapprehension of the Viceroy was subsequently set right by interpellations in the Legislative Assembly. I see no reason to doubt that the Judges were entirely competent to perform the duty entrusted to them, and I resent the implied slur cast by the hon. and gallant Member on the impartiality of judical officers who cannot defend themselves against such criticism. The reply to the last part of the question is in the negative.

ARMY UNITS (INDIANISATION).

Captain EDEN asked the Under-Secretary of State for India how many King's commissioned Indian officers have been transferred since June, 1923, to the four regiments and four battalions to be Indianised; and what the total number of such officers in those units now is?

Mr. RICHARDS: I am unable to say accurately without reference to the Government of India, but from a reference to the Army List and Gazettes of India it would appear that six Indian officers with King's commissions have been transferred to Indianised units and that there are now nine such in these units.

OFFICIALS (PRESS ATTACKS).

Sir C. YATE asked the Under-Secretary of State for India if his attention has been called to the manner in which mischievous falsehoods are spread amongst ignorant people by the Indian Press, and every official who is called upon to accept responsibility in maintaining order is held up to obloquy; and whether he will now consult the Government of India as to the advisability of bringing in legislation to put a stop to this state of affairs?

Mr. RICHARDS: The more important contents of the Indian journals are brought to my notice every week. There are, no doubt, articles that could be accurately described in the terms used in the question. But when papers commit an offence or an actionable wrong, the Courts of Law are freely used against them and I do not consider that special legislation is called for.

Sir C. YATE: Did the hon. Gentleman see the disgraceful statements in the Indian Press quoted by Mr. McPherson in the Bihar Legislative Council, and will he take steps to put a stop to the publication of such matter?

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot accept that as a Supplementary Question.

EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT OFFICERS' ASSOCIATION.

Mr. BAKER asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the European Government Officers' Association gave evidence in India before the Lee Commission on the public Services; when such Association was formed and for what purpose; and whether it had any activities prior to this Commission being set up?

Mr. RICHARDS: I do not yet know whether this Association gave evidence before the Royal Commission. It was formed in 1922. I can let the hon. Member have a copy of its original rules if he desires.

Earl WINTERTON: Was this Association formed with the approval both of the Government of India and the Secretary of State?

Mr. RICHARDS: Yes, I think so.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—14TH APRIL, 1924.

MILL-STRIKE—CAWNPORE.

Mr. WARDLAW-MILNE asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he can give the House any details of the mill strike at Cawnpore which is reported to have resulted in three persons being killed and 34 injured?

Mr. MILLS asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to the firing on strikers at Cawnpore; whether the mounted police were beating the strikers with sticks or canes before there was any attempt at stone throwing by the men; and whether attempts were made by the Government to find out the men's grievances before armed police help was given to the mill-owner?

Mr. LANSBURY asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he has any further information to give to the House as to the causes of the labour troubles which have taken place at Cawnpore; whether any more deaths have occurred; will he state how many police or other official persons were injured before the firing on the crowd took place; are steps now being taken by the Indian Government to investigate the causes which have brought about those industrial conflicts; and what steps are being taken to prevent a repetition of the same?

The UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. Richards): No further official information has been received up to the present as to the strikes and the resulting disturbance, beyond what was given in reply to a question on 9th April. I am hoping to receive fuller information which I will communicate to the House. With regard to the last two parts of my hon. Friend's question as to the steps taken by the Indian Government, I may explain that the subject of labour disputes is one of those for which, under the Rules made under the Government of India Act, respon-

sibility rests with provincial governments. The subject receives the constant and anxious attention of these governments, and periodical reports are transmitted by mail to the Secretary of State. He will, however, communicate the suggestion contained in the last part of the question to the Government of India, with a view to their considering whether there is any occasion for consulting provincial governments as to the utility of further inquiry into the causes of these disputes, and into the practicability and desirability of devising measures that might tend towards diminishing the risk of their occurrence.

Mr. MILLS: Is the hon. Gentleman yet in receipt of the report of the Director of Labour in Bombay? If so, is it a fact that the reserves held up by the millowners of Bombay are 300 per cent. above those of any previous year.

Mr. RICHARDS: There is another question further on, I understand, about the report.

PUBLIC SERVICES (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Mr. SCURR asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to the statement made by the Home Member on behalf of the Government of India in the Legislative Assembly on 1st March last that they had not been consulted about the appointments of the reporting staff to the Royal Commission on the Public Services; that the Government of India was satisfied that Indian reporters were competent and available for this work, and that Indian reporters had been utilised in connection with other commissions of inquiry, *e.g.*, the Industrial Commission, the Fiscal Commission, the Reforms Commission, and the Hunter Commission, and that a public protest meeting had been held protesting against the bringing out of English reporters; whether it is the policy of the India Office to make such appointment without consulting the Government of India when the pay is charged to the Indian tax-payer; and whether he will give an assurance that in future the Government of India will be consulted before any such appointments are made?

Mr. RICHARDS: The reporting arrangement for Royal Commissions are a matter on which the Chairman is always consulted, and I understood that in this case the Chairman particularly asked that reporters should be taken out from this country. I have seen the statement to which my hon. Friend refers. My Noble Friend has not yet received the communication which the Government of India promised should be made to him, but will of course consider most carefully any representations that they may wish to make.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Mr. HOPE SIMPSON asked Under-Secretary of State for India whether the home accounts of the Secretary of State and the accounts of the High Commissioner are subjected to review by the Public Accounts Committee in India or by what authority?

Mr. RICHARDS: The accounts of the High Commissioner are laid before the Public Accounts Committee in India. They are also included in the paper relating to the Home Expenditure annually submitted to Parliament. Under Section 26 of the Government of India Act, the accounts of the Secretary of State in Council are laid before Parliament each year, and they are also laid before the Public Accounts Committee in India.

BUDGET.

Mr. MILLS asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the fact that in India more than 50 per cent. of the total Indian Budget is non-votable by the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly, it is proposed to take steps to make all the Budget votable by the Assembly.

Mr. RICHARDS: The course suggested by the hon. Member would involve amendment of the Government of India Act. No proposal for this purpose has been made.

Mr. MILLS: Have any representations been made by representative Indians?

Mr. RICHARDS: I am not aware of that, but I will make inquiries.

Mr. SCURR asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether any recent Amendment has been made or published in India of the statutory rules under Section 67 B of the Government of India Act; whether the Indian Legislative Assembly had been consulted; and when the Secretary of State's sanction was applied for and obtained?

Mr. RICHARDS: My hon. Friend is presumably referring to Amendments of the Indian Legislative Rules to provide a suitable procedure for dealing with Bills recommended or certified under Section 67 B of the Act. Amendments with this object have been made by the Government of India with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council and were published in India on 13th March. In pursuance of the statute they are now being laid before both Houses of Parliament. So far as I am aware, the Assembly was not consulted.

REFORMS (INQUIRY).

Mr. SCURR asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the Government will consider the desirability of associating with the inquiry proposed by the Government of India into the working of the reforms some non-official Members or Ministers who have had actual experience of such working?

Mr. RICHARDS: This question had been mentioned in correspondence with the Government of India, but that Government have not yet made any final recommendation with regard to it.

PRESS PROPAGANDA.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the danger of the propaganda disseminated in the Indian Press by the extremist agitator, as quoted in the Behar and Orissa Legislative Council in which the Government of India is described as a cruel oppressor and a cunning exploiter, that its hands were stained with blood, that it dishonoured women and massacred children, and that the Government and all its works must be forthwith ended; and whether he will consult the Government of India with a view to the reintroduction of the Press Law which was repealed two or three years ago?

Mr. RICHARDS: I have not seen any report of the nature mentioned in the question; but I would again remind the hon. and gallant Member that the Courts in India exist and that use is made of them when offences or torts are committed. It is not contemplated to suggest to the Government of India to revive the Press Act.

Sir C. YATE: Is the hon. Gentleman not aware that the Courts in India are not made use of?

Mr. RICHARDS: My information is that the Courts are made use of.

Sir C. YATE: Can the hon. Gentleman give me a single case?

DISTURBANCE (JAITO).

Mr. SNELL asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to the letter addressed by 41 members of the Indian Legislative Assembly, including well-known leaders of Indian public opinion, asking for a committee of officials and non-officials to make a thorough investigation into the firing at Jaito, and that a mere magisterial inquiry will not satisfy the needs of the situation; and whether, in view of the fact that the official and non-official accounts widely differ as to the whole affair, he will order a public inquiry to be made on the lines suggested?

Mr. RICHARDS: I have not at present seen the letter referred to, though I understand such a letter was sent. As I stated in reply to a question on the 10th March, the Secretary of State has no doubt that the Government of India will take all necessary steps to ascertain the full facts, if they have reason to think that they have not already been ascertained, and he does not think it necessary to make any suggestion to them in this connection. The appointment of a committee to make a general inquiry into the grievances of the Sikh community has been under contemplation, and I now observe in the Press that it has just been announced in India.

MILL INDUSTRY, BOMBAY.

Mr. DUKES asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he has now had an opportunity of considering the Memorandum drawn by Mr. Findlay Shirras, the director of labour under the Government of Bombay, which Memorandum shows that the reserve funds of the mill-owners in Bombay had been increased by 345 per cent.; and whether he will recommend the Government of India to take any steps in the matter?

Mr. RICHARDS: I have now seen a Press report of the Memorandum, which appears to have been submitted to the Bonus Dispute Inquiry Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay. It gives the figure named as the increase in the reserve funds of 38 of the mills, the total number of which I understand is 82. The Committee reported that the results of the working of the mill industry as a whole for the year 1923 are such as to justify the contention of the millowners that the profits do not admit of the payment of a bonus. The question of reserve funds does not appear to be one in which Government could interfere.

Mr. WARDLAW-MILNE: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that last year was a most disastrous year in the industry in Bombay?

Mr. DUKES asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether, as a result of his promised inquiries, he can state why the cases against the owner of the Ahmedabad Cotton Mill, in Bombay Presidency, were withdrawn by the Collector after a conviction had been obtained in the first case and a fine of £100 imposed for employing women and children on night duty in contravention of the Indian Factories Act, 1922?

Mr. RICHARDS: It will take some time to obtain the report which is being called for through the Government of India. I will communicate with my hon. Friend when it is received.

ASSAM LABOUR AND EMIGRATION ACT.

Mr. DUKES asked the Under-Secretary of State for India if he is aware that, under the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, it is possible for a planter to have a labourer arrested for leaving his service, and that a labourer is made criminally liable for any breach of service; and whether there have been protests from Madras about the recruiting of labour from that Presidency for work on Assam plantation?

Mr. RICHARDS: The provisions to which my hon. Friend refers in the Assam Labour and Emigration Act have been withdrawn some years ago. As regards the latter part of the question, no protests have been received.

GENERAL ELECTION (STATISTICS).

Sir C. YATE asked the Under-Secretary of State for India if he will give a Return for the last General Election in India showing the number of electors in the case of each Provincial Council, the Legislative Assembly, the number who voted, the number of candidates, and the number returned, as given in the case of the elections for 1920?

Mr. RICHARDS: I hope to receive shortly from India material for such a Return which will be presented as soon as possible thereafter.

MURDERS (KOHAT).

Lieut.-Colonel HOWARD-BURY asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he has any further information with regard to the murderers who have escaped from Afghanistan to Afridi country and whether pressure is being put on the Afridi to give them up?

Mr. RICHARDS: Definite information as to the two missing members of the Kohat gang is still lacking. The Commissioner of the North West Frontier Province has taken the matter up with a joint jirga of the Afridi and Orakzai tribes, and has secured satisfactory undertaking from most of the sections concerned. Further pressue will be applied if necessary.

AFGHANISTAN (ARMS).

Lieut.-Colonel HOWARD-BURY asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether any further consignments of rifles and machine guns are being sent by French firms to Afghanistan: whether any consignments are still being held up in Bombay; and can he state the numbers of rifles and machine guns that are being supplied by French firms?

The PRIME MINISTER (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald): In reply to the first part of the question. His Majesty's Government have no information. The answer to the second and third parts of the question is in the negative.

Lieut.-Colonel HOWARD-BURY: Have these consignments which were held up gone through? The Prime Minister: Yes.

AKALI (SIKH) JATHAS.

Lieut.-Colonel HOWARD-BURY asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is taking any steps to prevent the setting out of these Jathas of Akali Sikhs; and whether he is aware that such Jathas are stirring up unrest in districts which were previously undisturbed?

Mr. RICHARDS: My Noble Friend has already made inquiries and has ascertained that the question has been fully considered by the Governments in India, who must be necessarily in the best position to judge of the effect of these Jathas and of the policy to be adopted in dealing with them.

Lieut.-Colonel HOWARD-BURY: Can the hon. Member say whether they are adopting the policy of stopping these Jatha?

Mr. MILLS: Were these the same men whose aid was requisitioned in France and who proved capable, willing, and loyal at the time when we wanted them?

NEWSPAPER CENSORSHIP.

Mr. LANSBURY asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that complains are made in India about the delay in delivery and, at times, confiscation of the following newspapers and periodicals: the "Crusader," the "Unity," the "Outlook," the "Freeman," the "Daily Herald," the "Islamic Review," the "Manchester Gurdian Weekly," the "Living Age," the "Nation," the "New Majority," the "New Russia," and the "Saturday Herald"; why there is this censorship and delay in the delivery of newspapers and periodicals in the Madras Presidency; and will he take steps to put an end to the same?

Mr. RICHARDS: On the 7th April I offered to have inquiry made into any specific cases. I can only repeat that offer, and the assurance that there is no such censorship.

Mr. LANSBURY: Is it not specific enough to give the hon. Member the names of the journals which are not allowed to go in? What more information does he require?

Earl WINTERTON: Are we to understand from the reply that there will be no interference with the powers which the last Government had for dealing with these matters if they desired to do so?

Mr. RICHARDS: My reply was that there is no censorship.

IRRIGATION.

Mr. BAKER asked the Under-Secretary of State for India what are the views and recommendations of the Government of India on the Resolution passed by the Council of State at Delhi on 5th March for a fresh survey of irrigation possibilities both from the rivers and wells of India, as no such survey has been made since 1901?

Mr. RICHARDS: The views and recommendations of the Government of India have not yet been received. An inquiry on the subject has been sent to them.

IMPERIAL SERVICES (CAPITATION PAYMENTS).

Mr. D. GRENFELL asked the Under-Secretary of State for India what are the all-India services recruited by the Secretary of State as distinct from those recruited by the High Commissioner from India?

Mr. RICHARDS: The all-India services are the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police, Forest, Educational and Agricultural Services, the Indian Veterinary Service and officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employ.

Mr. GRENFELL asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the annual contribution made by India to His Majesty's Government through the capitation rate amounts to some 35 lakhs of rupees annually; is this sum distributed among various military institutions in this country; and at what rate per head for officer and rank and file the capitation rate is fixed?

Mr. RICHARDS: In 1923-24 a provisional payment of £1,700,000 was made to the War Office in respect of the cost of raising and training the recruits required for service in India, the cost of training including, *inter alia*, the pay of the recruits and a share of the military training establishments maintained in this country. This payment was at the rate of £25 per officer and man of the British Army serving on the Indian establishment. In addition, a

provincial payment of approximately £100,000 was made to the Air Ministry in respect of cost of training Air Force personnal based on a *per capita* charge of £50.

Mr. WINDSOR asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the cost of the education of British soldiers who serve for less than five years in that country is repaid to the Indian Government by the British Treasury?

Mr. RICHARDS: The present capitation rate for the training of British troops sent to India is based on an average period of service in India assessed on the basis of past experience, and it is not necessary to take account of individual departures, in the one direction or the other, from that average. The mode of calculation of the rate in future is under consideration.

Mr. F. GOULD asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether Indians are admitted to the artillery schools; and whether India is contributing directly or indirectly through capitation grants to the cost of such schools?

Mr. BAKER asked the Under-Secretary of State for India how many Indians are being trained at military institution both in England and in India on King's commissioned rank in the Artillery, the Tank Corps, and the Air Force?

Mr. RICHARDS: No Indians are being trained for King's commissioned rank in the Artillery, Tank Corps, or Air Force, none of which arms are open to officers of the Indian Service. As I explained in my reply to the hon. and gallant Member for Blackpool (Lieut.-Colonel Meyler) on 7th April, it is not possible to say how much of the capitation payments are attributable to the training institutions in question.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

Mr. D. GRENFELL asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether it is in the discretion of the Governor of Bengal to certify which are essential and which are non-essential services in the transferred Departments; whether the Governor of Bengal has decided that educational and medical Services in Bengal are non-essential services; and whether the Secretary of State proposes to take any steps in the matter?

Mr. RICHARDS: It is almost impossible within the limits of question and answer to explain accurately the somewhat intricate point raised by the hon. Member on the provisions of the Government of India Act, but I hope to be able to make the Government's position clear in the course of the Debate tomorrow.

ARMY (INDIANISATION).

Mr. F. GOULD asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether there is any bar to the appointments of Indians to the staff departmental services of the Army in India; whether any Indian has been so appointed and whether Indians are given opportunities to qualify for such posts.

Mr. RICHARDS: There is no bar to the appointment of Indians to the staff and departmental services of the Army in India for which British officers of the Indian Army are eligible and they have the same opportunities to qualify. Indians have been so appointed.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (DIFFERENCES OF OPINION).

Captain TERRELL asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether within the last six months, there have been any cases in which the decision of His Majesty's Government has overridden the advice of the Indian Government on matters of domestic concern; and, in that case what these cases have been?

Mr. RICHARDS: It would not be in accord with established usage to make any statement as to the cases in which differences of opinion may have manifested themselves in the course of the mutual discussion which takes place between the Indian Government and the Secretary of State as representing His Majesty's Government, in the discharge by the latter of his responsibilities,

Second Debate on India.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—15 APRIL, 1924.

In the House of Commons on 15th April, 1924, Viscount CURZON moved:—

That this House, viewing with anxiety recent events in India, regrets the lack of a clear statement of policy with regard thereto by His Majesty's Ministers.

Viscount CURZON said:—

The point of view which I desire to take in regard to India is this: I look upon India, not as an expert, but as a "man in the street." Many things have happened and are happening in India which have made those of us who value the good name of England and its great traditions, who value the Indian Empire as "one of the brightest jewels of the British Crown," a jewel beyond price, feel profoundly anxious with regard to that jewel. We feel sometimes that the jewel is getting a little loose in its setting and we want, as far as possible, to be reassured in the matter. That is the main purpose of my motion.

FIRM GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

It has been obvious for many generations past that firm government and wise statesmanship have brought India to a very great position in the world. All of us can say that we desire that the position which India holds to-day in the world shall not be weakened, but shall be strengthened, and that is the point of view, I imagine, of the ordinary sane Englishman. What makes many of us profoundly anxious is a combination of many circumstances. There have been many curious happenings in India. We have had certain utterances by the Secretary of State in another place, and we have, of course, the advent to power of a Socialist Government. I am sure that right hon. and hon. Members opposite will not think it an unfair remark if I say that anyone holding the views which they must know that I hold, would have profound anxiety with regard to India in view of the professions of opinion to which members of the Socialist party have given vent in the past. I say that only in order that right hon. and hon. Members may understand the anxiety which many of us feel in the absence of an authoritative declaration in this House upon the subject of India.

Let me deal with the position of India as I see it. I will go as far back as 1919. One might go back much further, but I am not sure that it would be found a very fruitful line of search. I go back to 1919 when the Government of India Act was passed. I opposed the passage of that Act, because I did not think that it would contribute to the good of India in the long run. I thought the Measure was likely to bring about such a state of affairs as has occurred—a state of unrest and anxiety, and possible harm to the Services in India. My point of view now, however, is that that Measure is on the Statute Book, that it was accepted by India, and that it is the duty of every true constitutionalist to do his best to uphold that Act in the letter and in the spirit. As soon as that Act was passed, what I will call the Left wing in India denounced the Measure as utterly inadequate. They took the point of view which I expected them to take. In the year 1920 we had the first common use of, or common allusion to, the names of Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers. They were undoubtedly the leaders of the Left wing in Indian politics. They said that the Act was inadequate and that nothing less than certain demands would meet with their approval. Their chief demands were (1), a settlement of the Turkish peace in accordance with Moslem ideas; (2), a settlement of the wrongs in the Punjab; and (3), the grant of complete Home Rule to India. I am putting these facts forward, not in any party spirit, but as a reason for the anxiety which many of us feel on the advent of the Socialist party to power. The next thing that happened was the visit to India of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and of the hon. Gentleman the Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury. They gave specific assurances to the extremists in India that the Indian Nationalist movement had the full support of the Socialist party. Speaking at Allahabad in December, 1920, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster said:

"The British Labour party is with the Indian people in their desire for democratic Swaraj."

On another occasion he added:

"It was immaterial whether it was Home Rule or independence."

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury declared:

"In their fight for freedom and for the completest form of self-government the democracy of Britain is whole heartedly with the Indian Nationalist."

He spoke, too, of the identity of aim existing between the Indian Nationalist movement and British Labour, which—

"Had pledged itself to the application of self-determination to India."

In an article in the "Pioneer Mail" of 21st January, 1921, we read that it was the Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury who declared before leaving India:

'The whole nation was behind Gandhi.' He can surely have had very little idea of what the whole nation consists or what it means.

The CHANCELLOR of the DUCHY of LANCASTER (Colonel WEDGWOOD): Can the Noble Lord give me the authority for that quotation?

Viscount CURZON: I will give it to my right hon. and gallant Friend before the Debate concludes if he wishes. I wish to quote now from the "Pioneer Mail" of the 28th March, 1924. There is a passage relating to the Bolshevik conspiracy trial which is going on at Cawnpore at the present time. In it is a quotation from a letter signed "R." dated 23rd January this year. The initial "R." presumably refers to Mr. Roy, who is well known as being in close touch with Moscow and with extremist opinion in India, and this is what he says:

"The Labour party has come to power . . . There is some disillusionment in store for a section of the Indian politicians, particularly Baptista, Chacha and Lajpat Rai. They banked upon their patron Wedgwood's advent in the India Office. But MacDonald had to buy the right of residence in 10, Downing Street with high price. The Liberals made it sure he would not do anything to tamper with the Empire before they consented to put him in a place from which they can pull him down at any moment . . . Wedgwood, who has committed himself too much in supporting the Indian Magna Charta, had to be put away in favour of an ex-Colonial pro-Consul whose membership of the Labour party was hardly known until yesterday. A scion of the aristocracy who ruled Jamaica to the satisfaction of Imperialism, in which he has a large stake, can be entrusted with the trusteeship of India."

NAGPUR CONGRESS.

That is a quotation from a letter written by a Moscow extremist, and I am quite certain it could not meet with the approval of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and I only quote it because I think these things should be known not only to right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite, but to the country as a whole, in order that we may get a fuller appreciation of the situation. It must also be remembered that the Chancellor of the Duchy and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, when at Nagpur in the same year, were present at the extremists' Congress, and I am sure the right hon. and gallant Gentlemen will not deny that at that Congress the most violent anti-British and seditious speeches were made. I do not know that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman made any very active protest.

Colonel WEDGWOOD: On the contrary, I did make a protest, and it was noted in the Press of India.

Viscount CURZON: I am very pleased to hear it, but my researches have not brought that fact to light. However, I have no doubt the right hon. and gallant Gentleman will take the opportunity this evening of explaining matters. In 1921 the Government of India Act came into operation, and that year also marked the end, or the failure shall we say, of the non-co-operation movement. That movement was instituted by Mr. Gandhi, and hon. Members know what it was. The year 1921 also saw the trial and conviction of the Ali brothers. Nothing to which I wish to allude happened until 1922, which was signalised by the arrest of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi was convicted for sedition and was awarded a sentence of six years' imprisonment, and his position was quite straight-forwardly summed up by Mr. Gandhi himself at his trial when he said:

"I knew I was playing with fire and if I am freed I will do it again."

Two more years passed, and this year, 1924, together with the advent of the Labour Government, sees Mr. Gandhi unconditionally released. (Hon.

Members: "Hear, hear!") I can quite understand that there are hon. Members opposite who do not agree with the conviction of Mr. Gandhi and look upon him as a wrongly convicted man, but they will agree that he went through a proper form of trial before he was convicted and sentenced, and he himself was quite open about it, because he stated that he did not regret what he had done and, if given the chance, would do it again. Mr. Gandhi himself does not deny that fact, and his action with regard to India has undoubtedly been responsible for the loss of many hundreds of lives. (Hon. Members: "No, no!") I do not think it can be denied that the methods which he pursued have been responsible for the loss of a great many lives. The grounds which are given for his release are those of ill-health. I wish to know what did the doctors recommend with regard to Mr. Gandhi. I think it is of importance that this should be known. It would be as much a misfortune for India if Mr. Gandhi were released because of a Conservative party being in power as it would be if he were released because of the Liberal party or the Socialist party being in power.

To make India the sport of party politics is one thing which will render it quite certain that India will be plunged into depths of misery and suffering which she has never hitherto plumbed. Her life has been fairly quiet up to now (Hon. Members: "Oh") Well it has been, I submit to hon. Members opposite, from the Mutiny until just before the Reforms Act we have compartively peaceful times in India. There have been outbreaks, but not of a serious character. But if you make India the sport of party politics, it is a desperate gamble, and one which will never pay, whoever tries it. I notice that Mr. Gandhi was released with the advent to office of the Socialist Government, and I want to know if that release was political or for reasons of health. The Government have only to say and, if the Government give me an assurance that it was for reasons of ill-health, I shall undoubtedly believe it; but as we see it to-day, we see this curious concatenation of circumstances: the advent of a Labour Government and the release of Gandhi. I would also point to the fact that we have in India now a great Pro-consul who was a former Lord Chief Justice and I can hardly believe that a former Lord Chief Justice could sacrifice justice to expediency. With regard to the possible association of the Socialist party with it, there is another thing I notice, and that is that in the "Daily Herald" of the 8th February this year, there are the following passages:

"There is no doubt that the Swaraj party will be prepared to co-operate with a Labour Government, in which they can have confidence. . . . Unfortunately, Labour's predecessors have left behind an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust, and it takes a long time to get this removed, but Gandhi's release has begun the new movement of mutual understanding."

Hon. Members: "*Hear, hear!*"

GANDHI'S RELEASE.

Viscount CURZON: Then hon. Members opposite associate Gandhi's release with the advent to power of the Socialist party. The next thing I notice is the Labour Manifesto of 20th February, which states that the National Council once more fully associates itself with the people of India in their demand for political and economic liberty. It assures the Indian workers of its sympathy and support in their struggle against the inhuman conditions of their labour; welcomes the release of Gandhi; calls for the unconditional release of other Indians imprisoned for purely political offences, dissociated from acts of, or incitement to, violence; and reiterates its view that the Kenya decisions as affecting the relations between White and Indian settlers should be reconsidered.

Mr. LANSBURY: By whom was that issued?

Viscount CURZON: It was the Labour Manifesto.

Mr. LANSBURY: Where from?

Viscount CURZON: I suppose from Eccleston Square. It urges that the Commission to be set up for revision of the Government of India Act should not be delayed for five years but should be immediately appointed; and, in view of the adoption of Mr. Motilal Nehru's resolution in the Legislative Assembly, asks the British Government to consider the advisability of inviting representatives of the various parties in India to consult with it regarding the acceleration of full self government, which should be impeded by no claim that Britain is the rightful ruler of India.

I would like to pass from those topics to a little more direct allusion to the state of affairs in India to-day. With regard to the moderates, you have, first of all, the Moderate or Liberal party, who profess co-operation with the British Administration, who thereby secure power in office, but who all the time are working steadily to displace the British element in Indian Administration. I would take, first of all, as representative of them, Mr. Sastri. I think he will be taken as being a moderate man. On the 28th February he said, in the Council of State, that British members of the Service are there "on sufferance," and he rejoiced to see them humiliated. None of the three Indian colleagues of the Viceroy, who were present on that occasion, made the smallest protest or repudiated his views and Sir T. B. Sapru has publicly expressed his adherence to Mr. Sastri's view.

Lapsing into Anarchy.

In regard to the extremists, first of all you have them divided into four groups. You have the revolutionary Akali Sikhs of the Punjab, you have the small faction of the the Ali brothers who are preaching the gospel of sedition and non-resistance to Afghan invasion, you have the Hindu extremists, who want to expel the British from India by "non-violent" methods, and you have those who still adhere to Gandhi. In every case the extremists have made the most wild promises to each of those to whom they make their chief appeal and in every case they have represented that the only thing that stands between their followers and what they want is the existence of the British Empire, and although those interests are absolutely in conflict in many cases these promises should at the same time be taken into account. In the last four years while this intensive agitation has been going on, there has been more bloodshed, more loss of life and property, and more damage done to India than there has been during the previous 60 years. In fact, I do not think it would be exaggerating matters to say that as the British power becomes weaker, India lapses deeper and deeper into anarchy.

I would like to say a few words about the Services. I know that a Commission is sitting and is going to report, and that the Government have given a pledge that a day will be given to the House of Commons for the discussion of that Report, but when the Commission will report and that discussion take place is quite uncertain. What is certain is that all is not well with the Services in India, and all is not well for, I believe, a very clear and distinct reason, for just one thing, namely, that the Services have no sort of guarantee under present conditions with regard to their future. How can anybody entering the Indian Civil Service, anybody putting his son into the Indian Civil Service say what the position of that boy or that official will be in the next 10, or even five, years' time, without an authoritative declaration from the Government as to where they stand in the matter? I say that that declaration should not be delayed one minute. The Government ought to make it at the very earliest possible moment. Up to now, every year some 60, I believe, of our best students, from places like Oxford and Cambridge, used to go in to the Indian Civil Service but I believe that now we get about four or five, and those not of the best type that we used to get. I am sure hon. Members opposite will not think that that is a gain to India. If we send people to India to help out our administration there, surely we ought to send our very best. Second-rate men will not do, and you can only get the very best if you give them a satisfactory assurance in regard to their future. In my opinion, we must tell them what is going to be the position of the Services in India, not in 10 years time or in 15 years' time: you must say what is going to be their position within the next 25 years. If you do not, you cannot expect to get the best type of Englishmen, and nothing but the best, I say, is good enough for India.

Indianisation of Services.

With regard to the Indianisation of the Services, hon. Members here know probably as well as I do that the Government of India Act limited the Indianisation of the Services in India to a little over 30 per cent., but they may not know that the Indianisation of the Services has gone to something like 60 per cent. at the present time, the reason being that you cannot get the Britishers. They are not to be had under present conditions. It has gone much further than the Government of India Act ever contemplated, and I say that it

merits the most serious attention of His Majesty's Government. I do not altogether absolve previous Administrations from blame in this matter. I want to be quite fair, and I do not want to put the blame for the present position of affairs entirely on the present Government. They have not been in office long enough, but they have a great opportunity to make their position quite clear, and if they would only do that, I believe they would be doing a very good day's work for India.

INDIAN ELECTIONS.

There is one other thing I should like to touch upon, that is in regard to the election in India. We see a tremendous demand for some enlargement of the Government of India Act. Do hon. Members opposite realise that the ordinary educated Indian forms about 2 per cent. of the population? If you take the All-Indian electorate it is about one in every 280. The remainder have no votes at all. When you talk about India having the vote, you are talking about an infinitesimal portion of the population; 97 per cent. or 98 per cent. of the population, the agricultural classes chiefly, are absolutely without the franchise at all. Whatever we may do in India we cannot divest ourselves of our responsibility in regard to these classes in India. This was clearly shown in the recent debate in the All-India Assembly on the Tariff Resolutions. The British member in charge of the proposals which have been forced upon the Government by the great majority of the Indian members—mainly Urban members—against the protests of the few representatives of the rural masses, had the candour to say this:

"If the agricultural classes (over 90 per cent. of the population) were able fully to grasp the issues involved in this question of Free Trade versus Protection, if they were able fully to bring influence to bear upon this Assembly, I doubt very much whether this Assembly to-day would accept my Amendment—namely the tariff proposals"—

And this was an Amendment which he had been forced to bring in by the people to whom the Government has been handed over in India. He doubted whether he would be putting that Amendment forward! This is a thing of which we do not want to lose sight. In regard to the declarations with respect to India, I would just like to give three, which I think it is essential should be in the minds of the House to-night. On 2nd August, 1922, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Carnarvon Boroughs (Mr. Lloyd George) made a speech which I remember listening to with the greatest possible pleasure, and in the course of that speech he said this with solemn emphasis:

"Britain will in no circumstances relinquish her responsibility to India. That is the fundamental principle which will guide every party that ever has any hope of commanding the confidence of the people of this country."

PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE.

The next declaration to which I would like to direct the attention of the House is that of the present Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman is in a different position to his predecessors in that he has direct personal knowledge, for he has been out to India and has written a book upon it. I think we may claim that he is one who has direct first-hand knowledge of India, and I cannot believe that he will be misled by the demands of any narrow section of Indian politicians. He realises, I am sure, the seriousness of the case, and that the present Indian politicians have no claim and really cannot say that they represent the 98 per cent. of the population without the franchise. I thought I had the quotation, but I find I have not, but I think the declaration which the right hon. Gentleman made when he first came into office is in the minds of the House. Shortly after the Government came in he said that if the people thought that the present extremist campaign in India was likely to lead to an alteration in the action of this country then they were making a great mistake.

There is another reference, and that is of Lord Reading. A few days before the passage of the Budget, Lord Reading said:

"There is now a spirit in India which if I am to credit all I read is bent on the destruction of the reforms unless it immediately obtains that which is impossible for any British Government to grant forthwith—that is complete Dominion self-Government."

I only want to allude to those declarations in order that the House may have a knowledge of them. There is one other by Sir Malcolm Hailey, who till lately was the Home member in the Government of India. Taking part in the debate upon the Budget in India the other day, he said:

"The British nation will not give further constitutional reforms unless they are satisfied that a measure of advance could be properly utilised for the advantage of India, and that it would not be influenced by criticisms of British trusteeship. The Assembly was being asked to throw the first step to self-Government in the face of the British Parliament. The Home Member asked the Assembly to consider whether the proposal of the Pandit would help India. The King's Government must be carried on and no section in British politics would be favourably influenced by such action as that proposed."

Those are strong words, but I hope that His Majesty's Government to-night will be able to give an assurance that the words of Sir Malcolm Hailey will not be repudiated in this House. Let me now say a few words as to what happened in the Indian Legislature. That is another thing which has given grave anxiety to those on this side of the House, and indeed all who value the greatness of the British Empire in India. We have seen in the Indian Legislature first of all the rejection of the Finance Bill. That has obviously been done with only one idea, namely, to make the working of the present reforms in India impossible. If that is so, what is going to be—I think we are entitled to know—the attitude of the Government? I am firmly convinced that the people who took this action never did a worse day's work, not only for India but for themselves, and for this reason: How can anybody, how can those who resort to such extremist measures, and take such misguided action, claim in the same word that extension of self-government—how can they possibly justify it—when by their action they are demonstrating their total unfitness for anything of the sort? The result of the rejection of the Budget was that the Finance Bill was reintroduced on the narrowest possible lines to ensure safety and tranquility in the interests of British India, and the Government were unable to give much needed relief to the Provinces of Madras, the United Provinces, and the Punjab. You have the same state of affairs in Bengal: there are the Swarajists who refused to grant the salaries of the Ministers and to vote vital supplies. This is what the Calcutta correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" said when talking about the state of affairs in Bengal:

"The Budget has emerged in such a battered state that the situation confronting Lord Lytton is a very delicate one. I understand, however, that interpreting widely the hazy provisions regarding his powers of certification he has decided temporarily to retain his Ministers, and to approve expenditure sufficient to cause the least possible damage to essential services. Even so, my estimate of 700 as the number of officers belonging to the Health and Education services, who are to be dismissed, was below the mark. Altogether 1,200 officers will shortly be under 3 months' notice. Fortunately before the expiry of this period the present grotesque position, which has resulted from the tactics of the Swarajists, can be resubmitted to the Council."

LORD OLIVIER'S STATEMENT.

On this question several attempts have been made to elicit a clear statement from the Under-Secretary of State for India as to what action the Government of Bengal has taken or is about to take. I have followed this question with interest, but so far I do not think any satisfactory answer has been forthcoming. We know that a long speech was made by Lord Lytton which is, I am afraid too long to read in its entirety to night, but it was reported in the 'Pioneer Mail' and I hope it has received the attention of the Government. The same state of affairs which occurred in Bengal also happened in the Central Province and the United Provinces, and in fact all over India. I will now come to the declaration of the Government and to the statement made by the Secretray of State for India in another place on the 26th February. He said on that occasion one or two things which those who have studied his speech have found to be somewhat misleading. One thing he said was:

"The Government of India Act provides that not later than 1929 a Royal Commission should be sent out."

The Government of India Act provides that "Not earlier than 1929" and that is a great difference. There is a great difference between "not earlier"

and "not later," and if "not later" is the correct interpretation it gives a great scope for agitation in India. In the same speech the Secretary of State for India said:

"We stand for the present by the provisions of the Government of India Act." What is meant by that statement? Why are these assertions not made quite clear? In the same speech the Secretary of State proceeds to say:

"I am glad, and the party which I represent is glad, that Mr. Gandhi has been released from prison, because it is repugnant to human nature that a man of his intelligence should be treated as a criminal."

(*Hon. Members.* "*Hear, hear!*")

As a matter of fact, Mr. Gandhi was convicted of the most serious charge of sedition. (Interruption). An hon. Member opposite who interrupts me is a member of the Communist party.

Mr. LANSBURY: Who do you mean?

Viscount CURZON: I mean the hon. Member for Bow and Bromley.

Mr. LANSBURY: If I were a member of the Communist party I should not mind owning up to it, but the Noble Lord has made a great mistake.

Viscount CURZON: Does the hon. Member deny it?

Mr. LANSBURY: Yes, I do deny it.

Viscount CURZON: Then I withdraw it unreservedly.

Mr. LANSBURY: When you make a charge of that kind the onus of proof rests on you.

Viscount CURZON: I thought you were at their meeting on Sunday morning. Mr. Gandhi has recently stated that he realises the consequences of his action, and he would do the same thing again. I would now like to sum up.

I want, and those who think as I do want, a specific and a clear statement from the present Government as to where they stand as far as India is concerned. I want to know whether the present Government endorse the declaration of Sir Malcolm Hailey in the Debate on the rejection of the Finance Bill in India. I think it is important that declarations like these should be backed up by the Government. I am certain the Government do not approve of the action of the extremists in India, and they do not want to depart from the letter and spirit of the Government of India Act. I want to hear a declaration from the Government with regard to the services in India. It will not be enough for the Government to promise us a day for discussion at some uncertain date which may be provided if Parliamentary conditions permit. I would like the Government now that they have a chance to night, to tell us what steps they are taking to carry out these declarations. I ask the Government: is it too much to hope that the Prime Ministers' declaration when he first took office will be translated into action and that Indian problems will be regarded not as party questions, but as national questions. I want to look at them from the national point of view and whatever party is in power I hope it will assert and give effect to the principle that *Great Britain will, in no circumstances, relinquish her responsibility to India.* Such a policy would at once rally to our cause not only the Indian masses, but the best section of the educated classes, hearten the Services now depressed and disorganised, and enable Britain's work in India, which has been shamefully neglected since politics overshadowed administration, to be pressed forward with renewed hope and vigour.

SIR H. CRAIK ON BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY.

Sir H. CRAIK (Scottish Universities, U.) described dyarchy as a spider's web spun out of the brain of a doctrinaire pedant and full of traps and catches. It was the product of the sort of brain that would devise a written Constitution which looked very well on paper, but lacked altogether the imagination to realize the scheme in actual working. On the part of the Civil servants who gave evidence before the Joint Committee there was scarcely one who did not profess himself ready to do his best to make the scheme of change work well. (Cheers.) That change was expected, and they still recognize the honesty of purpose which actuated Mr. Montagu, although they were entitled to doubt the measure of composite wisdom which had been brought to bear on the question. He was not going to rake up disagreeable things. He thought that the less said about them the better. They had to look forward with hope, although with anxiety. The two extremes of action now before

them were, on the one hand, the proposal to scrap the scheme and to resume the authority of this country, and, on the other to abdicate our responsibility imposed upon us before the eyes of the world. Both these schemes were equally wrong. (Cheers.) To scrap the scheme would be to go back on our word and would be an act of cowardice. Let there be no thought of that. It might be that anarchy and disorder in India might compel us, in spite of ourselves, to exercise our authority and to adopt more drastic methods, but let them not by one word of theirs hasten that time or describe it as the probable result of the present situation. The worst course of all was indecision. Unionists were ready to co-operate with the Government in pursuing a definite course. He urged the Government to proceed gradually, on the responsibility of Parliament, to deal with all parts of the Act with impartiality, and to trust their administrators.

Mr. Hope Simpson on India.

Mr. HOPE SIMPSON (Taunton, L.) said his own information direct from India was that affairs in the districts were very much better than they had been, and that the relations between the district officers and the residents were much better than in 1921. There were two reasons for the breakdown of the Act of 1919 in the Provincial Legislatures. One was that the Indian Ministers were comparatively impotent, and had not entire charge of their portfolios, as India expected they would have. The second reason was the very natural disgust at the failure of the dyarchical system which was unworkable. That was proof positive that the Act required amendment. The same state of affairs existed in the Legislative Assembly, and the Governor-General had to certify. Was certification a satisfactory method of legislation? If not, Parliament should evolve some other method by which the Governor-General could carry on his Government if the Legislature was not going to support him. Nothing could be worse for the success of Government in India than for the extremists to find they had only to reject the Budget in order to get the Viceroy to certify. His suggestion was that the Government should send out a Commission to inquire into the situation on the spot and to report what action, whether legislative or administrative, was required to carry out the expressed intention that the Reforms should constitute a definite step towards the fulfilment of the promise of ultimate self-government within the Empire. It seemed to be supposed that a section of the Act prevented such action being taken. The section said there must be a Commission at the end of ten years but there was nothing in it prohibiting the appointment of a Commission before the ten years had elapsed. Mr. Montagu had said the section did not tie the hands of Parliament, that if necessary a Commission could be appointed before the expiration of the ten years. Even if the section was held by the Law Officers to stop the appointment of a Commission in the interval, the House could easily amend it. The Act was an experiment, it was a leap in the dark, and events had proved that it was not perfect. Why, then, should they not find out by inquiry on the spot where the machinery was defective and amend it accordingly? The difficulties had arisen because of the intense interest which the people of India took in politics. They had been encouraged to believe that they were to have Dominion self-government. They felt that the Act would prevent any hope of advance at the end of the ten years. The best course, therefore, was the appointment of a Commission. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Scurr's Speech.

Mr. SCURR: I congratulate the Noble Lord the Member for South Bettersea (Viscount Curzon) on bringing forward this Resolution. I also regret that there is not a greater opportunity of discussing this important question of the future of India. Every Member of this House will agree that it is of supreme importance to the whole future of the British Empire, or, as I prefer to call it, the British Commonwealth. I agree with the Noble Lord who brought forward this motion that India is the brightest jewel in the British Crown. I agree with him also in the desire that India shall always be associated with the British Crown, but if the policy, pursued at the present time, of simply regarding every expression of opinion from India as being merely the expression of opinion of extremists to which no consideration should be given at all, is continued, if we meet all the demands that are made by refusing, then in no circumstances shall we be able to preserve India to the British Commonwealth.

It is rather remarkable that despite the whole history of the development of the British Empire, despite the fact, as we know, that it was always by the extension of the blessings of self-government to other parts of that Empire that the Empire has been preserved and consolidated, we still find taken up the attitude that we ought not to go any further along that road, that the people who are asking for self-government are not in any sense of the word qualified for it either because of reasons of education or for some other reason, and that, therefore, we are the only people who are able to look after them, and they are unable to look after themselves. Against that attitude I desire to protest in the strongest manner. So far as we are concerned, we put forward in that declaration, which has been quoted for us to-night, of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, plainly before the Indian people the desire that they should take their place as equal co-partners in the British Empire.

This movement going on to-day asking for full self-government in India is in no sense a new movement. It has been going on gradually and increasing steadily for a large number of years since the institution of the Indian National Congress in 1885, a Congress which, I agree, was very largely called into existence by the friendly efforts of those in India who recognised that it was their duty to try to carry out the declaration of Her Majesty. That Congress has developed as years went on, until the time came when, during the War, we had that slogan, which was sent out to the whole world, that Britain was fighting for the self-determination of nations. The Indians have accepted that slogan. They want self-determination, because, as was once said by a late Prime Minister of this country, self-government is far better than good government when that government is opposed by the inhabitants of a country. And so the movement has developed, and we have had the various reforms, down to the Montagu-Chelmsford Act, which recognised all the way through the gradual development that was going on in India.

To-day, what do we find? We find that after that declaration in regard to self-determination, when the Indians put forward their claims, assisted by people of English birth, their demands were not met. We remember how Mrs. Besant was deported, and threatened with imprisonment, because of the ideas which she put forward when asking for a gradual development of self-government for India until it achieved Dominion Government. Then we had the Press Act, the Rowlatt Act, imprisonments, deportations and, finally, the supreme tragedy of all—that of Amritsar. I happened to arrive in India immediately after that great tragedy had happened, and realised the feeling which had been aroused. I had extreme difficulty in trying to convince my Indian friends whom I met in all parts of India which I visited, that the Government were sincerely desirous in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of giving local self-government. But, after the Amritsar incident, I had great difficulty in convincing them that there was any sincerity at all about it. With regard to further developments what do you find, for example, with regard to the handling of the question of Kenya? When you find Indians who had been migrating to that part of the Empire even before we went there, put into an inferior position, and an agreement entered into by which they were brushed aside, can you wonder if you find what you are pleased to term extremism developing?

In so far as India is concerned, if you are not prepared to face the issue, and immediately say that you will examine into these grievances—because that is all that is being asked for at the present time—do not say that all we have to do is to stand by the 1919 Act. That Act if not a law of the Medes and Persians, but simply an Act of the British Parliament, passed in all sincerity, and when we find mistakes have been made, it is our duty to remedy those mistakes as quickly as we possibly can. But, of course, the majority of Members of this House, like the majority of the British people themselves, are, unfortunately, totally ignorant in regard to India. They are, unfortunately, ignorant regarding the desires and wishes of the Indian people and of their development. As the hon. Member for Taunton (Mr. Hope Simpson) said, he was there seven years ago, and he would not be prepared to say to-day how the opinion of India had altered since that time. And that is perfectly true since I was there four years ago. There is a development in that country; there is a consciousness of nationality which is bound to find expression, and we who have been the creators, to a very large extent, of many nations in the world, and of which we can be proud, ought also to be proud to help this great nation once more to regain its position, as the majority of the Indian people

desire at the present time, in co-partnership with this country. Britain and India together would make a strong force in the world, that, in my opinion, would make for peace throughout the whole of the world, an association of two great peoples—a great people of the West, and a great people of the East. All we desire at the present time is to start an enquiry, to send out to India a Commission which will be able to go through all these grievances that have been put forward by the Indian people. Are you going to say, because people put forward grievances, because they do not happen to belong to our nationality and race, that they are to be brushed aside? Are you going to make the same mistake with regard to India that you make with regard to Ireland? Years and years ago you could have settled the Irish question, and now, to-day, you have the awful tragedy that is taking place there, only because you did the right thing too late. Do not let us do the right thing too late in regard to India. Let us appoint this Commission, in order that it may inquire and produce a scheme whereby we shall get a revision of reform at the earliest possible opportunity, and, at any rate, not later than 1926. Let us have an endeavour to secure Provincial autonomy at the earliest time. If Provincial autonomy had been granted, and responsibility had been placed on Indian Ministers for India's domestic affairs with regard to the Provinces, we should not have had the trouble with which we are faced to-day. We want this inquiry to determine the lines to be followed in the inevitable Indianisation of the Services. Only yesterday the Under-Secretary of State for India told us that not a single Indian was being trained for a Commission in the Air Force or the Tank Force, and so on. What is the good of saying these people are unable to defend themselves, and urge that as an excuse for no further development of self-government, when you will not even allow them to take the opportunity of training themselves in order that they may defend their own country?

Earl WINTERTON: Will the hon. Gentleman explain what he means by the statement that Indians are not trained to defend their own country?

Mr. SCURR: I was giving the reply of the Under-Secretary of State for India yesterday, that no Indians were being trained for the Air Force and for other forces. There are some being trained for the Army, I know, but for the Air Force, and all the most up-to-date forms of warfare, Indians are not being trained. I say, therefore, they are not having an opportunity of being trained for the defence of India. I think that follows from the reply of the hon. Member. That is the position. I had an Amendment on the Order Paper, but I do not propose to move it, because there would not be a proper opportunity of discussing it in the time at our disposal. But I hope the Government will take their courage in their hands, and will say they will appoint this Commission to go out and inquire, and be able to call the politicians of India of all parties together, so that they will be able to see how far we can go on the road to meet them. If we do that, I feel that India will be friendly to us in every sense of the word, and that the two peoples will unite together to the benefit of the whole world.

The Under-Secretary of State's Reply.

The UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE for India (Mr. ROBERTS) said:—

I am sure we are all very grateful to those who have taken part in the Debate because of the excellent spirit that has been shown with regard to what is, after all, one of the most difficult Imperial problems facing any Government at the present time. One rejoices to find at any rate, that we are unanimous upon one thing, and that is the declaration of August, 1917. I would remind my right hon. Friend, the Member for the Scottish Universities (Sir H. Craik) that that particular declaration, although I believe it was read by Mr. Montagu in this House, was prepared by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. A. Chamberlain). I am sure that party in this House subscribes unreservedly to the desire that some day India will be a full fledged Dominion attached to the great Commonwealth of British nations. I should like, if I can, to try to consider this problem in all its bearings, and, if I may say so, from the true perspective. I would suggest to my hon. Friends behind me, in the first place, that one of the great difficulties about India is that it is not a homogeneous unit. We are not dealing with a single country in the Euro-

pean sense of the term: we are dealing really with a sub-continent into which for many generations different races have been pouring, who in many cases have been unable to get out again, the last subduing the one that preceded it. You have then very distinct strata of society in India to start with. You have the Primitives, the Aryans, the Scythians, the Mongolians, the Europeans. This is not the only difficulty, because, cutting right across and through this strata, you have great religious chasms or fissures which have tended further to keep these races from assimilating one another. But that is not all the difficulty. These different nationalities, we are all willing to admit, are at various different stages of development, from the savage tribes on the North-West Frontiers to the highly intellectual dwellers on the plains and in the river basins.

It is into this kind of society that we with the best intentions, I believe, have attempted to introduce the democratic institutions of the west which we have evolved in this very place after a strenous struggle extending over a thousand years. I would remind my hon. Friends behind me that we, even in this very place, have not yet been able to reduce this struggle for constitutionalism into a system. At any rate, the Members of the Government will agree that nobody seems to know exactly how our constitution is working at the present time, and we feel that Government in opposition is much better than it is from these benches. I remember a phrase in which it was said that—

"The price of liberty is eternal vigilance."

Parliament in 1919 decided to give to India a temporary, transitional constitution, to last presumably for 10 years. The object of that was gradually to train the peoples of India in the art of self-government so that eventually they might, as I have suggested, take their place alongside the other free nations in the British Commonwealth. It was also laid down that the development should be by gradual stages and the decision as to when the next steps are to be taken rests with this British Parliament. I should like to say a word or two about the Government of India Act, because there seems to be a great deal of misunderstanding concerning it. The object of the Act, as far as I can see, was, first of all, as far as possible to establish complete popular control in the local bodies; secondly, to give to the Provinces the largest measure of independence of the Government of India compatible with the discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities; thirdly, to maintain the authority of the Government of India as indisputable in essential matters, pending experience of the effect of the changes; and lastly to relax very considerably the control both of Parliament and of the Secretary of State.

The Indian Legislature consists of two Chambers. There is a Council of State which consists of 60 members and not more than one-third of these are official members. There is the Legislative Assembly, which is probably the more interesting body, which consists of 144 members; 103 of these are elected, the rest are nominated, and not less than 26 can be officials. The reason for the 10 years' experiment apparently was that we should have three consecutive Parliaments upon which to base our decision as to the future. The Indian Legislative Assembly has power to make laws for all persons within British India, for all British subjects within the Native States, and for all native Indian subjects in any part of the world. The assent of both Chambers is necesssary for the passing of a Bill, and differences of opinion between them are got over by a joint session of the two Houses. The Governor-General may, however, certify that a Bill is essential, and the Bill shall thereupon become law without the assent of both Chambers. But when the Governor-General is driven to enact laws in this way copies of these must first be placed on the Table of the House of Commons here. In regard to Provincial Governments, the Act of 1919 contains elaborate provisions for further decentralisation and for the development of the organisation and powers of the Provincial Governments. The provincial subjects have been handed over to the Provincial Governments, subject to general control by the Government of India, and there is a further distinction being made between what we call the 'reserved' and the 'transferred' subjects. The Governor-General in Council retains unaltered powers of control over the Provincial Governments in regard to 'reserved' subjects, but in regard to 'transferred' subjects he only interferes in cases where interference is necessary to safeguard control subjects. Transferred subjects are local self-government, public health and sanitation, education, public works, agriculture, fisheries, excise, registration, development of inlustries, weights and measures,

religious and charitable endowments. The Provincial Governments are formed on a plan of dyarchy or dual form of Government, by which certain functions are discharged by one body, the Governor in Council, and the other functions by another body, the Governor acting with Ministers. Each is responsible for his own share of the work of administration, and the Governor simply acts as the connecting link. In the case of the transferred subjects, the Governor is guided by the advice of his Ministers and so there is a certain degree of responsible self-government possible. It may be in time extended. The financial budget is laid before the Legislative Council each year. The Council may refuse assent to a proposed grant, or may reduce the amount provided (1) that it does not refer to a reserved subject; (2) that the Governor in an emergency shall authorise expenditure which he certifies to be necessary for the safety or order of the province.

INDIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS REFORMS.

I am sorry to weary the House with the details of the reforms that were passed in 1919, but when we are discussing the breakdown of this very difficult Act—it is agreed that it is not, at any rate, easy working—it is important that I should say something about the attitude of India towards the Act at the time when it was passed. There is no doubt at all that the attitude of India almost from the beginning has been one of extreme suspicion. My noble Friend in another place, when he made a statement earlier in the year, attempted to analyse the causes of this suspicion, and I shall merely refer to them to-night. Some of them have been referred to to-night already. There is, first of all, the unfortunate Amritsar affair. Secondly, I understand that my own distinguished countrymen's gift for vivid phrase led them to believe that the steel frame of the Indian Civil Service was reveted on the shoulders of India for ever. Thirdly, I understand that the certification of the Salt-Tax caused a great deal of heart-searching in India last year. There is, of course, the eternal Kenya problem. The attitude first taken up by what we may call the Nationalist party in India was to boycott the thing altogether. They were out, that is to say, to boycott the British ports, the British form of education, and British goods of all kinds. It was really a movement to westernise India.

That was the first attitude. In view of that, of course, the Indian Home Rulers took no part in the first elections in 1920. The next move was to abandon the attitude of non-violent non-co-operation, and go into the Councils and into the Legislative Assembly and to make the Constitution, as they very definitely put it unworkable from the inside. I do not think that there is any doubt about this, because in October of last year there was a very interesting manifesto issued by the Home Rule party under the signature of Motilal Nehru, in which he points out quite clearly that their attitude is to destroy the constitution as outlined in the Act of 1919. I would like to read a paragraph or two of this manifesto, which was issued just before the elections of last year.

"The Swarajist party believes that the guiding motive of the British in governing India is to serve the selfish interests of their own country, and that the so-called reforms are a mere blind to further the said interests under the pretence of granting responsible Government to India, the real object being to continue the exploitation of the unlimited resources of the country by giving Indians the pretence of responsible Government in India, and denying them abroad the most elementary rights of citizenship."

That was the attitude rightly or wrongly, taken by this party. When the elections came on this party achieved a very remarkable victory. The figures for the Assembly are as follows: There were 41 Swarajists returned to the Assembly, seven Independents, two Sikhs, and three Burmans. The result in the Central Provinces is still more striking. Out of a total membership of 70, 54 of whom are elected, 44 Swarajists were returned. Bengal, out of an Assembly of 140, 114 of whom are elected, 37 Swarajists were returned. Having thus secured a good representation by perfectly constitutional methods, they proceeded to bring their point of view to the notice of the Assembly, and a motion was moved early this year, to which reference has been made to-night, and was carried. The motion proposed:

"To summon at an early date a representative round table conference to recommend, with due regard for the protection of the rights and interests of the important minorities, a scheme of constitution for India, and after dissolv-

ing the Central Legislature, to submit the said scheme for approval before a newly-elected Indian Legislature for its approval, and to submit same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute."

That motion was passed by the Legislative Assembly by 76 votes to 48. At the same time the various Budget demands were turned down or rejected. In the Central Provinces where, as we can well imagine, the Swarajists are in a stronger position, their action can be shortly described as follows. They have as the House will remember, 44 members out of 54 elected members. That is to say, they have a permanent majority, and they have made it quite clear that they do not intend to work the constitution, but to drive the Governor to govern by certificate. For example, they refused early this Session to consider seven or eight Bills brought before the Central Provinces Legislature. The Ministers, as a result, resigned after having carried on for three or four months at the request of the Government. The Governor then resumed charge of the transferred subjects and restored the rejected grants for the reserve subjects under Proviso (a) Section 72D of the Act. The interesting question, as far as this House is concerned, is this. Is it true to say that the Government of India Act has broken down completely? On the one hand it appears that the intention of Parliament in 1919 clearly was that Indians should co-operate with us in working this scheme. So far that has not been achieved, but it is perfectly true to say that, in addition, other provisions were made in the Act of 1919 for contingencies, and all that has happened hitherto is that the powers which have been held in reserve have merely been put into operation.

ENQUIRY PROPOSED.

I think it is also true to say that the Government of India recognise that the Act is not working exactly in the way they would have it work because everyone would prefer to have the active co-operation of this politically active people in working the reforms, rather than that they should stand aside and merely attempt to destroy, and I venture to suggest that before we can say the Act has actually broken down, it is important that a real generous attempt should be made to work this every difficult legislative machinery. References have been made to the fact that the Government of India at the suggestion of Sir Malcolm Hailey are investigating the working of this Act with a view to the removal of any deficiencies which may exist. If the Act is not working smoothly, if there are deficiencies in it as has been suggested, it is obviously the duty of the Government which has to try to administer this machinery to see exactly where the difficulty is and, if possible, by good feeling to get rid of it. Consequently, an investigation into the shortcomings and deficiencies in the Act is being carried out by the Government of India at the present time. I have explained the action which is being taken by the Government of India, with the full concurrence of His Majesty's Government, with a view to investigating the present constitutional situation and determining whether any grounds exist for deciding that the question of further modifications should be considered; and I may add that it appears to His Majesty's Government important for the purposes of this inquiry, that the views of representative Indian politicians, who have come to the Assembly in a perfectly constitutional way, and who advocate modifications of the Constitution in regard to any practical defects in the provisions of the 1919 Act, should be given full opportunity of constitutional expression and consideration before the recommendations of the Government are finally formulated. It is the desire of His Majesty's Government to arrange in concert with the Government of India, how best such opportunities may be provided. His Majesty's Government view with grave concern the estrangement between Great Britain and the elected representatives of the Indian people and we, therefore, desire to establish contact with them in the hope that a way may be found, by a full and frank interchange of views, to establish a lasting peace and enduring co-operation for the well-being both of India and of the Empire as a whole.

Earl WINTERTON: It was not clear, in the hon. Gentleman's otherwise very clear and explicit statement, whether he was referring to those who have announced that they are prepared to co-operate with the Government or to those who have hitherto said they will have no co-operation of any kind. It is a very important distinction.

Mr. RICHARDS: I was referring to those who are prepared to co-operate. It is one of the acknowledged objects of His Majesty's Government, and de-

finitely in accordance with the principles of the party, to assist the Indian people to Dominion self-Government. As to the appointment of a Commission, as proposed in the Amendment on the Paper, such a proposal is, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, premature at this moment. As I have already indicated, an inquiry is actually being carried on by the Government of India into this very question.

Lieut.-Col. MEYLER: On a point of Order. I understand that no Amendment has been moved.

Mr. RICHARDS: I am referring to the Amendment on the Paper. Accordingly the terms of the Amendment on the Paper are, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, not appropriate to the situation at this date, and whether or no it is adopted by the House, it must not be taken as committing the Government to any particular method of dealing with this very difficult problem.

Earl Winterton on India.

Earl WINTERTON: I find myself in the rather unfortunate position of being in as complete disagreement with the speech of the hon. Member for Taunton (Mr. Hope Simpson) as one Member can be with the speech of another. I am going to say a word about that speech in a few minutes, but I should be doubtful now of characterising it in Parliamentary language. Referring to the speech of the hon. Member for Stepney (Mr. Scurr), I think I may say I am also in complete disagreement, as are, I think, the majority of the House, with the view suggested. I find myself in the unfortunate position of only being in very partial agreement with the speech of my right hon. Friend the Member for the Scottish Universities (Sir H. Craik); and I find myself in the most unfortunate condition for one who thinks as I do, of being largely in agreement with the speech that has just been delivered by the Under-Secretary of State for India.

In the first place I have an idea that without exceeding the bounds of courtesy I may remark that I think the Opposition have justified themselves in asking that there might be a Debate which would disclose the intentions of the Government towards India. There has been abundant need for a long time past for a statement of the Government as to how the exceptionally difficult situation is being faced. I should be the last person to under-estimate the responsibility of the Secretary of State or Under-Secretary at the present moment, because I have had recent official experience, and I am quite prepared to agree that in such circumstances caution and reticence are to a very large extent a virtue, and should be as much a part of their attitude towards both Houses as that of the representative of any other Government office, including even the Foreign Office. But I am bound to say that I think that both in the case of the hon. Member and the Noble Lord in another place that caution and reticence were so unduly extended that these good qualities themselves have been turned into a vice. It is not until to-night that we have had any clear indication at all of the intentions of the Government towards this question of events in India. I think that is quite wrong, and I should like to make a protest, which I think really would be echoed by the whole House, irrespective of party, against the assumption which is growing up in some quarters, especially some Press quarters, that this House as a House is not as much concerned with the affairs in India, or as much interested in them, as it was ten years ago.

One sees the most amazing statements and although I do not wish to mention individual papers, or quote from them—which would be out of order—I have noticed a tendency, even in such newspapers as the *Times*, to suggest that the Government of India and the officials in India are being handicapped both by the control which this House desires to exercise over affairs in India and by the control which it is said the Secretary of State and India Office do exercise over it. It cannot be too much reiterated that under the new system, under the Reforms, the Government of India is, admittedly, only very partially responsible to the Assembly, and that the Assembly itself, as has been pointed out, is elected on a very narrow franchise basis. If it is not to be in any respect responsible, through the Secretary of State, to this House, then the Government of India would soon tend to become, which some wish, a complete autocracy. It should be recognised that the Act provides that there shall be dual responsibility by this House and by the Government of India. Therefore, I say in

this transition stage, Parliament should not only take as much interest as it did before but more, and these complaints made in the Press to the effect that the Secretary of State and the India Office exercise an unfair and an undesirable control over the Government of India, is really an absurdity.

I would like to come back to my main theme, and that is the question of the present position of the reforms in India. I find myself only in partial agreement with the right hon. Gentlemen, the Member for the Scottish Universities (Sir H. Craik), but I should like to pay a tribute to the sincerity and frankness with which he has stated his position on the subject of the Government of India Act. It is undoubtedly true that my right hon. Friend and others were amongst the strongest opponents of the India Act when it was brought into operation in 1919, when the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Ormsby-Gore) and myself were supporting the Government against the attacks made on the Bill.

My right hon. Friend went on to say that the Act, having become a constitutional Act and, he might have added, a binding pledge by this House to the people of India, he considered it was his duty, and the duty of all those who at the time disagreed with the Act, to do their best now to see it carried to a successful issue. This is a perfectly correct attitude, but what is the attitude of the party opposite, as represented by the hon. Member for Taunton (Mr. Hope Simpson)? I always had the idea that the hon. Member was, in principle, a supporter of the India Act, but he stated to-night that his view was that, at the time the Act was passed, he considered it was an experiment, and now the hon. Member for Taunton, apparently, is prepared to destroy the machinery of the Act and substitute something entirely different in its place.

Mr. SIMPSON: I do not think the words which I used bear that construction at all. I suggested that the time had come for a Commission to inquire into the working of the Act to see if it required amendment.

Earl WINTERTON: That is a statement very different to the terms of the Amendment which the hon. Member for Taunton has put on the Paper, which is as follows:

"The failure of the Government of India Act, 1919, in certain of the Provinces of British India, and the increasing divergence between the administrative systems in the Native States and those of British India, considers that immediate steps should be taken to examine these problems, and to this end requests the Government to appoint a Commission with wide terms of reference to inquire into the facts on the spot, to review the working of the reforms, and to report what action, whether legislative or administrative, is now required to carry out the expressed intention of the British Government that the reforms shall constitute a definite step towards fulfilment of the promise of ultimate Dominion self-government within the Empire."

If anybody has ever produced an Amendment more damning to an Act than that, I should like to see it. The extraordinary thing about this matter is that this Amendment was to be seconded by the hon. and gallant Member for Oldham (Lieut.-Colonel Sir E. Grigg), who for a very long period of his life has been, and I believe is still, associated in a political sense with one of the people who is as much responsible for the Act as anybody in this House, that is, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Carnarvon Boroughs (Mr. Lloyd George).

I think—and I assure the House that I am not trying to make a party point of this—that for one of the most distinguished ex-Indian civil servants that we have had in this House, with a fine record of service in India behind him, to come down to the House and speak on the Act which his former colleagues are doing their utmost to work in India in the face of tremendous opposition and misunderstanding—to speak as he did, amid the cheers of the extremists of the Labour party, was something of which he should not be proud. When I speak of extremists, I distinguish between the Government, their immediate supporters, and those who are opposed to the Government on this matter. Of course, it is obvious to anyone that there is the most complete divergence of opinion in the ranks of the Government supporters. We have had a speech by the hon. Member for Mile End (Mr. Scurr), which was very effectively answered by the Under-Secretary.

As I understand the statement which has been made by the Under-Secretary, it is this. I understand him to say—but the word "understand" is putting it too mildly and not sufficiently definitely, I am sure, from the Under-Secre-

tary's speech—that he has made it quite clear to-night, to this House and to India, that he definitely rejects proposals for destroying the existing machinery of the Government of India Act; that he does not contemplate a departure from the hitherto existing policy of successive Governments, of carrying out that Act to the best of his ability and that of his chief and of the Government; and that any form of inquiry which may be set up, whether it be a Committee of this House or, a Committee of the Government of India will be an inquiry merely into the existing machinery of the Act; that before such a Committee of inquiry there will be welcomed evidence from those who are interested in seeing the Act worked successfully, but that those who have from the first set their hands—indeed, the whole of their bodies—against this Act being made a success, will not only not be encouraged but will not be allowed to give evidence before that Committee. If that is what the Under-Secretary and the Government propose, there will certainly be no objection taken to it on this side of the House. That it is necessary to have such a Committee at present I am myself not fully persuaded, I am not sure that the Under-Secretary has not allowed himself to be unduly influenced by certain events which have occurred in India. The hon. Gentleman referred as did the Secretary of State in another place, to such incidents, for example, as Amritsar. I do not want to refer at this length of time to what is admitted on all sides to be a very unhappy incident, but I cannot accept, without much further evidence than has been given by the Under-Secretary or by the Secretary of State, that that incident to-day takes any foremost part in causing the difficulties which have arisen in India. Again the Secretary of State referred to the salt tax as apparently one of the causes of the irritation. Again, so far as my experience and knowledge go, the raising of the Salt Tax last year has had a very small effect in increasing the general difficulties of Government in India, and I think those difficulties go far deeper than either of those things. Still, if the Government believe it is necessary to have an inquiry into the machinery of the Act, if they, unlike the hon. Member for Taunton, are not anxious to scrap that machinery and put this in its place, if, unlike the hon. Member for Taunton, they are willing to trust the engineers, Indian and British, who are working that machinery at present I, for one, and most of us on this side of the House, would have no objection, and we welcome the Under-Secretary's very definite statement that it is not proposed to depart from the spirit or letter of the Act, and we welcome the implied rebuke which he has given to some of his hot-headed friends on the benches behind him.

Mr. TOOLE: Is the Noble Lord in order in referring to anyone here as hot-headed? If that be so, should I be in order in referring to him as "fat headed?"

Mr. SPEAKER: When the hon. Member has been longer in the house he will realise that the Noble Lord is well qualified to speak.

Earl WINTERTON: I accept the compliment with great pleasure. However hot-headed I may be, I hope I am not as thin-skinned as Members of the Labour party. May I address one or two remarks to those same hon. Members—I will not describe them as hot-headed—who sit on the back benches and who have views so much, if I may say so without offence, on the extreme left as regards the situation in India. What is the only real alternative to some such system as you have in India to-day under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme? I am the last to say that the earnestness of a man like Gandhi, misguided, dangerous and in some respects, criminal as it is, is to be met merely by sneers and jeers. The House will acquit me of ever having said that, but the philosophy preached by Mr. Gandhi, and largely supported by hon. Members on that side of the House, including the hon. Member for Bow and Bromley (Mr. Lansbury), can be met by the logic of indisputable fact. What is that fact? It is, as the Under-Secretary himself said, that there is in India nothing like homogenity of race. There are divisions of race, divisions of religion and, above all, there is diversity of aim among Indians themselves. Either you have to support a system of co-operative government such as we have in India to-day, or else you have to fall back on the complete Swaraj preached by men like Mr. Gandhi and indirectly, at any rate, by those who sit on the benches opposite. There is no real mean between the two extremes.

If the ultimate aim of the Swarajists, and of those who support them in this country, were suddenly to be obtained, and absolute independence reached, how would India meet these difficulties? Would Mahommedan mobs suddenly

fraternise with Hindu mobs? Would the causes of offence to Hindus by Mahommedans, such as cow killing, suddenly be tolerated? Would the highest castes by a wave of the hand suddenly embrace the depressed classes in India? Would the Indian leaders of opinion in British India in a flash see the merits of governments as practised, for example, in the territory of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad? I am the last to deny that that Government has many merits, but they are not of the nature that the Indian "intelligentsia" support. The most important question and the hardest for hon. Gentlemen opposite to answer is: Would the stern rigid India of the north suddenly view with benevolence the soft and subtle Indian of Bengal? Would all these racial difficulties, these religious difficulties, be suddenly swept away if you granted absolute Home Rule to-morrow on lines which supporters of the Government urge in every speech they make on the subject? The logical and ultimate end of what they say must mean that.

Again and again we have heard from hon. Members opposite, when speaking on public platforms, that the Labour Government are going to give complete home rule to India. What is our plain duty? (Interruption). I ask, in conclusion—and I shall have an affirmative reply from nine-tenths of the House—what is our obvious duty in these admittedly very difficult circumstances? Is it to take the hopeless view of the hon. Member for Taunton, throw up our hands in despair and say everything is lost? Is it to take the view of those who sit above the Gangway, who differ from their own Government, who believe that it is possible by a stroke of the pen to sweep away all the safeguards put in the Act of 1919? If because of discordant cries from a handful of extremists in India, because of ignorant and fatuous criticism at home, this great Empire, which was capable of all it did in the Great War, we were to throw up our hand and say: "We are no longer going to carry on this task of co-operating with Indians in the Government of India," if that is their attitude, it will, indeed, be true to say that we have lost our power of being an Empire-making and an Empire-governing nation. We shall, indeed, cease to merit that title. I say this, and I challenge anyone to deny it, and I am sure that no Member of the Government will say that any better right for this country to be considered the greatest Empire-building organisation that the world has ever seen can be found than in the free, willing declaration that was made in 1917, which was carried out in the Act of 1919 and in the face of contumely and misrepresentation is being carried out by the servants of the Crown in India to-day in co-operation with Indians, helping them along the path of self-development to become an eventual self-governing unit within the Empire. No better title for this Empire to be called the best Empire-building Empire that has ever existed could be found than in what we did then. I welcome very warmly what, in the circumstances, is the courageous step which the Under-Secretary and the Government have taken to-night against the action of some of their own supporters behind them and, I am sorry to say, some Members of the Liberal party on the direction of destroying the system of government in India.

Colonel WEDGWOOD: I have always been a great admirer of the Noble Lord. I admire not only the ability with which he differs from people but the ability with which he agrees with people. I have never been more overwhelmed by his ability than I have been to-night, because he has shown marked ability in reading into the speech.—

Earl WINTERTON: Is this a personal explanation?

Colonel WEDGWOOD: I have admired the ability with which the Noble Lord has read into it things that were never said. I would remind the Noble Lord that if he reads the speech to-morrow, and if he reads the speech delivered by my dear friend Motilal Nehru in the Assembly at Delhi, he will find that Motilal Nehru is prepared to co-operate with those who are prepared to co-operate with him.

Colonel WEDGWOOD: May I ask the Noble Lord, the Member for South Battersea (Viscount Curzon), as an old Member of the House, whether he appreciates the value of evidence. He quoted two things, (*see p. 734*) of which he complained, which I said in India. He quoted also something that the Patronage Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Spoor) had said. One statement was this:

"The British Labour party said Colonel Wedgwood at Allahabad in December, 1920, is with the Indian people in their desire for a democratic Swaraj."

We all are, on both sides of the House. There is nothing terrible about that. 'On another occasion,' he said, 'Colonel Wedgwood added that it was immaterial whether it was Home Rule or independence'—

It being now Eleven of the Clock, the Debate stood automatically adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—5TH MAY, 1924.

ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS.

Mr. LANSBURY asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that on the 15th February, 1924, Mr. P. S. R. Anjaneyulu, for the Navayuga publishing house, wrote to the Director-General of Telegraphs and Posts complaining of the delay in the delivery of foreign mails addressed to that firm and also complaining of the censorship thus imposed, which the firm states has inflicted monetary loss upon them; that the papers thus delayed, censored, or undelivered include the following, amongst many others: the "Crusader," the "Unity," the "Nation," "Daily Herald," the "Saturday Herald," the "Manchester Guardian Weekly," the "Living Age," the "Freeman," the "New Russia," the "Outlook," the "New Majority" and the "Islamic Review"; and if he will take steps to put an end to either the examination or censorship of newspapers in India?

The UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE for India (Mr. Richards): My Noble Friend has written to make inquiries regarding the alleged examination of the mails of the person named, and will let my hon. Friend have the reply as soon as it is received.

Mr. HOPE SIMPSON: Is it a fact, as stated, that these papers are not allowed to go through?

Mr. RICHARDS: I have said there is no censorship.

Sir LEONARD LYLE: Will the hon. Gentleman suggest to these publishing houses that if they import really respectable papers, such as the "Morning Post."—

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE: Will the hon. Gentleman see to it that the discretion of the Government of India in prohibiting the entry of papers into India is not put a stop to in any way?

BRITISH TROOPS (DUTIES ON COMFORTS).

Captain Viscount CURZON asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that duty at the rate of 15 per cent. is levied upon cakes and puddings consigned from England to members of His Majesty's forces stationed in India, and a duty of 75 per cent. is levied upon cigarettes; that the imposition of these taxes constitutes a great hardship; and whether something can be done to secure some relief from these duties?

Mr. RICHARDS: The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The ordinary duties are levied on goods consigned to members of His Majesty's Forces stationed in India, and the Government of India see no reason to change this practice.

Viscount CURZON: Could not the hon. Gentleman again refer the matter to the Government of India to see whether this small concession to our forces, who very often serve under hard conditions on the frontier, could not be made?

Mr. RICHARDS: The question has been referred to them several times.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

Mr. MAXTON asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that political prisoners in the Benares gaol, United Provinces, are asked to work a mill for extracting mustard oil, and that they are blindfolded while so doing; whether any protest against such treatment was made in India; and what orders have been passed, if any, on such protests?

Mr. RICHARDS: I have no information as to the particular case referred to, but the whole question of the treatment of prisoners included in what is known as the Special Division was very fully considered last year by the Governments in India and the Secretary of State in the light of the Indian Gaols Committee Report, and if the prisoners in question came under the above

category, they are no doubt being treated in accordance with the principles laid down.

Mr. LANSBURY: Will my hon. Friend make inquiries as to whether the facts are as stated in the question?

Mr. RICHARDS: Yes. If my hon. Friend will give me particulars, I will.

LEGISLATIVE RULES.

Mr. BAKER asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether, seeing that the recent changes in the Legislative Rules of the Government of India were under contemplation and were being discussed with the India Office for the last two years, he will say whether any attempt was made to consult the wishes of the Indian Legislative Assembly during that period regarding the changes proposed; whether the Standing Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament was consulted about the contemplated changes; whether the decision was taken as a result of the changed personnel of the Indian Legislative Assembly; and whether he will consider the desirability of getting the view of the Indian Legislature before any further changes in the Rules are made?

Mr. RICHARDS: The answer to the first three parts of the question is in the negative. As regards the fourth part, the Indian Legislature is expressly debarred by Statute from power to alter these Rules, but the desirability of consulting that body before changes are made in these and other Statutory Rules is always considered when the proposed change could suitably be made the subject of such consultation.

GOVERNMENT SERVANTS (GRIEVANCES.)

Mr. MAXTON asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that the Indian servants of the Government of India are debarred from bringing their grievances to the notice of non-official members, whether of the Central or Provincial Legislatures, apart from such things as may be covered by the Official Secrets Act; and whether the Government of the United Provinces have taken any steps on the Resolution regarding this matter which was passed by the United Provinces Council on 27th February last?

Mr. RICHARDS: The Secretary of State for India is not aware of any rule prohibiting any servant of the Government of India from bringing his grievances to the notice of non-official members of the Central or Provincial Legislatures, provided that in so doing he does not infringe Rule 17 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules which prohibit communication to non-official persons without authority of documents or information which have come into his possession in the course of his official duties. With regard to the second part of the question I have no information.

INDIAN SUBJECTS (UNITED STATES).

Mr. BAKER asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that the Lalitpur municipality, in Northern India, has recently refused to give any concessions to an American on the ground that the United States of America has refused to naturalise a Hindu who had gone there; whether the Secretary of State has any information about the reasons given by the United States for discriminating against Indians; whether any steps have been taken to get this discriminating treatment rectified and whether any representations have been received from the Government of India about this matter?

Mr. RICHARDS: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. The refusal of the United States Government to naturalise Indians is due to a ruling of the Supreme Court that Indians are ineligible for United States citizenship. Representations have been made by His Majesty's Government to the Government of the United States with a view to alleviating hardships resulting from this ruling. The Government of India and the Secretary of State have been in correspondence on this subject and the Government of India have expressed their appreciation of the action taken by His Majesty's Government.

Mr. HOPE SIMPSON: Can the hon. Gentlemen see his way to get these facts published in India, where there is much bitterness in regard to these American exclusions?

Mr. RICHARDS: I will see what can be done.

Debate on Indian Labour Conditions.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—14 MAY, 1924.

Mr. T. W. GRUNDY moved a motion declaring that the "conditions and wages of labour in India are so serious as to call for such changes of the Indian constitution as to secure votes for and representation of workers and peasants of India in both the Assembly and Legislative Councils."

Mr. GRUNDY declared that the conditions of the mining population in India were appalling. The hours of labour were from 12 to 16 daily. The idea of women working in the mines was disgusting. The number of accidents in Indian mines showed the shocking conditions. He had heard that the colliery companies' dividends averaged 165 per cent. He understood that legislation would be enforced in July dealing with some of these conditions. He wanted to know whether it raised the age of children, and abolished woman labour.

Mr. MILLS, supporting the motion, said that the Government were in a position to wipe out the doubling of the salt tax forced upon the Indian people despite the Indian Parliament. The Labour party were very uneasy at the continued bearing of these burdens by their comrades in India, because if the standard of living of workers was anywhere beaten down, their own standard went down with it. Therefore they supported them.

Mr. WARDLAW MILNE declared that the land system was the greatest drawback to the prosperity of the agriculturalist in India. The most we could hope to do in the immediate future for the great mass of the people was to help them gradually to get out of debt, due to marriage and funeral expenses. The standard of wages in India had risen, and great housing improvements were being undertaken. It was impossible to compare the conditions in the Lancashire and Dundee mills with those in Bombay and Calcutta. The condition of Indian workers were not materially worse than the conditions of workers in other countries. There was a great need for an increase of safeguards in mines, but there were great difficulties owing to the people's ignorance.

Mr. WARDLAW MILNE said that it was useless to suggest giving a widespread franchise. The co-operation of Indians with the British was vital to the progress of India.

Mr. H. A. L. FISHER pointed out that industrial legislation had already very considerably improved through the agency of the International Labour Bureau of the League of Nations, to which he suggested attention should be directed if they desired to bring further pressure to bear in any direction.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE'S REPLY.

Mr. RICHARDS paid a tribute to Mr. Grundy's speech but described Mr. Mills' statement as irrelevent. His criticism of the salt tax was a little unjust, because the tax was now back at the former figure. The Government and the House had every sympathy with the motives of the resolution, expressing the universal desire of the House for an improvement of industrial conditions in India and showing a new interest in the very intricate problems of Indian representation.

He pointed out that industry was now a transferred subject, so the Secretary of State had not received reports with regard to the Factory Act, labour disputes and the welfare of labourers, and could not give effectual instructions in the matter. He emphasised that industry played a comparatively unimportant part in life in India at present, only two per 1000 of the population being engaged in mining. The proverty of the workers in India was amazing, but the potentialities of India seemed incalculable. The average wealth of population of India per head was about Rs. 180, compared with Rs. 4,400 in Canada and Rs. 6,000 in Great Britain whilst the annual income per head in India was Rs. 90, compared with Rs. 550 in Canada and Rs. 750 in Great Britain. There was a great lack of capital in India and the standard of living there could not be greatly improved until the amount of capital available was greatly increased. (Opposition cheers.) That was one of the serious questions which must be tackled almost immediately. The standard of living in rural India was so low that people were driven, almost against their will, into factories. The result was a tendency to perpetuate low wages. Fourteen million people in India were still engaged in the cottage industries, and their condition was most

parlous. But while the average wage earner in Britain was only ten per cent. better off compared with 1914, the Bombay factory worker was 17 per cent. better, and the earnings of the mines in India had increased threefold in 22 years. Accidents per 1,000 in 1911-12 were 1·46 compared with 1·36 in Britain. Mr. Richards emphasised the whole-heartedness of India's co-operation and work in the International Labour Conference. She had ratified more draft conventions than almost any other country, and introduced new Factory and Mines Acts. She had even exceeded the stipulations of the Hours' Convention by adopting a 54 hour week in the mines, and the minimum age for work there was 15. She was prohibiting the night employment of women in the mines also. (Cheers.)

The conditions of employment in India were generally superior to those in Japan. The Government of India was at present considering a Bill to remove women and children from the mines altogether. (Cheers.) They were also preparing a Bill to protect trade unions. The new Workers' Compensation Act would be introduced on July 1 and the introduction of new conciliation machinery was contemplated.

Referring to the Bombay cotton strike, the Under-Secretary for India said that the arrangements for paying wages seemed, from every point of view, very unsatisfactory. There was no apparent reason why the Bombay millowners should not emulate the Bengal jute mills, where payments were made weekly. If this was done, it would be a great boon to very poor workers who were held up six weeks waiting for their money. With regard to the other part of the resolution he cited a similar resolution of the Indian Trades Union Congress on March 24.

Depressed Classes.

Mr. RICHARDS recalled the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee of the two Houses on this subject, and pointed out that while the Government of India was most anxious that franchise should be extended, there was at the bottom of the question education. The question of franchise must necessarily arise in connection with any steps that might in due course be taken to revise the form of the constitution and the powers of the provincial Governments, and such questions might naturally be expected to arise out of the enquiry initiated by the Viceroy into the working of the 1919 Act, the report of which might be expected shortly.

Lord WINTERTON declared that the present condition was primarily due to the great lack of capital on hand. They all agreed that much remained to be done to raise the status of the ordinary peasant and the labourer; but the real hindrance to the improvement of the masses was the system which produced 50,000,000 of people belonging to the outcast and depressed classes. He stated that the extremist opinion, so far as it was vocal, belonged to a small and narrow oligarchy, mainly composed of journalists and lawyers. He had always contemplated an advance toward dominion self-government, but no Government, whether Liberal, Labour or Conservative, would ever succeed in carrying it through that House unless the rights of the depressed and outcaste classes were guaranteed.

The motion was talked out.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—19 MAY, 1924.

Cawnpore Sedition Case.

On the 19TH MAY the Cawnpore sedition case was the first question that stood in the name of Earl Winterton. It was exactly the same question that he asked on the 12th, but presumably he repeated it because he had not been able to get an oral answer before. Mr. Richards gave exactly the same reply. Colonel Howard Bury asked a supplementary question and referred to the subscription list for the defence of "these revolutionaries" being in the name of Mr. George Lansbury. Mr. Lansbury immediately pointed out that every prisoner is entitled to be regarded as innocent until he is proved guilty, and that it was a gross abuse of the privileges of the House to interfere in this way before the result of the trial was known. Sir Charles Yate asked if there was any evidence to show that "this conspiracy" had been engineered from England to which the Under-Secretary of State for India replied that there was

no such evidence. Lord Winterton asked him if he would consider publishing a White Paper giving the facts about this "very remarkable case." Mr. Richards promised to bring the suggestion before the Secretary of State. Mr. Lansbury asked him to consider the publication of the whole of the evidence, which Mr. Richards promised to do.

INDIAN TARIFF COMMITTEE.

In reply to a further question by Lord Winterton Mr. Richards said that the Bill for giving effect to the recommendations of this Committee would be introduced into the Legislative Assembly about the end of May. In reply to Mr. Wignall, who pointed out that this tariff would have a serious effect on the trade of that country, the Under-Secretary of State reminded him that where the Legislative Assembly and the Government of India had agreed on questions affecting the Tariff, the Secretary of State made it a practice not to interfere.

BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA.

Mr. BECKER asked if the Under-Secretary of State had any information to give to the House as to the continuance or otherwise of Russian Bolshevik propaganda in India. The Under-Secretary had no evidence whatever to produce. Mr. Will Thorne pointed out that a tremendous amount of money was being used by the Party to which Mr. Becker belonged in trying to "down" the principles of Socialism in England, but although his remarks were put in the form of a question, it brought forth no reply from the Treasury Bench.

CAWNPUR RIOT.

Sir Charles YATE again returned to the question of attacks on officials by extremist journals and non-official manifestoes. The Under-Secretary of State refused to take any action in the matter, as there was sufficient power in India for dealing with it and he saw no reason to suppose that the authorities immediately concerned neglected their duty. Sir Charles Yate asked Mr. Richards to give any instances where action had been taken, but his question was ignored.

LEE COMMISSION REPORT.

Mr. Walter BAKER and Mr. J. E. MILLS both had questions down on the Order Paper asking that the Report of the Lee Commission should be published simultaneously in India and England and that no orders thereon should be passed until the Report had been discussed in the Indian Legislative Assembly, to which Mr. Richards replied, agreeing to both points.

ALIPORE CONSPIRACY.

Mr. J. E. MILLS had a long question on the Paper pointing to the fact that seven young Bengalis were arrested between the 4th and 14th August, 1923, and put on trial on criminal charges involving capital punishment and that after they had been acquitted and had been set at liberty as not guilty, four of them were arrested under Bengal Regulation III of 1818. The Under-Secretary of State was aware there was a good deal of feeling in the House on this matter and on the method of working this Regulation, and replied that he was in touch with the Government of India and expected more complete information by an early mail.

Captain BERKELEY, in a supplementary question, asked if the Government acquiesced in the application of a Regulation more than 100 years old in order to deprive British subjects of their immemorial rights of a fair and speedy trial, but Mr. Richards refused to commit himself to any further statement.

GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

In reply of Sir Charles YATE, the Under-Secretary of State said that he had seen a paragraph in an Indian newspaper about a meeting held in Calcutta, at which a Bengali Lawyer had presided, where resolutions were passed declaring that the inhabitants of South Calcutta condemned the action of His Excellency the Governor and demanded his recall for various unconstitutional acts. Mr. Richards stated that so far as he was aware no action had been taken in the matter.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—26 MAY, 1924.

On MAY 26th quite a large number of questions were asked which occupy 15 columns of Hansard Official report. Of these the major portion dealt with Indian Currency.

ON INDIAN CURRENCY.

Mr. SCURR asked the Under-Secretary of State for India what steps the Government propose to take to meet the demand of the people of India to transfer the funds standing to the credit of the gold standard reserve in London to India?

Mr. RICHARDS: The reserve is at present held in the form of sterling investments which could not suitably be held elsewhere than in the United Kingdom.

Mr. SCURR asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether, seeing that the Indian merchants have demanded that the Indian Currency Act should be amended by substituting the rate of exchange to be 1s. 6d. instead of 2s., what step is it proposed to take in the matter?

Mr. RICHARDS: I assume my hon. Friend is referring to the views of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, advocating the restoration of the lower rating of the rupee at 1s. 4d. gold. The Government of India have explained at length in a letter dated the 25th January to the chamber their reason for holding that in the existing uncertainty of world economic conditions it would be inexpedient to make any immediate attempt to fix the future gold value of the rupee. My Noble Friend concurs in this view.

Mr. A. M. SAMUEL: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the Indian Government failed to maintain the rupee at 2s., and, that being so, would he ask the hon. Gentleman who put the question, how he would propose to maintain the rupee at 1s. 6d., seeing that the natural balance of trade even now only maintains the rupee at 1s. 4⅛d.?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not for the Minister to question an hon. Member.

Lieut.-Colonel MEYLER asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that opinion in India favours the establishment of a gold standard and the opening of the Mint for providing gold coinage; and whether he will state the intentions of the Government in regard to these matters?

Mr. RICHARDS: While the effective restoration of the gold standard is the objective of Government policy, economic conditions throughout the world have not yet reached a degree of normality which would justify at present an attempt to stabilise the gold value of the rupee. In present circumstances, owing to the existing premium on gold in India, the question of the internal circulation of gold currency does not arise.

Mr. A. M. SAMUEL: Is it not a fact that gold has been pouring into India for tens of centuries, and that it is always made into ornaments, and disappears from circulation? Is he aware that a drain of gold to India would injure our own gold reserves, sinking into the quicksands of India without going into circulation as currency? What then would be the use of coining gold?

Lieut.-Colonel MEYLER asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau of Bombay suggested to the Government that at least 17 crores of rupees worth of currency notes should be issued as emergency currency notes to meet the seasonal demands at 5 per cent., 5½ per cent., and 6 per cent. instead of 12 crores of rupees only at 6 per cent., 7 per cent., and 8 per cent.; why that suggestion was not adopted; and what are the intentions of the Government for the future?

Mr. T. WILLIAMS asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether it is proposed to take any steps, and if so, what steps will be taken, to prevent a recurrence of a great stringency in the money market in India leading to a rise in the bank rate of interest from 4 per cent. to 9 per cent., and to a consequent fall in the trade and industries of that country?

Mr. RICHARDS: I am aware that in April, 1923, when the note circulation was about 170 crores of rupees, the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, suggested that additional currency should be issuable up to 10 per cent. of the note issue at rates varying from 6 to 7 per cent. The actual decision embodied in the Paper Currency Amendment Act and rules thereunder were taken after careful consideration of the views of various representative bodies in India.

In addition to expanding the currency up to 12 crores of rupees against commercial bills, a further expansion of 12 crores was effected this busy season against sterling securities in London, making a total expansion of 24 crores this winter. The important problem referred to in these questions is being carefully watched by the Government of India.

RAILWAYS (STATE MANAGEMENT.)

Mr. SCURR asked the Under-Secretary of State for India, what action if any, has been taken to give effect to the decision of the Government of India on the resolution passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly for taking over, under State management, the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsular Railways from their respective companies on the expiry of their present terms of lease?

Mr. RICHARDS: I am glad to refer my hon. Friend to the answer which I gave to the hon. and gallant Member for the Melton Division (Sir C. Yate) on the 10th March last.

MILITARY SCHOOLS.

Mr. MONTAGUE asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to the resolution passed at the Maratha Educational Conference, held at Morsi, in the Berars, on the 21st April calling upon the Government to establish military schools for the education of fighting races with accommodation for Maratha youths, etc.; and whether he will consider the advisability of urging the Government of India to take action on the lines proposed?

Mr. RICHARDS: On the information as yet available, my Noble Friend is unable to form any opinion on the proposal.

ARMY (INDIANISATION).

Mr. R. JACKSON asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether it is proposed to reconsider the question of the Indianisation of the superior ranks of the Indian Army?

Mr. T. WILLIAMS asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether it is proposed to reconsider the question of the Indianisation of the superior ranks of the Army?

Mr. RICHARDS: The process of Indianisation of the superior ranks of the Indian Army which was recently inaugurated is not yet sufficiently advanced to make it necessary to consider what form the later stages are likely to take.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT (COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY).

Lieut.-Colonel MEYLER asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the Committee appointed by the Government of India to go into the question of the working of the reforms has yet reported; and, if so, whether a copy of the Report will be laid upon the table of the House?

Mr. RICHARDS: My Noble Friend understands that the Committee of Inquiry which has been appointed by the Government of India has completed the preliminary stages of the work, that is to say, the investigation of the legal and constitutional practicability of action under the Government of India Act, and that the Government are now in a position to proceed to the next stage, namely, to consider what recommendations, if any, can be made for action within these lines. My Noble Friend has not received the Report of the conclusions arrived at in this preliminary stage, which must be of a purely formal character, nor would he consider it useful to lay a copy of it upon the Table of the House. The House will be fully informed in due course of any material results of the inquiry that may affect considerations of policy.

Earl WINTERTON: Do I understand that it is the intention of the Government to provide the House with the Report at the earliest convenience at some later date, and is it their intention to give a copy of this Report to the Standing Joint Committee?

Mr. RICHARDS: The question refers to the inquiries that have been already completed and the answer to that is there would be no useful purpose in laying a copy of the Report upon the Table.

Sir HENRY CRAIK: Is it not the case that one of the functions of the Standing Joint Committee is to consider and report on any proposed changes?

Earl WINTERTON: How are we to understand the further Report which is going to be published unless we see this Report, on which the further Report is to be founded?

Mr. RICHARDS: I think the Noble Lord had better wait until he sees the Report.

Earl WINTERTON ("by Private Notice") asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the fact that the published forms of reference of the Committee set up by the Government of India to inquire into the working of the Government of India Act includes the power to recommend amendments to that Act in order to rectify administrative imperfections, he can state if the Committee will report to the Viceroy or the Secretary of State, and whether there is any precedent for entrusting to an official Committee, which has on it no Member of this House or another place, the duty of suggesting alterations in an Act of Parliament.

Mr. RICHARDS: The answer to the first part of the Noble Lord's question is that the Committee will report to the Government of India, by whom it will be appointed. As regards the second part, the terms of reference to this Committee were closely foreshadowed in the speeches of Sir Malcolm Hailey in the Legislative Assembly on the 8th and 18th February, the relevant extracts from which were circulated in the Official Report of this House of 3rd March. It was then indicated as possible that the proposed inquiry might show "that some changes are required in the structure of the Act in order to rectify definite and ascertained defects experienced in actual working," as distinct from changes involving amendment of the Constitution. I have had no time to search for actual precedents, but I have little doubt that alterations in Acts of Parliament have frequently been, and will frequently be, suggested by Committees containing no Member of either House of Parliament.

Earl WINTERTON: Am I to understand the hon. Gentleman to say that the constitution of the Committee was foreshadowed in the speech which he made in this House in March?

Mr. RICHARDS: No, I said the terms of reference.

Lieut.-Colonel HOWARD BURY: Are not the terms of reference somewhat wider than the hon. Member foreshadowed in his former speech?

Sir H. CRAIK: Can the hon. Gentleman say when this report will be submitted to the Joint Committee, which was established for the purpose of considering such questions?

Mr. RICHARDS: I think we had better wait for the report.

Earl WINTERTON: I beg to give Notice that I will raise this question on the Adjournment. (See p. 776).

NORTH WEST FRONTIER.

Mr. LINFIALD asked the Under-Secretary of State for India what action, if any, the Government proposes to take on the Report of the North-West Frontier Committee; and whether this Report was received from the Government of India in 1922?

Mr. RICHARDS: My Noble Friend is awaiting the proposals of the Government of India on this matter, and I am, therefore, not in a position to answer the first part of the question. The Report was first received here in December, 1922.

TAXATION (COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY).

Mr. LINFIELD asked the Under-Secretary of State for India what action has been taken by the Government of India for the appointment of the proposed Committee of Inquiry on Central and Provincial Taxation; who are the Members of that Committee; and what are the Terms of Reference?

Mr. RICHARDS: The intention of the Government of India is to constitute the Committee in the autumn. It will be constituted as follows:

Chairman:
SIR CHARLES TODHUNTER, I.C.S.

Members:
SIR PERCY THOMPSON, MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN AND DR. R. P. PARANJPYE.

The Terms of Reference are as follow:

(1) To examine the manner in which the burden of taxation is distributed at present between the different classes of the population.

(2) To consider whether the whole scheme of taxation—central, provincial and local—is equitable and in accordance with economic principles and, if not, in what respects it is defective.

(3) To report on the sutability of alternative sources of taxation.

(4) To advise as to the machinery required for the imposition, assessment and collection of taxes, old and new.

(5) To prepare rough estimates of the financial effects of the proposals.

(6) To include in the inquiry consideration of the land revenue only so far as is necessary for a comprehensive survey of existing conditions.

FOREST SERVICE (PREVENTIONS.)

Mr. RAWLINSON asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether any and what new arrangements have been made, or are proposed, for the selection of probationers for the Indian forest service; and whether graduates of any university will still continue to be eligible for selection without further conditions being imposed;

(2) whether any new arrangements have been made, or are proposed for the training of probationers for the Indian forest service; whether such probationers will still continue to be able to be trained at any university having a forestry department, or whether they will be compelled to be trained at Oxford; and, if so, whether an opportunity of discussing the question in the House will be given before any such regulation comes into force?

Mr. RICHARDS: The question of the training of forest probationers has been under consideration for some time, but this is closely connected with the question of the future of the service. Recommendations on this subject have been made by the Royal Commission, presided over by Lord Lee, whose report will be published to-morrow. Until these recommendations have been considered by the Government of India, my Noble Friend is unable to make any statement.

Mr. RAWLINSON: Up to the present has any alteration been made in the existing state of affairs, first as regards selected candidates and, secondly, as regards their training because large sums of money appear to have been spent upon them.

Mr. RICHARDS: No.

Sir H. CRAIK: Has any Regulation been made confining the training of these candidates to the University of Oxford to the exclusion of other Universities.

Mr. RICHARDS: I am not aware of it.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—2ND JUNE, 1924.

PROPORTIONATE PENSIONS.

Mr. WARDLAW MILNE asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he can give the House the latest figures of resignations under the system of proportionate pension in the senior Civil Services in India?

Mr. RICHARDS: I will circulate in the Official Report the figures asked for in the question.

Following are the figures:

The number of retirements from the various services sanctioned up to date under the premature retirement rules is as follows:

Indian Civil Service	87
Indian Police Service	98
Indian Educational Service	36
Indian Service of Engineers	59
Indian Forest Service	24
Indian Agricultural Service	12
Veterinary Service	5
Total ...	321

A large proportion of these officers is still on leave pending retirement.

MILITARY OPERATIONS (PAYMENTS).

Mr. AYLES asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether any interest has been paid to India on the sum of about £7,000,000 advanced by the Government of India from time to time for military operations in Iraq during the years 1918 to 1921; and whether the consent of Parliament was obtained for this utilisation of Indian money for military operations outside India?

Mr. RICHARDS: The answer is in the negative. The sums to which I gather my hon. Friend refers do not, my noble Friend is advised, come within the provisions of Section 22 of the Government of India Act. They represented, in the main, account balances in respect of money order transactions, for the greater part relating to the year 1920-1921. Repayment was made in the course of 1921-1922. It would have been contrary to practice prevailing between the India Office and other Departments of State to claim interest on the moneys, and the facts of the case were not held to justify departure from the normal notice which is of course reciprocal.

Mr. BROAD asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the fact that a sum of £200,000 was paid out of Indian revenues to the War Office in 1919 as a contribution towards military operations beyond the frontiers of India, he would state whether the sanction of this Parliament was obtained for this payment?

Mr. RICHARDS: This payment was in respect of an exchange concession in connection with certain sterling war gratuities which were converted into rupees at the rate of 1s. 4d. to the rupee, instead or 1s. 8d., this rate being current at the time of issue August, 1918. The question of the incidence of cost of this concession was submitted to the arbitration of an hon. Member of this House, who decided that the whole cost should be borne by India. The question whether the payment will require the sanction of Parliament is under consideration along with other matters under discussion between the Government of India and the Imperial Government.

Mr. HOFFMAN asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether, seeing that £13,000,000 were paid out of the Indian revenues to the War Office in 1919 as a contribution towards military operations beyond the frontiers of India and that it is laid down in Section 22 of the Government of India Act that the consent of both the Houses of Parliament must be taken for the employment of the Indian Army beyond the Indian frontiers, he will say whether such consent was asked and obtained?

Mr. RICHARDS: His Majesty's Government were informed that the payment in question was provisional and subject to the ultimate approval of Parliament. Various questions affecting the substance and form of the Resolution which would be required have been under discussion between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government and have delayed its submission. In the meantime the payment, as I have said, is provisional and subject to such adjustment as may be found necessary.

ARMY CONTROL.

Mr. MILLS asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that the Esher Committee on the Indian Army recommend that the Army in India should be entirely under the control, real as as well as nominal, of the Government of India, and should be free from any domination or interference by the War Office on matters of military policy, organisation, or administration, and that such co-ordination as may be desirable between the military policies or organisations of different parts of the Empire should be secured by discussion and agreement at conferences at which India is adequately represented; and whether this recommendation has been accepted and acted on by His Majesty's Government?

Mr. RICHARDS: His Majesty's Government, realising the importance of maintaining the responsibility and control of the Government of India, have decided that the Government of India must be responsible for all questions of military policy, organisation and administration of the Army in India, subject to the control of the Secretary of State for India, as provided for in the Government of India Act. On all discussions on questions of military policy and organisation India is adequately represented.

The Satyamurti—Olivier Correspondence.

HOUSE OF LORDS—JUNE 3RD., 1924.

In the House of Lords on June 3rd Viscount PEEL had the following notice on the Paper:—

"To call the attention of His Majesty's Government to the letter written by the Secretary of State for India to Mr. Satyamurti, member of the Madras Legislative Council, and particularly to the statement contained in that letter that the maintenance of the communal system is antagonistic to the possibility of any proper working of democratic institutions in India; and to move for Papers."

The NOBLE VISCOUNT said: My Lords, I desire to call the attention of your Lordships, and of His Majesty's Government, to a letter written by the Secretary of State for India to Mr. Satyamurti, and I think I ought to read the letter, which is quite short, before I comment upon it. It runs thus:

"I have been glad to receive your letter, and am strongly disposed to share your confidence that closer contact with the Swaraj Party is very desirable. I am interested to receive your observations on the working of the diarchy in Madras, and your project for forming a non-communal Party. I rather gather from the debates in the Council that this was already the platform the Swarajists desired. It certainly seems to me that the maintenance of the communal system is antagonistic to the possibility of any proper working of democratic institutions in India."

I do not know why Mr. Satyamurti was selected by the Secretary of State as the recipient of this important missive. As far as I have been able to discover the past and the political predilections of this gentleman, he is member of the Legislative Council of Madras, he is well-known as a non-co-operator and as a strong supporter of the Swaraj movement.

I may say at once that this letter which was addressed by the Secretary of State was not authorised by him to be published, and that, I think, is one of the unfortunate aspects of this incident; because when a private letter is published it gives people the impression that you are really getting at the inner mind of the individual who has so published it. When we express ourselves in public documents or in Despatches, we naturally make use of that dignified solemnity and occasional obscurity of language which is sometimes necessary in that class of communication. But in private letters we express ourselves with the directness and familiarity which is permitted in those documents. Although this letter, I agree, ought not to have been published, we have to deal with the facts of the case as they are and the effects which that letter may have had.

It is common knowledge that this question of communal representation—that is to say, of representation by religious communities—is, and has long been, a very burning and controversial one in India. It is well known that the abolition of this communal system is the aspiration of a large body of Hindu politicians, for the very simple reason that, if that were done, they would get far larger representation in the Assembly and in the Councils, and would have far more political control. I do not know whether this consideration appealed to the mind of the Secretary of State when he addressed the letter to this gentleman. What did he suppose? Did he suppose that this gentleman was going to go about for the rest of his life, all on fire with information which he is bound to suppress, and burdened with a secret which, if delivered to the public, must, of course give him a natural precedence among his political fellows? The Secretary of State has had a long career. He has had great experience in the Civil Service. He has been a Colonial Governor, and, I believe, head of another great political Department, and I think it argues very well for that simplicity of mind which he has been able to maintain through all the changes of political and official life that he still, no doubt, considered that a politician would not do violence to his own intimate feelings, and consider that in the public interest he must publish a matter of public import.

POSITION OF THE VICEROY.

I wish to examine this matter from one or two different aspects. What, I ask is, and what must be, the position of the Viceroy and his Government

in face of communications of this kind? Constantly communications, public and private, important and intimate, are passing between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, and it is of the highest importance for the good government of India that there should be complete and absolute confidence existing between those two great officials. What must be the opinion or the feelings of a Viceroy—and his position is difficult enough in all conscience in these days—when he does not know, or may feel that he cannot know from moment to moment, what other communications on important subjects are passing, not through the recognised channels of correspondence but through politicians—not even officials—selected at will, I suppose, from prominent Swarajists or non-co-operators in various parts of India? His nervousness is bound to be increased, because, even if these declarations or letters are upon same subjects as those which have been dealt with in correspondence between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, you may have different versions differently expressed of the same policy, and these versions, I can assure your Lordships, are carefully compared, collated, and contrasted by some of the most ingenious minds that you have in the world, by lawyers of great acuteness, by persons who may be said to be the lineal descendants of the old commentators on the Upanishads. They are most skilled in all the intricacies of language, and the danger of communications of this kind is that different inferences will be drawn by these gentlemen as to the policies guiding the minds of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

The remarkable thing is that the Secretary of State himself has drawn attention to the danger of any looseness of language. He commented not long ago in your Lordships' House with great severity upon a statement made by Mr. Lloyd George when he was Prime Minister in a well-known speech known as the "steel frame speech." The intention of that speech was perfectly clear. It was intended to give fresh heart to the Services which were suffering from the situation in which they found themselves, very largely as the result of the new reforms. But he used one loose expression from which at once arose a flood of deduction, of speculation, and of inference, which seemed to suggest that the Prime Minister was going to go back on the declarations of 1917 and the Act of 1919 that the Reforms were to be staved, and that the word of Great Britain was to be imperilled. You may say that these are large buildings to erect either upon a phrase or upon a letter, but that is a characteristic of many of these Indian politicians, and you have to deal with them, indeed, as you find them. And there is no soil in which these seeds of suspicion can grow more rapidly than in the rather heated and inflammable soil of Indian politics.

Perhaps I do some injustice to the noble Lord, because, after all, he is only following the example that has been set him by so many of his colleagues in the Labour Government. It has been one of the marked characteristics of this Government that they seem to have a singular aversion from making their first statement on important subjects within the walls either of another place or of this House. There are many instances in which they have thus spread the light of their countenance, and in which the first beams of some new project has appeared in a newspaper, either in America or elsewhere. Their international sympathies, I suppose, require some degree of international propaganda. Anyhow, it is, I think, the greatest contribution of the Labour Government—their main contribution in fact—towards constitutional innovation.

Now let me ask what is the exact interpretation of the words of the Secretary of State. First of all, I would observe that in the first portion of the letter he was "strongly disposed to share your confidence that closer contact with the Swaraj Party is very desirable." On that I have only to make one observation—that if it is thought wise that there should be any rapprochement in this connection with the leaders of any Party in India it is far better left to the Viceroy and to his advisers there. After all, they are on the spot and they know the whole situation in a way that the Secretary of State cannot know it. Moreover, they know the individuals there who are to be trusted and who are not to be trusted.

THE COMMUNAL QUESTION.

The latter part of the statement to which I attach more importance—that as to the communal system—is, I think, capable of more than one interpretation. It may, for instance, suggest that communal representation is necessary; that this is incompatible with democratic government, and that until the

deep-seated and deep-rooted differences on which communal representation is founded are reconciled, the democratic aspirations of Indian politicians must remain unsatisfied. If it mean that, it is apparently a mild, philosophic rebuke administered by the Secretary of State to Mr. Satyamurti. But after carefully investigating the evidence, I cannot help coming to the conclusion that this is not the right gloss or interpretation to be placed upon this particular document. You have to regard the general views and sympathies of the Party with which the noble Lord is associated, and looking at those associations and sympathies, I think the simplest interpretation is that communal representation is an obstacle to self-government, and that it ought, therefore, to be removed. I remember examining at the General Election many of the Labour declarations and Election addresses with a view to deciding what their policy was. They were certainly based upon the most colossal ignorance of the situation, and their ignorance was only equalled by their colossal self-confidence. But they were all in the same direction—a general feeling that immediate self-government should be granted to India. Therefore, that inclines me to this latter interpretation.

Let me say this only about their speeches. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the other day how valuable a thing it would be if all their pre-Election speeches were to be burned. I am certainly inclined to echo that sentiment. Unfortunately, whatever you may do in this country, there can be no purification by fire of this kind in India. These observations, thrown out casually and carelessly very often, are treasured and made note of in the retentive memory of the Indian politician.

I understand from a letter or statement that I think was published by the noble Lord that he has more than one explanation. It is always useful to have more than one explanation of any particular course one has taken. He says that this is a mere speculation; it is not a declaration of policy. I submit to your Lordships that the mere speculations of the Secretary of State for India ring and reverberate throughout India and that on this matter, though individual Secretaries of State may have their own opinions, if they differ in any sense from the political and public opinions that they are putting forward, for Heaven's sake let them bury them in the remotest safe that they possess in their chambers. Another statement by the noble Lord was that he was only repeating some statement that he had already made to your Lordships on another occasion.

The SECRETARY OF STATE for India (Lord Olivier): What is the noble Viscount quoting from? He referred in the previous sentence to something I said. He is now talking of something else that I said, and I want to know where it comes from.

Viscount PEEL: I was quoting from a statement which was stated to have been received from the noble Lord and published in the "Daily Telegraph."

Lord OLIVIER: I cannot imagine what the noble Lord is referring to. If he will tell me I shall be very glad.

Viscount PEEL: I will read the exact statement. It was a statement published, I think, in the "Daily Telegraph," and it learns—

Lord OLIVIER: Will the noble Viscount read precisely what it is he is quoting? Will he read the whole statement? I do not know what he is referring to.

Viscount PEEL: I am referring, first of all, to the defences that may be put forward by the noble Lord.

Lord OLIVIER: To the defences that may be put forward?

Viscount PEEL: Yes.

Lord OLIVIER: I am obliged to the noble Viscount.

Viscount PEEL: I referred, of course, to a statement that was published in the "Daily Telegraph," which I presume—if I am wrong, of course, I withdraw it—was issued by the noble Lord, and in any case it is said to be same as the statement already made in your Lordships' House.

Lord OLIVIER: That is a statement which appears, I believe, as "learned" by Reuter.

Viscount PEEL: If the noble Lord has nothing to do with it I will not put it forward as his own.

Lord OLIVIER: I have nothing to do with that statement.

Viscount PEEL: Then may I put it in this way—that it is possible that the noble Lord may contend that this statement has already been made or

words very similar to it uttered in your Lordships' House? If put it in that form, and the noble Lord does not object to that statement?

Lord OLIVIER: To what statement?

Viscount PEEL: To the statement I have just made. I say that it is quite possible that the noble Lord may contend that the statement contained in the letter has been already made in the same or in another form before your Lordships' House.

Lord OLIVIER: I take no objection to that—no.

Viscount PEEL: The noble Lord takes no objection to that, and I am much obliged to the noble Lord, because I have examined rather carefully and read through the very long statement he made in your Lordships' House in February last, and I cannot see there any statement similar to the one that is contained in this letter. There is, I agree, a statement with reference to affairs in Kenya, but that, of course, is a very different business from India. There is also a general statement about the representation of common interests—

"unless a Parliamentary system is welded together by predominant common interests from its foundation in the electorate upwards no theoretical constitution that may be arrived at by a concordat among leaders of divergent interests can prevent it from flying asunder."

That is the only passage that I can recall which has any likeness to the passage in the present letter. As your lordships know the term "communal representation" is a very special term of art meaning a specific thing, and I do not think that any one reading the speech of the noble Lord could have supposed from his observations about common interests that he was really referring to the substitution of a common electoral roll for the communal representation now obtaining in India.

Possible Indian Suspicions.

However that may be, I attach no very great importance to that point for this reason that it all depends, of course, on the circumstances under which the statement is made, on the importance that is given to that statement, and the surrounding conditions and feelings under which the statement is made. At the present moment, as your Lordships know, an investigation is going on into the defects in the working of the Act of 1919. A Committee has been investigating that matter. I understand that a further Committee with unofficial members is also going to deal with these defects. I do not think that the reference to the Committee which the noble Lord was kind enough to send me would admit of their dealing with this great subject of communal interests, but I suggest that people do not read very carefully terms of references to Committees, and it is very unfortunate that a reference should be made to the mind of the Secretary of State on so important a matter as communal representation just at the moment when an investigation is being conducted into the working of the Constitution; for a suspicion may arise that this, among other subjects, is going to be considered by that particular Committee.

Let me address myself to the real gravity of spreading through India a statement of this kind in the present situation. It suggests, as I have said, that the Secretary of State is in favour of the abolition of communal representation—a great and an immense boon from the political point of view to the Hindu politician, but a great risk and danger to the vast Moslem community, the Sikh community, and the other smaller communities which have separate representation, a representation which they would not be entitled to if merely heads were counted.

This is a very old subject, as the Secretary of State knows. I was looking at the Report signed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford on the Indian Constitutional Reforms. They have a paragraph dealing with this case. They express, first of all, as strongly as a Secretary of State can, that communal electorates may be a serious hindrance to the development of a self-governing system, but, after having expressed that opinion, they go on to say, in the strongest way, that they are in favour of communal representation, especially as regards the Moslems. They say that the Mahomedans were given special representation with separate electorates in 1909, and that the Mahomedan regards these reforms as settled facts, and that any attempt to go back on them would raise a storm of bitter protest and put a severe strain on the loyalty of an India which has behaved with conspicuous loyalty during a period of very great difficulty. The Mahomedans, again, regard separate representation

and communal electorates as their own adequate safeguards. It is plain from this, and it is plain from other events, that the Moslems have a very strong feeling on this question of communal electorates.

Whatever their feeling may be—whether for Home Rule for themselves, or whether they would prefer to be under the Government of this country—there is no question that there is one form of Swaraj they do not want, and that is a Hindu Swaraj. Indeed, if Self-Government were granted to-morrow, if the declarations in many of these Election addresses were put into force to-morrow, I think it is probable that the desire and the determination of Moslem India to have separate communal representation would be even stronger than it is to-day. But, after all, this political aspect of it is only another aspect of the feeling which is expressed in a common speech. Whereas in this country you may ask whether a man is a Frenchman or an Englishman, in the East you are more inclined to ask is he a Moslem, is he a Hindu, or is he a Sikh.

There may be objections from the abstract political point of view to these communal electorates. There is, at the present moment, a very considerable reaction in many quarters in India against the impact of Western ideas. I think it would be very unfortunate if we strengthened the forces of that reaction by trying to force upon those communities one form of our Western institutions which is not justified by the conditions of the day, and by the political situation. It is very unfortunate, especially at this time and in view of recent history, that there should be any risk of stirring up again Moslem feeling in that country. We know what disturbances were caused by the feeling respecting the tight bonds in which Turkey was tied by the Treaty of Sevres, but as regards the Treaty of Lausanne which, as your Lordships know, in some quarters of this country met with criticism, there can be no doubt that so far as Indian feeling is concerned the settlement under that Treaty of Lausanne was wholly beneficent. It is very unfortunate when, after that settlement, Moslem feeling is quietening down that it should be stirred up again, and I am afraid, from certain evidence we have seen in the papers, it is being stirred again by the suspicion or the fear that there may be some desire in the mind of the Secretary of State—some sympathy in the mind of the Secretary of State—to go back on that settlement which was reached after so much discussion and examination.

I do not want to go over the whole field of Indian politics, but I should like to add that the same applies in the case of the Sikhs. We know very well that there has been a great disturbance, especially in the Punjab, mainly owing to the Akali movement which, starting as a religious movement, was seized upon by the politicians, and became a very large political movement. It has caused trouble to the successive Governors in the Punjab, but that feeling is quietening down and it would be a thousand pities if a fear that they would be swamped electorally by the surrounding population were to be aroused among the Sikhs by the publication of this letter.

I am going to ask one thing of the Secretary of State. I am going to ask him if he will be good enough—and I hope that he will do it—to state definitely in this House that whatever may have been the statements of the letter, whatever may have been his abstract view as to the relation of the communal system in the electorates to democratic government, yet that he has himself not the slightest intention—that it is far from his thought—of making any disturbance, or of altering in any way the settlement that was then arrived at. Therefore I urge upon him to quench the fire he has kindled before, by the breath of rumour and suspicion, it grows into a mightier conflagration. I beg to move.—

[*Then follows the Motion on the Paper as given before.*]

Lord Olivier's Reply.

Lord OLIVIER:—My Lords, I have been wondering for about a week what it was that we were to hear from the noble Viscount this evening, how, upon such an extraordinarily trivial and flimsy foundation as there has been for this Motion, he could venture to make a speech in your Lordship's House which would necessarily impose upon me the duty and necessity of making you a rather long and serious reply upon a subject totally unworthy of so much attention. The noble Viscount has moved for Papers. I do not know quite what Papers he wants, but I will give him all the Papers that I have in this matter—that is to say, I will give him the history of the whole of this correspondence.

MR. SATYAMURTI.

There is a gentleman in the Madras Council named Mr. Satyamurti. He is a member of the Swaraj Party. The Swaraj Party means the self-government Party, and it is the most advanced section of the reform movement in India, which is distributed into sections known as the Swarajists, the Independents, the Liberals and the Moderates, all of them aiming at self-government for India, but desiring to pursue a somewhat different phase of acceleration towards its attainment. Mr. Satyamurti had an interview with Mr. Montagu when he was in Office, and consequently I imagine him to be a person of some consideration and, at any rate, of reasonable address. Mr. Ben Spoor, now the Chief Whip of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, was in India some years ago and he formed the acquaintance of Mr. Satyamurti. When the Labour Government came into Office in January last Mr. Satyamurti forthwith addressed a friendly letter to Mr. Ben Spoor expressing his views on certain questions. Mr. Ben Spoor wrote back to Mr. Satyamurti and suggested that anything he wished to say about Indian matters should be addressed to myself.

MR. SATYAMURTI'S LETTER TO LORD OLIVIER.

I then received from Mr. Satyamurti this letter which I will read:—

"Dear Lord Olivier,

"You will kindly excuse the liberty I take in writing to you without having the privilege of your acquaintance. My friend Mr. Ben Spoor has suggested my writing to you, and I am doing so. I may say at once that I quite recognise the limitations of your Party, in office and not in power. I may add that I am a Swarajist and I believe fully in our programme, but I want to assure you that we are not political ogres and that we are only waiting for a right gesture on your part. Summon a round-table conference and you will find our leaders reasonable, practical and willing to recognise real Imperial obligations. Naturally, I am particularly interested in Madras. Diarchy has worked havoc here. A purely communal Party, with no political faith or programme, has been put in power and Madras promises to become the Ulster of India. We are just now forming a non-communal Party in the local Council. It is up to Lord Goschen to help us to the extent he can. I shall be glad to see him and put my point of view before him if he sends for me. I shall be glad to write to you in more detail on hearing from you."

I replied to that letter. I did not mark my letter 'private.'

Some comment has been made by the noble Viscount as if it was an improper thing on the part of my correspondent to publish that letter. I did not write with the idea or the desire that he should publish it; but when I am writing a letter of an intimate character which I do not want on any account to be published, I mark it private. All my life I have made this my rule in ordinary circumstance, that if any person of any political Party whatever, however distant from my own views, whatever reputation he may enjoy among any other Party, writes to me a civil letter expressing certain views, then he will receive from me a civil and frank answer to the best of my ability.

And the answer I gave to this gentleman was a civil and frank answer, and in my opinion a perfectly discreet answer. I will read it to you again:—

"I have been glad to receive your letter."—

May I have the noble Viscount's attention, and I hope I shall not be interrupted. The noble Viscount said that this letter will be studied by pundits who are careful interpreters of language. I am glad to think that is so. I wrote as follows:—

"I have been glad to receive your letter of the 3rd instant, and am strongly disposed to share your confidence that a closer contact with the Swaraj party is very desirable."

That was an echo of a statement I made in this House with the authority and consent of His Majesty's Government. Consequently it was not a new pronouncement on my part, but it expressed my sincere feeling and desire.

Let me read the passage to which I refer and as anticipating that communication:

"His Majesty's Government have been impressed by two characteristics in the atmosphere of Indian politics. The first is the intense and, as they are convinced, the grievously mistaken mistrust and the determination of uncompromising intransigence indicated in the election manifesto of the Swaraj

party last autumn and also the dissatisfaction expressed by more moderate advocates of self-government. Secondly, and more recently, an appreciable modification of that hostile and intransigent attitude has been indicated."—

And I may say that Mr. Satyamurti's letter is a very good example of it—

"not only in the recent proceedings in the Legislative Assembly, but in many communications and expressions of opinion which have reached His Majesty's Government both through official and unofficial channels"—

I had not at that time received Mr. Satyamurti's letter—

"from persons representing weighty and influential opinion who are anxious that by some manner of conference a way forward may be found out of the present difficulties.

"His Majesty's Government . . . . . are earnestly desirous of availing themselves in whatever may be found the best possible method of this manifest disposition towards effectual consultation. Various modes of making this approach have been unofficially suggested. The Legislative Assembly have proposed a round-table conference. The Indian National Conference is proposing to send a deputation over, and representatives of Indian interest in this country have suggested a Mission to India. His Majesty's Government, while they are open to consider any practical proposals, are not yet satisfied as to what may be the best means for establishing that closer contact and better understanding that is so manifestly desirable. Some means of arriving at that closer contact must, they are convinced, be sought, and they hope, after due consultation with the Government of India, to be able with the least avoidable delay to decide upon the means they will desire to adopt."

I am repeating that statement because it is precisely the temper in which I wrote and phrased my answer to Mr. Satyamurti.

No one in this House will deny that better contact and a better understanding, between members of the Swaraj Party and all other progressive Parties in India who are coming over to England, and sending deputations here to the Secretary of State, cannot but work for the good of India and also for the better understanding of the difficulties with which we have to deal. Can any one take the slightest objection to the suggestion of that reasonable and very necessary resort? That is the first phrase of my letter. The second one is this:—

"I am interested to receive your observations on the working of Diarchy in Madras and on your project of forming a non-communal party."

I do not think that phrase can be held to express any declaration of policy. I say "I am interested." I was.

"I rather gather from reading the debates of the Council that this was already the platform Swarajists desire."

In the Madras Council, owing to the enormous preponderance of non-Brahmins, a wholly non-Brahmin Ministry has been set up, and I noticed a movement in the Madras Council to protest that the interests of minorities were not being properly considered; that is to say, that the communal system, giving an enormous preponderance of non-Brahmin voters in Madras, was, in the opinion of the Swarajists, being somewhat misued.

"Certainly it seems to me that the maintenance of the communal system is antagonistic to the possibility of any proper working of democratic institutions in India."

INNOCENT OPINION.

The word "antagonistic" is a Greek word with which some journalists may not be familiar. To say that in my opinion a certain system is antagonistic to the working of democratic institutions is not, I can assure the noble Viscount, tantamount to saying that I am going to use my powers as Secretary of State immediately to force the Viceroy and the Council, the House of Lords and the House of Commons, to upset the Constitution of India. It expressed an opinion, and that opinion appeared to me to be an exceedingly innocent opinion.

I heard in this House with great pleasure, about two or three months ago, a disquisition by the noble Earl, Lord Balfour, in which he surveyed his views as to how far and in what respect the peculiar characteristics of the Indian nation might make them fit for democratic institutions,

and so far as I myself was concerned, I did make on Feb. 26, the observation which the noble Viscount has quoted regarding the effect of the communal system on the working of democratic institutions. Since the noble Viscount has proposed to raise this question in this House and to challenge me upon it, I have looked up the statements of other authorities upon this subject, other critics of Indian Government and Indian institutions, and I have found as I expected, that they are one and all of exactly the same opinion as myself, including the noble Viscount—I will not quote the noble Viscount—that the working of this system is antagonistic to democratic institutions.

ELECTORAL ARRANGEMENTS.

Before I pass to that point, however, I should like to give your Lordships a sketch of that which is called the communal organisation of politics in India, and I think that when I have given it your Lordships will admit that it is rather in the nature of a crazy quilt, liable to produce nightmare in any of those who have to administer the Constitution under it. The rules made under the Government of India Act prescribe, *inter alia*, "the qualifications of electors, the constitution of constituencies and the method of election for Councils, including the number of members to be elected by communal and other electorates," and "the qualification for being and for being nominated or elected a member of any such Council." The rules framed under these provisions classify electorates as general and special, and the general constituencies are on a territorial basis—that is to say, each covers a defined territorial area consisting, in the case of certain constituencies, of a single town or a group of districts and in a few cases of a whole Province. With the single exception of Burma, general constituencies are communal; that is to say, a given area in a Province forms several constituencies, which consist of the qualified electors of a particular community resident in the area.

Communities for which their own general constituencies thus exist are;—

MAHOMEDANS.—In all provinces; except Burma.
NON-MAHOMEDANS (i.e., in effect, Hindus)—In all provinces, except Burma.
EUROPEANS—In all provinces, except Assam. (In the Punjab and the Central Provinces, by nomination.)
ANGLO-INDIAN (generally people of mixed race).—In Madras, Bengal and Burma (In Bombay, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces, by nomination.)
SIKHS.—In the Punjab.
INDIAN CHRISTIANS.—In Madras. (In Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bihar, by nomination.)

In all these cases the electors must be of the community specified, and members of one community cannot vote in the electorate of any other community. In all cases also the candidate must be of the same community as that of the electorate for which he sits, except in Assam and the United Provinces where this restriction on candidatures does not (in theory) apply. In Burma the bulk of the general constituencies are non-communal, but there are constituencies set apart for Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Karens, and Indians, who, if they live in areas which form these constituencies, can vote only for candidates of their own race.

The special constituencies are of the following kinds, to give special representation to the interests denoted by the names: to landholders, in all Provinces; to Universities—that is the anomaly of which we are still suffering the presence—in all Provinces; to commerce and industry, in all Provinces except Bihar; to planters in Madras, Bihar and Assam; and to mining in Bihar and the Central Provinces. These are instances of the special representation of classes or communities. Besides communal electorates, provision exists in the rules for the special representation of certain classes or communities by nomination, that is by ear-making for them one or more of the seats which the Governor fills by nomination. These are:—(1) Depressed classes—in all provinces but the Punjab and Assam; (2) inhabitants of "backward tracts"—in Madras and Assam; (3) the labouring classes—in Bombay, Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Burma; (4) the cotton trades—in Bombay: (5) Punjabi officers and soldiers—in the Punjab; (6) Aborigines—in Bihar; (7) Bengali domiciled community—in Bihar; (8) industrial interests—in Bihar; (9) Indian commerce—in Burma. It will thus be seen that the special provision by nomination partakes of the character in some cases of general (communal) constituencies and in others

of special constituencies. It is made in cases in which the nature of the interest or community in question is such as to make the provision of electoral facilities difficult or impossible. In Madras and Bombay twenty-eight and six seats respectively in certain plural-member non-Mahomedan constituencies are reserved for non-Brahmins by an arrangement which ensures that, if there is a non-Brahmin candidate for one of these seats, he secures it whatever his position at the poll.

CRUCIAL TEST—THE MONTFORD REPORT.

Those are the electoral arrangements which resulted from the attempt to put into force the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms under the best system possible at the present time. With regard to the statements of my noble friend Lord Chelmsford and of Mr. Montagu, the noble Viscount has given a very garbled extract, that is to say, he took out one particular sentence of what they wrote. I am going to read to your Lordships what is practically the more important part of what they wrote, indicating the place where the reservation which the noble Viscount made comes in. First of all they say, under a heading to the effect that communal electorates are opposed to the teaching of history:—

"The crucial test to which, as we conceive, all proposals should be brought is whether they will or will not help to carry India towards responsible government. . . . . But when we consider what responsible government implies and how it was developed in the world, we cannot take this view. We find it in its earliest beginnings resting on an effective sense of the common interests, a bond compounded of community of race, religion and language."

The able Viscount quoted me as saying—and I am much obliged to him for quoting it, for it will save me the trouble—that one of the great difficulties of establishing democracy in India was that the community was so divided by divergent racial and temperamental interests, and His Majesty's Government did not believe that until those divergent interests and temperaments had been consolidated into a common public purpose you could have stable institutions in India. That he quoted from me, and I am obliged to him for doing so.

The Report continued:—

"In the earlier form which it assumed in Europe it appeared only when the territorial principle had vanquished the tribal principle, and blood and religion had ceased to assert a rival claim with the State to a citizen's allegiance; and throughout its development in Western countries, even in cases where special reasons to the contrary were present, it has rested consistantly on the same root principle. . . . . We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the nations who developed it, and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself.

POLICY OF DIVIDE.

"Indian lovers of their country would be the first to admit that India generally has not yet acquired the citizen spirit and if we are really to lead her to self-government, we must do all that we possibly can to call it forth in her people. Division by creeds and classes means the creating of political camps, organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted.

"There is another important point. A minority which is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security; it is under no inducement to educate and qualify itself to make good the ground which it has lost compared with the stronger majority. On the other hand, the latter will be tempted to feel that they have done all they need do for their weaker fellow countrymen and that they are free to use their power for their own purposes. The give-and-take which is the essence of political life is lacking. There is no in-

ducement to the one side to forbear, or to the other to exert itself. The communal system stereotypes existing relations.

"We regard any system of communal electorates, therefore, as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle. The evils of any extension of the system are plain."

Then the writers of the Report refer to the fact that communal representation had been necessarily granted to the Moslems, and that there was no question of recommending its being withdrawn. They also went on to say that communal representation of the Sikhs was suggested. The Report goes on:—

"At the same time we must face the hard facts. The Mahomedans were given special representation with separate electorates in 1909.....We had been pressed to extend the concession to other communities. Some have based their claim on their backward, others on their advanced, condition. Thus the Sikhs in the Punjab, the non-Brahmins in Madras (although in that Presidency these actually constitute a majority), the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians, the Europeans, and the Lingayat community in Bombay have all asked for communal representation. The large land-owning classes also generally desire representation in an electorate of their own. . . . . Any general extension of the communal systems, however, would only encourage still further demands, and would in our deliberate opinion be fatal to that development of representation upon a national basis in which alone a system of responsible government can possibly be rooted.

SOUTHBOROUGH COMMITTEE REPORT.

A very able and distinguished Committee was appointed on that Report under the Chairmanship of Lord Southborough, to make recommendations with regard to the franchise and electoral districts. They were appointed to advise on arranging a system of representation, and this is what they say:—

"The Joint Report recognises the necessity for the communal representation of Mahomedans in Provinces where they do not form a majority of electors. The evidence received by us and the opinions of local Governments concerned were almost unanimous in favour of this course. In the Punjab, we have recommended a separate electoral roll and separate constituencies for the Sikhs. The other communities for which we recommend separate communal electorates are Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians. . . . . In recommending communal representation for these and other communities, we have done so in the hope that it will be possible at no very distant date to merge all communities into one general electorate."

Those are the recommendations of Lord Southborough's Committee. Not, as the 'Daily Telegraph' puts it, the recommendations of regrettable doctrinaires, but of sober English and Indian opinion, public officials and statesmen of long experience. Their opinion coincides exactly with my own.

Then there is the Government of India's Despatch on the above Report, No. 4, dated April 23, 1919, and it is as follows:—

"In the event, communal electorates are now proposed not only for Moslems everywhere and for Sikhs in the Punjab, but also for Indian Christians in Madras, Anglo-Indians in Madras and Bengal and Europeans in the three Presidencies, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. We feel the objections of principle to the communal system as strongly as the authors of the Reforms Report but see no advantage at this stage in reiterating them. India is not prepared to take the first steps forward towards responsible government upon any other road. The road does not lead directly to that goal, and we can only echo the hope expressed by the Committee that it will be possible at no very distant date to merge all communities in one general electorate."

Then, I will read to your Lordships one or two extracts from speeches in Parliament. In the House of Commons, during the debate in Committee on the Government of India Bill on December 3, 1919, Mr. MONTAGU said:—

"A GREAT MISTAKE."

"Nobody objects more than I do to communal representation. I believe it to be a great mistake, but there is one mistake which would be greater and that is to get Legislative Councils in India that are not properly representative of all classes; and if communal elections are provided for temporarily in order to ensure that, I believe they are well worth having." Then, in the

House of Lords, during the debate on the Second Reading of the Government of India Bill on December 12, 1919, Viscount MIDLETON said:—

"I do not suppose under any circumstances in this country could it occur that we should be placed in the position in which the members of the Committee were placed, of having a remonstrance addressed to us most fervently, and continuously pressed home, that we should carry out the communal system of representation, described by Lord Sydenham, in such a way that although the non-Brahmin population in Madras is 27,000,000 and the Brahmin population 1,000,000 we should give quite a different representation to the Brahmins, in order to preserve the great influence of the small minority. That is a state of affairs which shows that you have to deal with India in a different spirit from that which you would deal with any electorate in this country."

Again, in the House of Commons, during the debate on the Rules under the Government of India Act on July 23, 1920, Mr. MONTAGU said:—

"I would welcome the disappearance of communal representation in India, but it can only be done at the request of the community itself and at a far later stage of development." Then Mr. Ormsby-Gore said these words to the same effect:—

'The vast majority of the Indian Christians in Madras do for the present want this communal representation. I quite agree that the sooner we can get rid of it in India altogether the better.'

Finally, I come to the noble Viscount. In the debate on the communal franchise in Kenya, on July 26, 1923, the noble Viscount spoke as follows:—

'Let me allude to one or two points in the 'White Paper.' My noble friend Lord Selborne made a most eloquent defence of the communal system. It was so eloquent and earnest that I thought that he, as Chairman of the Joint Committee, must have been the author of it. I am sure it will interest him to know that, although that system in many ways has prevailed in India, there is in the Assembly and in the Council of State a very strong feeling against it. Although the noble Earl says it is an Indian invention they do not seem to be so proud of their own offspring. They say: 'We do not look upon it as a great invention. We think that where it can be avoided it should be avoided.'"

I should have thought that I was entitled to quote what the noble Viscount said as evidence of his own feelings, but I gather that he rather objects.

Viscount PEEL: I was expressing there not my view. I was trying to express in this House the view prevailing in certain political circles in the Assembly and in the Council of State. I did not say it was my view.

Lord OLIVIER: I am satisfied to leave it at that and to say that that view prevailed in the Council of State, in which case I cannot be accused of being extremely subversive of the Indian Government by saying that that is also my opinion. But, the noble Viscount having demurred to my quoting him, on the ground that he was speaking of Kenya, I will not press that argument.

Those, then, are the views of the Government of India in Council, of high Government officials, and of members of all Parties in this country, to the effect that the communal system of representation is antagonistic to the progress of democratic institutions. As I said, not everybody appears to understand what the word 'antagonistic' means. It means that it militates against the progress of democratic institutions. That appears to be an obvious truism, and I do not believe that there is anybody in this House who has given any attention to political philosophy who would for a moment question it, or would attempt to traverse the very strong arguments that were put forward in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report to that effect, all of which I have not yet read. It must be a political truism that to have a mosaic of communal constituencies, all of which are exacerbating their own differences, is antagonistic to the progress of democratic institutions; and no possible exception can be taken to that.

THE CONSERVATIVE GAME AND OLIVER'S FIRMNESS.

I want to refer to some of the comments that have been made upon this letter of mine, because I think the attitude which has been taken up towards this episode evidences a temper and a habit of judgment which is extremely antagonistic to the public interest, and I want to comment upon it rather freely. We get first this statement in a telegram from Calcutta:

'The fear that the Labour Government, despite the assurances to the contrary which have been given in statements in Parliament, is inclined to seek a compromise with the Indian extremists is likely to be increased by the wording of a remarkable letter which has been received—'

Then the letter is quoted, and this ominous paragraph follows:

'The Secretary of State's explanation, as to how he reconciles these sentiments with his recent public pronouncements, is awaited with eager interest in India.'

I have pointed out already that this letter is exactly in accordance with what I stated in your Lordships' House.

Another paper says this:

'An extraordinary story circulated by an Indian news agency last night purporting to quote a letter from Lord Olivier to Mr. S. Satyamurthy, the well-known Swarajist and member of the Madras Legislative Council, was temporarily suppressed by the papers here in response to a request from the issuing agency.'

You observe the way in which a newspaper sensation is being worked up. The next day the following telegram appeared:

'The alacrity with which Mr. S. Satyamurti, the Swarajist member of the Madras Legislative Council, agreed to accept full responsibility for the publication of Lord Olivier's letter is a strong piece of evidence favouring the widely held opinion in India that the Secretary of State has been trapped into a carefully prepared plot by the Swarajists. . . . To say that Lord Olivier's letter, though carefully worded, is regarded here as a grave error of judgment, is putting the case very mildly, and it is felt that some official pronouncement is called for immediately.'

My official pronouncement would be that His Majesty's Government consider that improved contact and understanding between the Government and the Swaraj and other advanced Parties in India is not only desirable, but that the Viceroy is considering with His Majesty's Government the best means by which that contact can be established and is taking means towards that end. Also, I am of opinion that communal representative institutions are antagonistic to the progress of sound democracy. That is the statement which I have to make.

The newspaper quotes from the 'STATESMAN':

'Private advices from England indicate that a determined attempt is being made to stampede public opinion and the Labour Government into a hasty ill-considered action with regard to the reforms. Among other points upon which these attacks are converging is the question of communal representation, to which the extremist politicians and, to some extent, the Hindus, are generally opposed because they consider the ear-marking of certain constituencies for certain communities is likely to prejudice their interests. . . . It is evident from Lord Olivier's letter that the politicians who are now pressing the claims of India to a fuller measure of autonomy have placed the communal system in the forefront of their case and it is only too clear that they receive a sympathetic hearing. Unless therefore, wise counsels prevail, there is reason to fear that the proposed amendment to the Government of India Act will force India a long step further on the path towards tyranny. India, alas! seems doomed to suffer from the dreams of the doctrinaire'—

such as the noble Lord, Lord Southborough, and the Council of India and Lord Chelmsford—

"and it is a grave disappointment to learn that a man of Lord Olivier's experience is powerless to shake himself free from the influence of preconceived opinion."

The whole of that is a mare's nest, so far, at any rate, as either I myself or, so far, as I am aware any members of the Government are concerned.

I have had conversations, as it was proper for me to do, with the representatives of all shades of opinion in India, beginning with ex-Governors, members of the European community, members of the Mercantile community, Indians of almost all shades of opinion, including Mr. Rangachariar, who is now on an official mission to this country, deputed by the Government of India, and Mr. Sastri, member of the Liberal Party. Curiously enough, I had myself, without having been previously 'entrapped,' expressed that view to Mr. Satya-

murti, but not a single one of any of the Indians who have spoken to me has as much as raised or mentioned the question of communal representation except Mr. Sastri who criticised it in respect of its operation in Madras. Mr. Sastri has made to me no official representations on behalf of the Independent Party which he represents. I understand that the Independent Party propose at a later date to approach the Prime Minister or myself by a deputation to put before us their views. But there has been no shadow of an indication on the part of these deeply-plotting Swarajists in England, or India, or elsewhere, so far, that they want to stampede the Labour Government or to entrap them into any kind of promise that they are going to abolish the communal representation, and if the noble Viscount wants any assurance from me that His Majesty's Government have not taken into consideration for a moment up to the present the question of any modification of the communal representation he has it, and he has no business whatever to assume from anything that I wrote in my letter that either His Majesty's Government or I had any intention of doing so.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN MISCHIEF MAKERS.

I will go on now with a few more of these choice extracts. The determined effort to stampede is again referred to. Then there is a further comment

'While the official statement from London that Lord Olivier's letter to Mr. S. Satyamurthy contained nothing that the Secretary of State had not already said, may be literally accurate''—

That statement was made by Mr. Richards in Parliament in reply to a question, and it had my authority. The letter was not written with a desire for it to be published, and the letter contained nothing, as I said, that I have not already given expression to. This comment, however, is made—

"While the official statement. . . contained nothing that the Secretary of State had not already said, may be literally accurate, his expression of desire for closer contact with the Swaraj Party, being made to a notoriously anti-British politician, is a big advance on Mr. Richards' House of Commons statement of April 15 that the Government desired to establish contact with those Indians who were prepared to co-operate.'

That brings me really to the close of what I wanted to say. These Press extracts, culminating in that statement that I had expressed the desire for closer contact with a notoriously anti-British politician, indicate throughout the temper in which the party in India who resist all progress habitually approach these matters. I have no ground whatever, and I do not suppose that anybody has any ground whatever, for saying that Mr. Satyamurthi is anti-British politician. His letter to me contradicts it. He says that he is not an anti-British politician. He desires to maintain the union and association of India with Great Britain.

Viscount PEEL: I did not say so.

Lord OLIVIER: The noble Viscount did not, but this is the quotation from a Calcutta correspondent and the whole of this Press stunt is inspired, it is perfectly clear, by what one may call a suppressed complex of suspicion, first of all, of the Labour Government and, secondly, of that particular Party in Indian politics who are called the Swarajists. That is to say, it is immediately assumed that when the Labour Party came into office they are prepared to be stampeded, and it is immediately assumed that the Swarajists are prepared to entrap and stampede them. It is also indicated that it is something disloyal or improper or strange on the part of the Secretary of State that he should address a civil letter to an elected politician. You have that sort of feeling reflected in the supplementary questions that were asked in the House of Commons the other evening.

Lieut-Colonel Howard-Bury asked this supplementary question—

'Is this an example of the new methods of the Government for communicating Cabinet decisions to the people of India?'

A silly question! Then Viscount Curzon asked—

'Are we to understand that the Government view with approval the action of the Secretary of State in communicating direct with this extremist in India'?

I wonder in what sort of political world I am living when that kind of question can be put in all seriousness in the House of Commons of this country. Because a man happens to be a member of the Cabinet he is not to write such a civil letter as I wrote to a man who is a representative, and a constitutionally appointed representative, of a considerable Party in India.

THE SWARAJ PARTY.

The Swaraj Party, the Home Rule Party, are, as I have said, the most advanced cohort of the entire Indian national movement. They have at present a considerable majority in two or three of the Councils, and altogether they have the strongest representation of any political Party in the Councils and in the Assembly in India. They have a constitutional position and a constitutional right to be recognised as enjoying the privileges, the confidence and the credit attaching to their constitutional position which your Lordships have created for them. You have no business whatever to say that any one should have any more prejudice against a Swarajist than against a Moderate, or an Independent or a Liberal. They are all of them elected representatives in their various Councils, and they are entitled to be regarded without prejudice either by the Government of India or by the Government of this country. I repudiate entirely the theory that because the Swarajists are giving the Government of India a certain amount of trouble, as I have said, because they are pursuing their perfectly constitutional aim in what we consider to be a factious and mistaken manner, they are to be regarded as a kind of political leper and as antagonists and enemies of Great Britain, and that we are to be asked: "Why do you write civilly to these people? If you write civilly to them you at once discourage the Moderates and the Independents who would be your backers."

TARIFF BILL SELECT COMMITTEE.

We desire, by arriving at an understanding with all Parties, to get as much backing as we can on all political questions from all Parties, and we have said that again and again. I have said it in this House, and my right hon. friend has said it in another place. It is not the fact that the Swaraj Party are at the present time entirely non-co-operating. At the present moment there is being discussed in the Legislative Assembly in India a Tariff Bill for the protection of steel. That was referred by the Assembly to a Select Committee. That Select Committee included members of the Swaraj Party. Those members of the Swaraj Party are dealing with it without any prejudice, simply on its merits as a political question. They are not saying: "This is a Bill of the Government of India and we are going to hamper it and to sabotage it." They are dealing with it on its merits. That is an advance, at any rate, to that kind of co-operation which the Swarajists can perfectly well undertake without in the slightest degree prejudicing their political programme, and in my opinion they will very much strengthen their chance of advancing towards that programme by adopting that line of action. I do most entirely protest against the attitude which is too often taken up, and I am sorry to say I see it in some of the Reports which I get from the Government of India regarding the Swaraj Party, simply because of their constitutional agitation, as being persons who are to be discriminated against as distinguished from other politicians.

On February 26 the noble Marquess Lord CURZON, made a comment upon one of the matters to which I referred—namely, the handling by the Government of India of the Jaito disturbance, and he expressed the opinion that "there must have been regrettable mismanagement somewhere to have brought about a state of affairs in which you have bodies of Sikh fanatics marching about the country," and so on. That is the sort of criticism of the Government of India which, if I had made it, would have meant at once a tremendous attack upon me for belittling the Government of India.

The Marquess CURZON OF KEDLESTON: I said that there must have been mismanagement somewhere. I did not attack the Government of India. I did not attack anybody. I alluded to a deplorable situation, to a force which has grown up in India with the explanation of which I was not acquainted, but which, evidently, did indicate some gross mismanagement on the part of some persons. Then the noble Lord gets up and says I am making an attack on the Government of India.

LORD CURZON TO STEAL A HORSE!

Lord OLIVIER: I do not think I used the word "attack." The noble Marquess said there must have been gross mismanagement somewhere. Who was responsible for managing the affair, if not the Government of India? The noble Marquess went on to say that he thought things would be put right when you got Sir Malcolm Hailey as Governor of the Punjab. If he could manage it right, who could manage it wrong? The noble Marquess said that he made no direct attack. No, he made a criticism. When I want to steal a horse I shall get the noble Marquess to do it, and I shall turn my back to the hedge carefully. I should not have dared to say so much in disparagement of the management of India as the noble Marquess clearly and definitely said in those words.

FOOLISH OFFICIALS HOLDING SWARAJISTS AS TREASONABLE.

I say this further, that I, unfortunately, see in the reports which I receive from districts and otherwise that there is a constant tendency on the part of officers of the Government rather to hold themselves justified in regarding the Swarajists as treasonable persons and to treat them in a somewhat objectionable manner, subjecting them to pin-pricks, to disparagement, and special treatment, regarding the Swarajist Party as we used to regard the Home Rule Party in Ireland, as a Party with which no respectable politician could possibly associate or have anything to do. That is unfortunate. This Press stunt, which has come from Calcutta and elsewhere, is an indication of the miserable temper of supposing that the Swarajists are traitorous people, that they are worse than other politicians, and want to entrap and bamboozle the Secretary of State and the Labour Party, as if the Labour Party were capable of being stampeded by them. The policy of the Labour Party has been stated to your Lordships' House, and it is proceeding.

Having regard to the complaints that have been made as to the working of the present Constitution in India, the Government of India has established a Committee with a view to finding out what amendments, if any, are required in the Act by rules or otherwise. First of all that Committee was appointed as an official Committee. It has now been enlarged, and I have given the noble Viscount the reference to it. Only yesterday the Government of India proceeded on these lines which I indicated that His Majesty's Government would be glad that they should proceed, and are adding unofficial members to that Committee with a view to seeing whether we shall receive from unofficial critics representations with regard to the working of the Government of India Act. That is an advance towards greater and better contact, and, if, by perhaps harmless letters and such harmless correspondence as have passed between myself and Mr. Satyamurti, any kind of better contact or understanding can be established between ourselves and those advanced politicians in India, I shall be exceedingly glad, and I shall not for a moment be ashamed of what I have done.

I do hope that no one of your Lordships who is to follow me will say that you have received no relief or satisfaction from what I have told you. What I have told you with regard to the policy of His Majesty's Government has been told you already. The policy of His Majesty's Government has not been altered or modified or departed from. I must say that, on the whole, I am grateful to the noble Viscount for having given me this opportunity of expressing myself on the subject and of making this protest. I beg him to believe that, while I should myself have considered it too trivial a matter for so serious notice to be taken of it, I am not at all sure that it has not been, on the whole, in the public interest that some discussion should have taken place.

[*The Motion was by leave withdrawn.*]

Third Debate on India.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—JUNE 6TH, 1924.

In the House of Commons on June 6th Earl WINTERTON raised the question of India on the adjournment of the House for Whitsuntide.

Earl WINTERTON: I desire to raise two matters of which I have given notice. I wish also to refer to another matter which has occurred since I gave notice. The first is the letter which was recently written by the Secretary of State to the Indian Swarajist, Mr. S. Satyamurti: secondly, the terms of reference of the Committee appointed by the Government to inquire into the machinery and working of the Act of 1919. There is a *third point*. Has the attention of the Secretary of State been directed to the very serious action recently taken, in fact within the last week, by one of the branches of the so called National Congress of India in passing a resolution which is in effect a direct condonation of murder? I do not propose in the brief remarks which I am about to make to deal with the Lee Commission Report, which is too big a subject for discussion at the fag end of an adjournment debate. If it is to be discussed here at all, the opportunity should be given for it to be discussed fully.

THE SATYAMURTI LETTER.

The first matter to which I have to refer is the better written by the Secretary of State to the Swarajist member of the Madras Council. I propose only to say a word, for the question was, I think, as satisfactorily disposed of as could be by the Debate which took place in another place, and which, of course, it is not in order for me to refer to this afternoon. I should like, however, to ask the hon. Gentleman, the Under-Secretary, to give the House an assurance that in future the ordinary procedure will be rigidly observed in communicating the views of the Secretary of State to the people of India, that is, through the Viceroy and the Government of India. The Under-Secretary of State has shown in his answers to questions a most meticulous care to avoid giving any information which would embarrass the Government of India, himself, or any other person, and it is to be hoped that the Secretary of State will in future follow the example of his Under-Secretary, and refrain from polite letter-writing to Swarajist gentlemen in India. I think that is all I need say on what I think the House generally will agree is a somewhat unhappy incident.

THE REFORMS ENQUIRY.

I come to the second matter, that is what will be the exact scope of the work which is to be done by the second of the two Committees of inquiry which has been appointed by the Government of India. I have carefully read the two statements which have been made on the subject by Sir Malcolm Hailey in the Indian Assembly and I am bound to say though Sir Malcolm's statements are generally characterised by clearness there is a certain ambiguity that I am anxious to see cleared up by the Under-Secretary. Sir Malcolm, speaking on 8th February of this year, in the legislative assembly at Delhi, said that the Government:

"Would undertake an official examination of the defects in the working of the present machinery, which unfortunately, had not been given a proper chance. The proposed inquiry would aim at removing the difficulties revealed in the working of the Act, but it would not be an inquiry intended to alter the frame work of the policy of the Act."

Speaking on 18th February Sir Malcolm said—and this is the point to which I wish to call attention:

"Speaking with the full authority of the British Government——"

which was a rather curious phrase to use in the Indian Assembly, and of rather special significance—

"That the Government held to its general position as stated in his speech of last Friday week. Before His Majesty's Government would be able to consider the Amendment of the Constitution, as distinct from Amendments of the Act to rectify imperfections of administration, there must be a firm investigation of the defects and difficulties which have arisen in the working of the transitional constitution. The British people was not lightly inclined to consider changes in the British Constitution laid down by Parliament in 1919 after the fullest consideration."

I do not know whether those words were intended to be a sort of sop to the Swarajists, but they seem to contemplate that these two Committees, the second of which has recently been appointed, are both merely preliminary, and that there is some possibility of further steps being taken by the Government of India or by His Majesty's Government to consider the amendment of the Constitution as distinct from the amendment of the Act. The statement I have just quoted contains the words:

"Before His Majesty's Government would be able to consider the amendment of the Constitution."

I would like to point out that by the appointment of the Committee the danger is of predetermining by the Committee what it will be the duty of the Statutory Commission to decide in 1929. After all, the period between now and 1929 is only five years, a very short period in the history of the working of a constitution. I think I am entitled to ask the Under-Secretary for an unequivocal assurance that what those of us who have hitherto understood to be the pledged undertaking of the Government will be adhered to, and that is that the first stage of the reforms ending in 1930 will be carried out as this House determined they should be in the 1919 Act without either acceleration or retardation. It is important that we should be assured that this very short testing period will be adhered to.

I will make two qualifications to the assurance which I have just sought. First of all, if it can be shown that there are defects in the working machinery of the Act which can be remedied without affecting in any degree the principle of the Act, or altering the rate of progress laid down in it then I think it can legitimately be done. If that is all the Government of this country have in mind in the formation of this Committee, then I think no one on this side will have any objection. I think, however, that we do need an assurance on that point more especially in view of the pressure which is being put on the Government from various quarters to alter the whole basis of the working of the Act.

SWARAJIST ACTION.

The other qualification I would make is that if the Swarajists by their action make the Act unworkable, then its principles may have to be altered before 1930 although such an alteration, if we on this side of the House can prevent it, will certainly not be in the direction of giving the Assembly and the Councils greater power or abating one jot the protection which this House, through the Secretary of State and the Government of India, gives to the helpless minorities and the depressed classes of India against some of those who would, if there was a great devolution of power, be in a position to exercise over them a control which in the past we have always done our best to prevent. That is all I wish to say on that point except to make this further observation that by far the best way for the Government to deal with the undoubtedly difficult situation with which they are faced in India—I do not think it is more difficult than it was three or four years ago, and apart from purely political agitation I think the state of India has been better both under the present Government and the late Government than it was three or four years ago—would be to dispose of all the rumours, threats and rumblings one hears, and say more firmly than has yet been said by the Under-Secretary or the Secretary of State for India that this Government, like their predecessors, do not intend to be deflected from the course laid down by the 1919 Act by pressure either from the right or from the left, and that they intend to carry out the Act of 1919 to the best of their ability. While I do not see any objection to these committees of inquiry with the qualifications I have indicated, I believe the effect of those inquiries must be to instil into the minds of those who have to work the Act in India, and many other European officials and other officials who are now well disposed towards the Act, a feeling of doubt and uncertainty, and it may cause them to ask: are the Government going to adhere to the policy laid down by previous Governments or not? I do not wish to press the Under-Secretary further on that point, and if he will give us an assurance that what is taking place is merely an inquiry, that will be satisfactory.

THE DAY MURDER.

I wish now to say that I regard as a very serious symptom indeed of corruption of one portion of the body politic in India, and I think it is only a limited portion, the amazing effrontery of the Bengal Branch of the National

Congress in passing a resolution which condoned the murder of a perfectly innocent Englishman, Mr. Day, who had no connection whatever with politics. I think that is one of the most infamous actions ever taken by any body of people who had the smallest pretence to responsibility in any part of the Empire. While I have heard in the past of attempts being made in debate not to condone but to find reasons for certain events of violence in other parts of the Empire as was the case in Ireland, everyone knows that it would be inconceivable that any Member of this House could ever get up and condone the murder of a perfectly innocent man by a fanatic in India, on the ground that the murderer in some obscure way was helping the cause of the Swarajists in India. The responsibility rests with the Government of Bengal and the Government of India, and in a lesser degree with His Majesty's Government, and I do not know what action they are going to take, but I hardly think that an incident of that kind can be ignored.

The serious feature is that this Congress is mainly composed of the Dasite Party, and to judge by the reports, Mr. Das has succeeded in making himself one of the most powerful personalities in India, and has taken up largely in India the position occupied by Mr. Gandhi. Every one of those who voted for this Resolution in the Bengal National Congress were Swarajists and the vast majority of them were the pledged followers of Mr. Das. We have never known whether Mr. Das was at the Conference, but he was privy to what occurred. He is not only one of the most prominent politicians in India, but he is also Mayor of Calcutta, and he was approached by the present Governor of Bengal three or four months ago—I do not quarrel with the Governor's action—and asked whether he would become a Minister. It is the followers of Mr. Das who have passed this infamous resolution, a resolution which, serious enough in this country in the possible effect it might have, is trebly, quadruply and one hundred times more serious in India, where it might have the result of instigation to the murder of Europeans and loyal Indians.

PARTING OF THE WAYS.

It looks as if we have approached the parting of the ways in this matter, and as if it was necessary for the local government of India, or through the direct action of the British Government, to take steps that will prevent a continuance of this sort of thing. I am not advocating anything in the nature of Die-hard methods. I have always resisted the pressure from Members of my own party to take strong action by the law here and there. I am in every sense of the word a Moderate on this matter, but I do not believe that in any section of the House there would be any objection to the Government taking legal action against people who advocate murder in a highly inflammable province such as the Province of Bengal. My own view is that the difficulty in India to-day is far more largely a difficulty confined to a certain number of politicians, and the difficulty of maintaining law and order is again a matter of dealing with a comparatively small section of a very large population. In the years from 1915 to 1922 the difficulty was much greater. You had a large mass of the population greatly inflamed against Government, and I fear greatly inflamed against Europeans 'qua' Europeans. That was the case in those years, I doubt if that is true of the state of affairs to-day. I am glad—I have heard it from many quarters—that the attitude of Indians generally towards Government, towards Europeans, is better than it was in the critical years of 1920 and 1921.

But there are not wanting people in India to-day who would do everything they could, and perhaps go so far as to risk their own lives in the doing of it, to bring India back to the state of turmoil and danger in which she was in those years: and there are not wanting people in Bengal who would like to see that province return to the unhappy state of affairs that existed, I think in 1908 or 1909, when what I call the bomb and revolver methods of political persuasion were indulged in by a section of the population. Speaking with responsibility, as any one must who has been Under-Secretary of State for India or who has been connected in any way with the administration of India, I say that if it can be shown that Mr. Das or any other of the prominent Swarajist politicians of Bengal or India are privy to this movement of violence of which this Congress Resolution appears to be a symptom, and which seems to link up the Congress indissolubly with the people whose methods are those of the bomb and the revolver—if it can be shown that they are privy to or have instigated such a movement—I trust that this Government will not have any

hesitation in spite of the injudicious attitude of some of their supporters when they were private Members, in putting the whole machinery of the law into operation. If, following this abominable action of this Bengal Congress, there is an outbreak of political murder in India, both the Government of India and this Government will have very serious responsibility on their shoulders if they have not meanwhile taken steps to deal with those who instigated it.

Mr Richard's Reply

Mr. RICHARDS: I think the House is exceedingly fortunate that on the last occasion when Indian matters are being discussed we have had such well informed speeches on the present conditions in India as we have had the pleasure of listening to to-day. It is not my intention to detain the House for more than a few minutes. I will endeavour to reply to some of the points raised by the Noble Lord who opened the Debate. He referred to the Resolution of the Bengal Branch of the National Congress of India. I know nothing of that Resolution beyond what has appeared in the newspapers but I would like to remind the Noble Lord that this is essentially a pacific party. That is to say, the objective in view is what they call a non-violent and non-co-operation movement.

Viscount CURZON: Does that apply to the party led by Mr. C. R. Das?

Mr. RICHARDS: It does in common with the rest of the party led by Mr. Gandhi, and I should be much surprised if there was any connection between the Bengal movement to which the Noble Lord referred and the constitutional party. It is a constitutional party in common with Liberals, Moderates and Independents. It is a party that is working for Home Rule in India. The distinguishing feature between that and the other parties is the speed at which it would like to advance in the direction of Home Rule, but, essentially, it is a purely constitutional party. The reforms that are being suggested, that is to say, the investigations, have been advocated by the Government of India itself. That is, by the men who have been attempting hitherto to work this particular piece of machinery. It is because the Government of India and the Provincial Governments feel that there is a difficulty in carrying out the provisions of the 1919 Act that they have instituted this inquiry into the working of the Act.

THE ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION.

Perhaps the best way in which I could reply to the questions put to me by the Noble Lord would be to cover very shortly the ground that led up to the appointment of this Committee. The first point we have to remember is that on the 18th February this year a Resolution was carried in the Assembly recommending a revision of the Government of India Act, with a view to establishing full responsible Government, and for the purpose of summoning a round table conference to frame a new constitution, with a view to its ultimate enactment by Parliament. That Resolution was carried in a perfectly constitutional fashion in the Assembly by a majority of 76 to 48. In the course of that Debate, two important speeches were delivered by the leader of the Government Sir M. Hailey. I will read rather longer extracts from those two speeches than were read by the Noble Lord;

"Now for the action we propose to take. We do not limit ourselves to demanding that the system should be further tested. We propose to make a serious attempt to investigate justifiable complaints against the working of the scheme in practice——"

He was speaking on behalf of the people who were attempting to work the machinery——

"to assess the cause and to examine the remedies necessary. We claim that this must precede any general inquiry into the policy and scheme of the Act or general advance within the Act itself. In investigating these difficulties and defects in the actual working of the present system we shall consult the local Governments on the subject and we shall not close our ears to representations from outside. It may be that the remedy for these difficulties will be found by using the rules making power within the Act: I refer to the utilisation of those Sections to which reference is so often made, 19A, 45A, and 96D. It may even be—I can say nothing as to this—that the inquiry may show that some changes are required in the structure of the Act in order to rectify the definite and ascertained defects experienced in the actual working."

In a speech ten days later, he said:—

"We have again considered the position very carefully, and I am anxious to emphasise that in what I say I speak with the full authority of His Majesty's Government. We still hold to the general position I took up on behalf of the Government. Before His Majesty's Government are able to consider the question of amending the constitution, as distinct from such Amendment of the Act as may be required to rectify any administrative imperfections, there must be full investigation of any defects or difficulties which may have arisen in the working of the transitional constitution now in force. Neither they nor we would be justified in considering changes in that constitution unless they were in possession of full information which our investigations will place in our hands. In 1919, Parliament, after the fullest consideration, laid down a scheme transitional in its nature, but, nevertheless, carefully devised with a view to effecting steps necessary for progressive realisation of ideas embodied in the Preamble of the Act. It is not to be supposed that the British people would be lightly inclined to consider a change in that constitution, and it is bound to concentrate attention for the present on such imperfections in working as may have been disclosed by the experience of the last three years. I said that we have carefully considered the general position and we hold to the precise attitude which I then took up, save in one respect. If our inquiries into the defects in the working of the Act show the feasibility and possibility of any advance within the Act, that is to say, by use of the rule making power already provided by Parliament under the Statute, we are willing to make recommendations to this effect; but if our inquiries show that no advance is possible without amending the constitution, then the question of advance must be left as an entirely open and separate issue of which the Government is in no way committed. To that extent, the scope of our inquiry goes somewhat beyond that originally assigned to it, but I must again emphasise the fact that it does not extend beyond that scope to the Amendment of the Constitution itself."

WHAT HAS GOVERNMENT DONE?

What have the Government of India done to give effect to the promises made on that occasion? They have started, in the first place, by appointing an official expert committee, consisting of three members of the Governor-General's Council and three Secretaries of the Government of India, for the purpose of inquiring into the legal and constitutional potentialities of the situation, and as to whether any advance is possible under the rules framed under the Act or by an Amendment of those rules. The second thing they did was to send a circular letter to all the local Governments of India, which are as much concerned in the working of the Act as the Government of India itself, quoting Sir Malcolm Hailey's speeches, and asking them to investigate the difficulties arising from or defects inherent in, the working of the present transitional constitution, and to see how far the situation could be improved without taking measures so far-reaching as to involve fundamental changes in the policy and powers of the Government of India Act.

It was the intention of the Government of India that this official expert Committee should address itself also to an inquiry relating to the Central Government similar to that relating to the local governments, and it had been asked to do so. On receipt from the expert official committee of its preliminary report on the technical aspect of this question, the Government of India modified their original intention as to the field of its activities and decided to reconstitute the committee by the addition of representatives who were non-officials, and to charge it with a two-fold duty. The first was to make the investigation which they had originally intended to make into the defects and the possibilities of removing them within the constitution as affecting the Central Government, and to advise the Government of India accordingly; the second was to consider the reports of the local governments under the constitution as affecting the provinces, and to advise as to the recommendations which should be based thereon.

I think that my hon. Friend, if he will turn up the answer which I gave on the 2nd of June, will find that those terms of reference are taken almost exactly from the speeches that were delivered by Sir Malcolm Hailey, and merely reproduce under appropriate heads and categories the scope, purpose and limits of the inquiry as indicated in the first instance by Sir Malcolm Hailey at the beginning of February. That is to say, the terms and the scope of the

inquiry that is being conducted at the present time are exactly those which are outlined by Sir Malcolm Hailey, with this addition, that non-official members have been asked to co-operate with the committee in the inquiry that is being conducted at present.

Mr. FISHER: Has the inquiry begun?

Mr. RICHARDS: No. The difficulty is that the personnel of the newly constituted Committee has not been completed yet. But we except inquiry that has been more or less completed.

Earl WINTERTON: Have not two members been appointed?

Mr. RICHARDS: I have seen some reference in the Press, but I have no official information on the point.

Earl WINTERTON: I understood that the Committee was in process of being appointed now. It appears to me that there is some hitch in the matter. Why is there this delay in appointing the non-official members?

Mr. RICHARDS: I do not know that there has been any delay. I have seen references in the Press.

Mr. FISHER: Will the Committee sit in private?

Mr. RICHARDS: I am afraid that I could not answer that without making inquiry. That is the position with regard to this inquiry at the present moment.

With regard to the letter of my Noble Friend the Secretary of State to a member of the Swaraj party, I quite agree with the views of the last speaker. We have got to recognise that the Swarajists have been returned to the Assembly in a perfectly constitutional fashion. We have got to recognise also that they form the majority of the members of the Assembly of the present movement. That is, they are in exactly the same position as hon. and right hon. Members opposite. They are His Majesty's Opposition as far as the Legislative Assembly is concerned, and I suggest that when my Noble Friend gets a letter from a member of the Legislative Assembly, it is only natural that he should reply to it. In addition, I would like to point out that the letter contains the well-known views not only of the Secretary of State on the two particular questions to which it refers, closer co-operation with the Swarajists in the working of reforms, and the views, which are held, I believe, by almost every party in this House, with regard to the difficulty of working any real practical scheme with the communal system of representation. There is no reference to a change of policy at all. I think that the storm that has been created in connection with that letter was not even a decent storm in a tea cup.

Earl WINTERTON: The hon. Gentleman has not answered my question. I was not objecting to the views expressed in the letter. I asked whether we could have an assurance that in future when a Secretary of State wished to communicate his views on important matters of policy to the Indian people, he should do so, as every previous Secretary of State has done, through the Government of India, and not by means of correspondence with an opposition member of the Madras Assembly.

Mr. RICHARDS: My answer is that there was no indication of any change of policy at all. If my Noble Friend will turn up the Montagu-Chelmsford Report he will find there a condemnation of the communal system of representation.

Earl WINTERTON: There has been no change of policy?

Mr. RICHARDS: I can assure him that on question of policy the usual practice is followed in every case. This is merely expressing an opinion of the Secretary of State, which was shared by Members of the Noble Lord's party. I do not think that there is anything more than that in that letter. It certainly does not represent any change of policy on the part of the Secretary of State.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—16 JUNE 1924.

The House of Commons resumed sitting on the 16th June, after the Whitsuntide recess. The first questions to be asked were those dealing with Indian Affairs.

MUHAMMADAN JUDGES.

Sir Charles YATE began questions by asking the Under-Secretary of State for India in which High Courts of India there is a Muhammadan Judge and in which there is not.

Mr. RICHARDS in reply stated that there was one Muhammadan Judge in the Calcutta, Bombay, Allahabad and Lahore High Courts respectively, but none in the High Courts of Madras, Patna and Rangoon.

Sir Charles YATE asked if the Under-Secretary would take into consideration the appointment of further Muhammadan Judges. Mr. Richards, however, would give no undertaking on the matter, and contented himself with saying that he would mention it to the Secretary of State.

LEE COMMISSION REPORT.

In reply to Mr. HOPE-SIMPSON, the Under-Secretary of State, said that no official orders would be passed on the recommendations contained in this Report until it had been discussed by the Indian Legislative Assembly in its September Session, but that the necessary preliminary work was meanwhile being pressed on, with all possible speed, both there and in India. He added that any financial relief ultimately sanctioned would have effect from the 1st April, 1924.

Sir Henry CRAIK is not anxious either to have the matter discussed by the Indian Legislature, nor to accept their views, and asked if it was not the case that the Secretary of State had power quite independently of the Legislative Assembly to carry out the scheme proposed by the Commission. Mr. Richards agreed, but at the same time said that there was no chance of anything being done without full consultation with the Government of India and without taking into consideration the views expressed in the Legislative Assembly.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

In answer to Colonel MEYLER (Liberal Member for Blackpool), Professor Richards stated that the Committee appointed by the Government of India to enquire into the working of the Reforms would report to the Government of India and any proposals which might result from its recommendations would be those of the Government of India. Parliament would necessarily be fully informed of such proposals as His Majesty's Government decide to adopt. In answer to a supplementary question, the Under-Secretary stated that he was not yet in a position to give the names of unofficial members of the Committee.

GENERAL DYER.

A question by Dr. Haden GUEST (Labor) of which he had given private notice was greeted with cheers from the Labor and Liberal benches and stony silence on the Conservative benches. Dr. Guest asked the Prime Minister whether his attention had been called to the statement made by Mr. Justice McCardie during the trial of the action by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, formerly Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, claiming damages for alleged libel against Sir Sankaran Nair, formerly Member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy of India with reference to the punishment of General Dyer by the Government of India and the Government of Great Britain; and whether, in view of the grave political and social reaction which these statements may have in India, he will order an enquiry to be made as to whether this is an abuse of privilege.

Mr. DIXEY (Conservative) had also given private notice of a question addressed to the Prime Minister, asking if his attention had been called to the result of a recent case in the High Court which strongly suggested that General Dyer had not been fairly dealt with by the authorities, and in view of the fact that General Dyer is seriously ill, whether he would consider immediately

what steps could now be taken to reconsider the matter. This question was greeted with Conservative applause, and indicated the die-hard point of view.

Commander KENWORTHY (Liberal), before the question was replied to, asked if the Prime Minister was aware that the learned Judge had not got the documents in the Dyer Case before him, and had not the full evidence which was in the possession of the Government of India?

The PRIME MINISTER in reply stated that he had only now heard Dr. Haden Guest's question for the first time, as no copy of it had reached him. Mr. Dixey's question, he stated, had only reached him at one o'clock, and he could not attempt to give a considered answer at such short notice, but asked that the question should be put on the paper and he would deal with it.

The question was accordingly put on paper and the Prime Minister made a statement on the subject on June 23rd.

O'DWYER *v.* SANKARAN NAIR CASE.

Mr. LANSBURY (Labor) asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he would direct a complete transcription of the judgment in this case to be transmitted to the Government of India and ask for an expression of opinion on the extra-judicial matters raised by the Judge in the light of the Hunter Commission Report.

Mr. RICHARDS stated in reply that the Secretary of State would arrange for a transcript of the judgment to be furnished to the Government of India, who would no doubt consider whether any observations thereon would appear to be called for. (The word "judgment" in each case is a verbal slip, and what is really meant is the summing up of the Judge, which in itself forms a very long document. The judgment, of course, contained merely a few words).

Mr. LANSBURY had another question addressed to the Prime Minister asking whether the Government would grant time for the discussion of the motion standing in his name dealing with the remarks of Mr. Justice McCardie during the recent trial.

The motion referred to was a motion to present an address to the King that Justice McCardie be removed from the Bench. This was however subsequently withdrawn on the Prime Minister refusing to allot a day.

The PRIME MINISTER in reply stated that he had come to the conclusion that discussion on this subject would only add to the harm that had already been done in India by the words complained of. However unfortunate the words had been, they did not constitute the kind of fault amounting to a moral delinquency which constitutionally justified an Address to the King as proposed. The objectionable passage occurred, not in a considered written judgment, but in an oral charge to the jury delivered at the conclusion of a lengthy and somewhat heated trial, and the very form in which it was couched showed that the learned Judge was not informed as to what took place. The Prime Minister added this important statement—that His Majesty's Government completely associated itself with the decision of the Government (not merely the Secretary of State) of the day. His Majesty's Government would always uphold the right of the Judiciary to pass judgment even on the Executive, if it thought fit, but that being the right of the Judiciary, it was all the more necessary that it should guard itself against pronouncements upon issues involving grave political consequences which are not themselves being tried.

Sir Kingsley WOOD (Conservative) asked whether the Prime Minister, having regard to the statement he had just made and the undesirability of a motion remaining on the Order Paper attacking a Judge who was daily trying cases in the High Court, would use his influence to have this motion withdrawn. Mr. Lansbury immediately jumped to his feet and said that no one need use any influence; he was perfectly satisfied with the statement made by the Prime Minister.

A further question by Mr. Ronald McNEILL caused the Prime Minister to state that he refused to be drawn into a discussion on this matter. He confined himself to the statement that the main point of the trial did not concern itself with the *obiter dicta* which the learned Judge let fall in his charge to the jury, and those words were calculated to have a very serious effect on Indian public opinion, and it was for these reasons that he had couched his answer in the manner stated above.

INDIAN DEPUTATIONS TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mr. John SCURR (Labor) asked the Under-Secretary of State whether he would lay upon the table a statement giving the purport of the deliberations between the Indian Deputation headed by His Highness the Aga Khan and the Secretary of State, on Indian Reforms and other cognate matters.

Mr. RICHARDS replied that there had geen no deliberations between any Indian Deputation and the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State had received a statement of views from the Deputation referred to, and from other Deputations and individuals, but he was not prepared to publish reports of their purport.

COLONIES COMMITTEE.

Mr. SCURR had a further question asking whether the Under-Secretary of State could give any idea of the date by which the Colonies Committee now in London might be expected to complete their deliberations and present their report to the Government of India.

Mr. RICHARDS replied that the functions of the Colonies Committee were to discuss certain questions with the Secretary of State for the Colonies and to make representations to him. The date of the conclusion of their work did not depend on themselves alone and could not yet be definitely forecast.

CAWNPUR CONSPIRACY TRIAL.

Mr. LANSBURY asked the Under-Secretary of State whether he had now received a copy of the evidence and judgment given against the prisoners recently on trial at Cawnpur, and whether he would lay a complete statement of the evidence and judgment on the table of the House.

Mr. RICHARDS in reply stated that he had not yet received the papers referred to and could not say if the Secretary of State would decide that the papers should be laid before the House.

INDIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

Mr. Thomas JOHNSTON (Labor) asked the Under-Secretary of State whether he was aware that the Madras Government was discharging officials who contributed to the Tilak Swaraj Fund or associated with Non-Co-Operators or subscribed to the Non-Co-Operators' papers, and whether Mr. Subba Rao had been discharged from the Telegraph Department for the official reason that he was either a Non-Co-Operator himself or had active sympathy with Non-Co-Operators, and whether the Under-Secretary of State would make enquiries with a view to the discontinuance of this policy.

Mr. RICHARDS stated that he had no official knowledge of the individual case or of the general orders of dismissal. He added, however, that all Government servants are prohibited from subscribing in aid of any political movement in India, and they knew of the existence of this prohibition.

SWARAJ RESOLUTION AT SERAJGANJ.

Col. HOWARD-BURY (Conservative) asked the Under-Secretary of State whether his attention had been drawn to Mr. C. R. Das's support of the Resolution passed by the Swarajya Party at Serajganj, paying homage to the murderer of Mr. Ernest Day; whether he was aware of the indignation of the European community in India at the eulogy of murder as a political weapon; and whether the Government of India contemplated taking any legal action against the movers of this Resolution.

Mr. RICHARDS stated that he had seen in the press reports of indignation meetings in India, but had not received any official information that legal proceedings were contemplated or any report of the precise terms of the Resolution. Colonel Howard-Bury asked the Under-Secretary of State if he dissociated himself from the expression of the Secretary of State in his letter to Mr. Satyamurti, in which he said that the Swarajists were using perfectly constitutional weapons. Mr. Richards in reply merely pointed out that Mr. Gandhi himself had condemned this Resolution.

INDIAN TARIFFS.

Mr. HANNON (Conservative) asked the Under-Secretary of State whether he was aware that applications had been received by the Indian Tariff Board

from the paper, printing ink, boots and shoes, cement, and magnesium chloride industries, requesting that Protection should be afforded to these industries, and whether it was the intention of His Majesty's Government to endeavour to come to some arrangement with the Government of India on this question, as this Protection would operate against the British export trade with India.

Mr. RICHARDS stated that he was unaware of such applications, but that the Secretary of State did not think he could usefully consider the propriety of making representation to the Government of India before the Tariff Board had reported.

Sir Henry COWAN (Conservative) asked if the Government were in favor of Protection in India while opposed to protection at home.

Captain Wedgwood BENN (Liberal), amid the laughter of the House asked if there was any reason to suppose that the Government of India had been using and profiting by the literature of the Tariff Reform League issued by the Conservatives in that country. Mr. Richards realised that this was meant more as a hit for the Conservatives than as a question to him, and left it unanswered.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

Mr. THURTLE (Labor) asked the Under-Secretary of State, with regard to the Committee appointed by the Government of India for the purpose of making recommendations for economy in military expenditure and which contained no non-official members, if he would advise the appointment of such a non-official expert as Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar or Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas.

Mr. RICHARDS stated that he had not heard of the Committee, but if such a Committee were being set up, he had no doubt the Government of India would exercise a wise discretion in the selection of expert members.

INDIAN ELECTION EXPENSES.

Sir Charles YATE (Conservative) asked the Under-Secretary of State when it was intended to introduce Rules to fix maximum scales for election expenses in India similar to those in force in the United Kingdom.

Mr. RICHARDS stated he could not give a date, but the Government of India intended to make proposals as soon as sufficient data were available. He added that this might prove to be the case as a result of the last elections.

PRESS LAWS—INDIAN STATES.

Sir Charles YATE, in another question, asked which of the Indian States had introduced Press Laws, and how far those laws differed from the laws in force in British India.

The Under-Secretary of State replied that the only definite information he had was that a Press Act is or was in force in Baroda, but he had no detailed information as to its provisions.

PROSCRIPTION OF " WORKERS " WEEKLY.

Sir Charles YATE then asked whether issue No. 60 of 28th March, 1924, of *The Workers' Weekly* was the only number of that Journal which had been proscribed in India as containing seditious matter.

Mr. RICHARDS replied that certain other issues of the paper had been proscribed in some Provinces, and the Governments of India could only use their powers of proscription against those issues which fell within the provisions of the law.

PRISONERS IN INDIAN GAOLS.

Mr. MILLS, drew the attention of the Under-Secretary of State to the Report of the Visapur Gaol Enquiry Committee, and asked whether, seeing that the "bel-chain" by which prisoners are chained together at night is still in use in Indian gaols and no scavenger is employed in such cases to prevent insanitary conditions, he would advise the Government of India to abolish this practice.

Mr. RICHARDS stated that the Government of India had brought to the notice of the local Government the Gaol Committee's strong condemnation of this method of securing prisoners, and had expressed the hope that it would be prohibited except when it was absolutely indispensable as a protection against escape.

The O'Dwyer-Nair Libel Case.

The famous Owyer-Nair Libel Case, in which Mr. Justice Mc Cardie played the infamous part of a Daniel and tried to justify the conduct of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer in India, arose in this way. In his book entitled "Gandhi and Anarchy" written about 1920 mainly under the instructions of the Government of India Sir Sankaran Nair had made certain mild criticism on the administration of the Punjab by Sir Michael O'Dwyer during the horrible days of the Martial Law in 1919. Sir Michael took exception to these remarks of Sir Sankaran and brought in a libel suit for damages. The trial commenced on April 30 before Mr. Justice McCardie and a special British Jury and went on from day to day over the protracted period of five weeks. During the whole of the proceedings the judge showed an unjudicial bias for Sir Michael and by *obiter-dictas* thrown here and there prejudiced the mind of the jury. A British Jury, as previous cases, such as the Tilak-Chirol case, and the Besant case, have shown, is too patriotic to let down a countrymen of theirs in face of such an abstract idea as justice where another race is concerned. This is almost an every day experience in India. However, in this case, the jury apart, the judge himself gave such an atrocious summing up of the case to the jury that it has raised a storm of controversy both in India and in England. Below is given a summary of this long notorious summing up. In the end, it remains to be said, Sir Michael won his case and was awarded £500 as damages together with whole cost of the suit, namely, some £15,000.

Justice Mc. Cardie's Summing up.

Mr. Justice McCARDIE said that he did not regret the length of the hearing in view of the nature of the case. He was glad to see that, whatever criticisms had been made on the conduct of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and of other officials in India, no one had challenged in the slightest measure the incorruptibility or efficiency of the military and civil officers who had been called as witnesses. The jury would include men and women of different political parties. He had never belonged to a political party. He had always regarded politics as a somewhat clamorous branch of sociological science. The truth might lie between two political parties. When he regarded the parties in the case not be better put than that they should ask themselves: "What would be the verdict of 12 Indian men of education and responsibility, be they Mahomedans, Hindus, or Sikhs?"

The right to make fair comment was an important right. It was important to maintain it. Even gross exaggeration would not make a comment unfair; nor would the fact that the opinion expressed was prejudiced. But the comment must be honest and it must be without malice. The question for the jury was whether any fair man, however prejudiced, would have said what was contained in the criticism complained of. The first defence on the pleading was the defence of justification; the onus was on the defendant to prove that, Counsel for the defence had, however, put the defence of fair comment first and that of justification second.

Referring to the alleged outrage during the period of recruiting, his Lordship pointed out that it was most important to maintain a true perspective, especially as the jury had to consider what was the knowledge of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The Punjab was twice the size of England, with a population of 20 millions. It was very different from a placid English country. If the evidence of what happened in some places were true, there was terrorism. If it were true, it was profoundly regrettable that such things should have occurred. It seemed to him that the difficulty in coming to the conclusion that there was any widespread system of terrorism lay in the weight of the evidence which had been called by the plaintiff. He did not think that all the evidence which had been taken for the defendant on commission in India had been invented. The jury would have to consider whether that evidence had been exaggerated. If Sir Michael O'Dwyer had desired that there should be oppression he would

have secured in the police a powerful weapon, but the evidence was that he forbade the employment of police in recruiting. Sir Michael O'Dwyer also directed that any incidents of oppression should be mentioned to the Government at once. If he desired oppression why should he not smile and let it go on, if it existed?

Throughout the case no witness had been called to say that he himself made a single complaint to Sir Michael O'Dwyer either verbally or in writing although there were men of education and position among the witnesses for the defence. If there were a substantial measure of terrorism how came it that during the whole of the period which had been covered not a single native newspaper had suggested that such things were taking place? His Lordship added: "If you think that this libel merely meant that certain subordinates of Sir Michael O'Dwyer had been guilty of irregular conduct, that would be one thing, because you might criticize some of them. But is that the charge which has been made? In my view, the defendant has failed to prove that the plaintiff ever instigated or authorised a single act of terrorism."

General Dyer's action.

Turning to Amritsar, his Lordship suggested that a definition of an atrocity was something done "with a desire to indulge in the lust of hurting." He continued: Was General Dyer guilty of an atrocity? I am quite aware that what I now say will be fully considered, and perhaps differed from, by you and by others. But I cannot help feeling that the word "atrocity" ought not lightly to be applied to a man who might have been guilty of an error of judgment, but who admittedly acted with absolute integrity and honesty of purpose. The word "atrocity" is to be considered with regard to what I regard as the prime duty of every Government, be it in England, or in India, or elsewhere, to maintain order and to repress anarchy. Without the enforcement of law there can be no good thing for the people. I suppose that the problem is: "How shall order be maintained and anarchy repressed?" When I go from this country to the Punjab I begin to feel at once that all the treatises on civil government that I have read, all the political theories which I have heard discussed, are really put to the test. It is a problem which touches every one of the Indian Princes and the population under them. In considering whether General Dyer was guilty of an atrocity, I suggest that you ask yourselves whether, if General Dyer had been a Mahomedan officer, he would have been guilty of an atrocity in acting as he did."

His Lordship went on to say that the Hunter Committee had not called General Dyer's action an atrocity. "In any event," he said, "one cannot help feeling that the time and the method of General Dyer's punishment, if he were wrong, were most unfortunate. It may be said that the full facts were not known to the authorities at home, but after the events of April 13, 1919, General Dyer was approved by his superior officers and was given a command (in the Afghan War) in which he conducted operations with distinction. It was more than a year after Amritsar that he was told that no further use could be found for his services. He was punished with a severity that could only be realized by those who were cognizant of the great pride in their service of the officers of the British Army."

His Lordship reviewed the events which had occurred at Amritsar before the arrival of General Dyer and said that General Dyer knew of those events. As far as he could see not a single Indian person or Indian building had been attacked but only European persons and European buildings. The mob was in possession of the city. It was unfortunate that there were children among those present in the square but there had been no evidence of the presence of woman. If it were a meeting of men gathered together in such circumstances, what was meant by that meeting? The resolutions of the meeting might be innocent but that was a device well known in the history of seditious crime. The question was not what were the formal resolutions at the meeting, but who were the speakers. There were eight speakers, and all were afterwards convicted of murder, or complicity in murder, or of sedition. About what were they addressing that meeting?

Mr. Justice McCardie, continuing his summing-up, resumed his comment on the action of General Dyer in firing on the crowd at Amritsar on April 13, 1919. He said that General Dyer had made statements on various matters. Sir

Walter Schwabe had rightly drawn attention to the fact that Sir Michael O'Dwyer said in evidence that on the statement made by General Dyer to the Hunter Committee his (General Dyer's) conduct was indefensible. Later, however, General Dyer made a statement to the Army Council and brought before the authorities circumstances which apparently had not been present in his mind when he gave evidence before the Hunter Committee. Among other things, he stated that there was a clear conviction in existence that a determined and organized movement was in progress to destroy all the Europeans on the spot and to carry the movement throughout the Punjab, and that in the meeting in the square at Amritsar, he had before him a mob with an express intention to challenge British authority and to defy him to take any effective action again them. Sir Walter Schwabe had, however, pointed out that, in spite of that, General Dyer was punished. In the present hearing further facts might have come to light.

The body of testimony about Amritsar was great. In considering it they (the jury) must remember that the matter which was important was, what was feared at the time and not the opinion which was formed afterwards.

The position at Amritsar.

His Lordship referred to the conditions at Amritsar before April 13 and to the fears of mutiny among the Indian troops and of troubles from Afghanistan. He continued:—Suppose that General Dyer's force had been wiped out, what would have happened? The consequences might have been appalling. That is a factor which you must consider when you weigh the question whether what General Dyer did was an atrocity. Rebellions lead to insurrections. Insurrections lead to civil wars. Civil wars are terrible things. In this case, dealing with matters of high policy as we are, one has only to remember that grave evils may sometimes demand grave remedies.

The action of General Dyer received the approbation of all the military authorities, but I do not myself pay undue weight to that, for it may well be that the instinct of loyalty of one soldier for another might lead to that approval. When we ask ourselves whether what General Dyer did was an atrocity we must remember the man and the circumstances. General Dyer was a man whose career had been distinguished, a man admittedly of high character who on this day performed, as he said, a horrible duty and performed it, as is again admitted, with absolute honesty of purpose. The question whether his act was an atrocity—whatever may be the meaning you give to that word—raises an interesting and a serious question. One cannot help asking oneself how this matter was regarded by the Sikhs of Amritsar and of the surrounding places. They were on the spot. They knew all. If General Dyer's action had been an atrocity one would have thought that the Sikhs would be outraged because Amritsar was their holy city. I cannot help attaching some importance to the curious and striking evidence that after the firing on the mob was over and order had been restored, Sikh priests congratulated and thanked General Dyer and insisted on his being baptized as a Sikh, a unique honour. Why, if the firing were an atrocity, was this honour conferred on General Dyer by the Sikhs?

The question whether General Dyer acted rightly or wrongly is for you. I said in the course of my opening words to you that I should express my own opinion on certain things subject to your own judgment. Speaking with full deliberation and knowing the whole of the evidence given in this case, I express my view that General Dyer in the grave and exceptional circumstances acted rightly, and in my opinion, he was wrongly punished by the Secretary of State for India. That is my view, and I need scarcely say that I have weighed every circumstance and every detail which was put before the Hunter Committee.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Responsibility.

If you take an opposite view the question then arises whether General Dyer's action was an atrocity committed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, which is a wholly different thing. Before you attribute to Sir Michael O'Dwyer responsibility for this matter you must ask yourselves whether he really did commit it in any fair sense of the words. Before you can say that he is to be deemed to be responsible in any fair sense of the phrase you must remember that he

was not at Amritsar himself but at Lahore, a good many miles away. But Sir Michael O'Dwyer in no way authorized or instigated what General Dyer was going to do; he did not know what was going to happen. In what way is he to be charged with having committed an atrocity if there were one? Stress has been laid on the approval which he afterwards gave to General Dyer's action, but subsequent approval seems to be a very different thing from instigation. Can you in any fair sense of the words say that a man commits an atrocity of which he previously knows nothing whatever because, on the request of a general officer of high position, he afterwards in the circumstances agrees with what has been done?

Considering whether there was a widespread conspiracy against the British rule in the Punjab in 1919, his Lordship said that in the evidence of unrest at that time he had not observed one instance in which an Indian individual was attacked or an Indian shop burned. All he would say was that if the same evidence had been given on a charge against two or more persons of conspiracy in the Punjab, he would hold that there was a prima facie case to go to the jury. The jury would have to consider whether the men who thought that trouble was brewing at Lahore were nervous, and whether it was an atrocity to fire on the mob to prevent incidents which it was feared might occur.

THE USE OF AEROPLANES.

The events at Gujranwala raised the question of the use of aeroplanes during times of civil disturbances. It was a question partly of political expediency, partly of practical necessity, and partly of ethical instinct. The real difficulty in the use of aeroplanes was in defining the extent to which bombs were to be dropped or machine guns used. Sir Sankaran Nair had said that the taking of innocent life was not justified in any circumstances; that it would be wrong to save the lives of 1,000 innocent persons by dropping a bomb which might kill one innocent person. The application of that principle could not be confined to the use of aeroplanes; it must logically extend to the firing on a crowd by troops or police. If any man who was going to a murderous meeting chose to take a child with him, the whole mob, according to Sir Sankaran Nair's theory, would be immune. The extent to which aeroplanes were used at Gujranwala and the manner in which they were used were matters on which opinion might differ. If Sir Michael O'Dwyer had asked the military to take out aeroplanes and to drop bombs and use machine guns on persons working peacefully in the fields, he would clearly have been wrong. But if Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the general officer commanding meant that the aeroplanes should only use bombs or machine guns against a crowd which was about to attack buildings or to murder, that was a wholly different thing. The jury would have to consider what Sir Michael O'Dwyer really authorized.

In his view, there was ample power to impose martial law in the Punjab. It was declared by the Government of India at Simla, which was not far from the area of disturbances, where the Government was surrounded by advisers, including Sir Sankaran Nair. If martial law were once declared it ought to be exercised with firmness and rigour. On the other hand, it ought not to be administered in mere caprice or with an unnecessary severity. There was no doubt that Sir Michael O'Dwyer secured the declaration of martial law because he asked for it.

In conclusion, his Lordship said that the eulogium which was passed on Sir Michael O'Dwyer by the Government of India and the Secretary of State and which was described by Sir Sankaran Nair in his book as an "outrage on Indian public opinion," referred to the whole period during which Sir Michael O'Dwyer occupied the position of Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. It was true that a large number of newspapers in India criticized the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. It had been said that no newspaper expressed approbation of it. He (his Lordship) sometimes wondered what public opinion was. It was a nice point how it was created and whether public opinion represented the views of the body of busy working folk or whether it represented the views of those who owned or conducted newspapers. If there were a widespread desire to use the events in the Punjab in April, 1919, for propaganda purposes they might well find a certain uniformity of opinion in a great part of the newspapers of India.

India at Stake.

Under the caption "India At Stake" Sir Michael O'Dwyer issued the following letter to the Press after his victory in the Nair Libel Case:—

Five years ago, in April 1919, a few months after the Armistice, a serious rebellion broke out in the Central Punjab. It was the result of Gandhi's agitation against the Rowlatt Bills, supported by the most malignant campaign of misrepresentations that ever deluded an ignorant and credulous people.

The first outbreak took place at Delhi, the headquarters of the Government of India, on March 30, and the rebellion started in Amritsar on April 10. The rebels murdered every European on whom they could lay hands, and attempted to murder European women. At the same time, throughout the Punjab, and in other parts of India, most determined attempts were made to wreck the communications leading to the North-West Frontier by cutting the telegraph, tearing up the railway, and burning bridges, so as to prevent the movement of troops towards the frontier.

Afghan Hopes.

By this it was hoped to facilitate the invasion of Northern India by the new (and then hostile) Amir of Afghanistan and the frontier tribes, with whom the fomenters of the rebellion kept in communication, and on whose help they were relying to overthrow British rule in India.

On April 12, 1919, a strong military force, skilfully handled, re-established control of Lahore. On the same date General Dyer took charge of the military situation at Amritsar, with instructions to re-establish civil control. His task was no easy one. He had only 1,000 men—400 British, 600 Indians (mostly untrained)—to protect the 100 European women and children collected in the fort, to guard the civil station, to safeguard his communications, and to overawe the hostile mobs, numbering tens of thousands, in a city of 150,000 people.

Orders Defied

On the morning of April 13, he spent four hours with the District Magistrate in publicly proclaiming by beat of drum, in nineteen different places in the city, that all gatherings of eight or more would be fired upon. His proclamation was received with derision as mere "bluff" which he had not the power to enforce.

In defiance of his orders, a hostile gathering of 15,000 to 20,000 persons assembled a few hours later. It was convened by a man who had played a leading part in the murder of the bank managers on the 10th, and was addressed by eight of the men who had taken a prominent part in the murderous outrages and rebellious proceedings of the previous days. General Dyer, in pursuance of the warnings he had given, opened fire on this gathering, which he regarded—and who can say he was wrong ?—as "the rebel army," with the small force at his disposal—fifty Indian troops armed with rifles, backed by forty Gurkhas carrying kukris.

Dyer's prompt action, repellent to himself personally but dictated by a stern sense of duty in a supreme crisis, smashed the rebellion at its source, and though it unfortunately involved the loss of nearly 400 lives, it undoubtedly averted the far greater bloodshed which the spread of the rebellion would have entailed.

When the news of his action spread, in a few days the rebellion subsided everywhere, and not another shot had to be fired in the Punjab. Order was restored before the Afghan invasion began early in May, and the Afghans, who had counted on finding a rebellious country and a mutinous Army ready to welcome them, were confronted with a loyal people and an Army 200,000 strong to bar their way.

In the Punjab, the forces of disorder had for the moment been paralysed, and the fomenters of rebellion as well as their ignorant dupes had been brought to speedy justice in a few months. The British Raj had never been so secure.

And then came the beginning of the debacle. The Extremist friends throughout India and the leading rebels of the Punjab, whose plans had been foiled by the prompt measures taken, started again, under Gandhi's leadership,

another propaganda of calumny and mis-representation carried out with extraordinary skill and supported by ignorant or unscrupulous partisans in this country, to discredit the men and the measures—the so-called "Punjab Atrocities"—by which the rebellion had been suppressed. Timid or ambitious English politicians here and in India, eager to secure at any cost a favourable atmosphere for the reforms then before Parliament, played into their hands. The true facts of the rebellion were not for months disclosed to the British Press and Public; all the rebels but a small fraction guilty of the most atrocious crimes were amnestied in December, 1919—and many of them at once resumed their career of seditious agitation.

HUMILIATION.

The triumph of the Indian extremists was now complete. They had forced the Government of India to a complete and humiliating surrender. For two years after this Gandhi was supreme in India, while his friend and admirer, Mr. Montagu, directed the destinies of India from Whitehall as Secretary of State. During these two years disorder and anarchy stalked unchecked over the length and breadth of India, culminating in the Malabar rebellion of 1920-21, which, though a small local affair, cost 10,000 lives against the 500 of the Punjab rebellion.

The action taken against Dyer and others was used by the Khilafat revolutionaries to persuade the ignorant Moplas that rebellion was a safe game. Then came another dramatic turn of the wheel. In March, 1922, on the same day, Mr. Montagu fell from office and Gandhi was arrested and brought to trial for the sedition which he had for months been boasting of spreading by all the means in his power.

For some time "the land (India) had comparative rest." But Gandhi's success in defying a weak Government had roused up many others to follow in his footsteps, and to-day the truculent Akali Sikhs of the Punjab are the fighting arm of the Extremist Congress Party that is aiming at the subversion of British rule either by overt or covert methods.

MURDER APPROVED

The development of their so-called "non-violent" methods may be gathered from the resolution of the Bengal Congress a few days ago publicly approving of the patriotic action of the Bengali murderer of Mr. Day—an English stock-broker in Calcutta, whom the murderer mistook for the Chief of the Police, and yet the Secretary of State for India sees no harm in carrying on a private correspondence with members of this Party in India as to grave political issues, and the doors of the India Office are open to many of them who are now pushing their subversive propaganda in this country. No wonder loyal Indians, still the vast majority, openly say: "How long can a Government last from which its friends have nothing to hope, its foes nothing to fear?"

But one wonders how long public opinion here will continue to tolerate the apathy and inaction under which India is steadily relapsing into anarchy. Are our statesmen like the Bourbons, who forget everything and learn nothing? In the gloomy horizon one can discern one ray of hope.

BRITISH JUSTICE

An English Judge and jury have just had to review the circumstances in which General Dyer—now sorely stricken with bodily infirmity—had to act at Amritsar on April 13, 1919. The Judge summed up his conclusions in the following memorable passage.

"Speaking with full deliberation, and knowing the whole of the evidence given in this case, I express my view that General Dyer, under the grave and exceptional circumstances, acted rightly and in my opinion upon this evidence, he was wrongly punished by the Secretary of State for India."

This vindication proves that in the long run British Justice at least rises superior to "political considerations." One wants no more Jallianwala Baghs; one wants no more Dyers as victims to political expediency; still less does one want more Mopla rebellions. But the lawlessness and contempt for authority now rampant must inevitably lead as in the past to disorders and rebellion, which in turn must be repressed by military force.

It is time that the British people made it clear to those to whom they have delegated their responsibility that their first duty is to secure to the Indian masses that peace and orderly progress which are now being seriously endangered by the unbridled licence of, and under the encouragement given to, self-seeking or ambitious or openly seditious politicians.

Mrs. Besant's Reply.

To that letter of Sir Michael, circulated and applauded all over England, the solitary voice of Mrs. Besant who was then in England in connection with the National Convention Deputation to the Secretary of State, was raised in protest. In reply to the late Kaisar of the Punjab, Mrs. Besant wrote the following to the Press, but no English Paper would print even this modest reply except Mr. Brailsford's paper, "the Standard." Mrs. Besant wrote:—

The above three words are the title of an article by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., ex-Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, in a Sunday paper. There are certain corrections and ommission in his article, which should be supplied.

He states that the "rebellion started in Amritsar on April 10, and that the rebels murdered every European on whom they could lay hands, and attempted to murder European women". He omits to state that "the rebels" were a number of men who went peaceably and unarmed towards the Civil Lines to ask whither two Indian leaders had been removed, who were stopped by soldiers ere they reached the Lines, who made no effort to disobey, but sat down on the road, beating their breasts and wailing for their lost friends. On this mourning crowd the soldiers fired at short range. On this the unprovoked mourning turned to rage; and the men caught up sticks and bars, and rushed into the town and killed four or five European men, and struck an European woman, who was rescued by Indians. The crowd burnt some buildings and dispersed, and no further rioting occurred. On the 11th and 12th, the Police arrested a number of men, and there was no resistance. On the night of the 12th, General Dyer arrived, and on the morning of the 13th proclaimed that no meeting should be held. The 13th was a festival, and many villagers crowded into Amritsar, men, women and little children, and assembled in a walled-in space, with a few narrow outlets. At 1 o'clock, General Dyer was informed that a crowd was assembling. He waited till about 4 o'clock, and then marched down with 50 riflemen and 40 Gurkhas with knives. Luckily the widest inlet to the square was not wide enough to admit a machine gun. The crowd was doing no harm, was listening quietly to a speaker. Without warning, he gave the order to fire, and the panic-stricken crowd fled at once to the narrow outlets. These were quickly closed by the dead and dying, and the soldiers continued to fire into the unresisting crowd till their ammunition was exhausted, leaving some 500 dead, and more than as many lying wounded. They lay there till the next day, untended, through the terrible heat of the night, without even water, save a little brought by some brave men and women, at the risk of their lives, walking in the streets being forbidden under pain of being shot. General Dyer has never pretended that the crowd was riotous or "tumultuous"; he shot the people down, as he said, "to give a lesson." The remainder of the lesson was given in the shocking outrages under Martial Law, the floggings of untried men, the penning of others up in the burning sun, shelterless, the imprisoning of others in iron cages, in which they could not even lie down, the tortures, the savage sentences. The "crawling order," which shocked even Sir Michael O'Dwyer, by his own confession, applied to the lane in which the English woman was assaulted, and in this a flogging post was set up, tied to which boys were flogged into insensibility in the vain hope of obtaining from them knowledge they did not possess, and any Indian who had to pass through it was forced by soldiers to wriggle along on his stomach, and if he tried to lift himself on to his knees to relieve the pain, he was struck with the butts of rifles or prodded with a bayonet.

The result of the "lesson" has been seen ever since in the state of the Punjab, the bitter hatred felt towards the English, the many riots, the boycott of the Prince of Wales, the alienation of the Sikhs, the general distrust of British promises, the Non-Co-operation Movement, the revival of secret

conspiracy, the deliberate breaking of laws, and the thousands imprisoned for breaking them, and, on the expiry of their sentences, hailed as martyrs by shouting crowds and covered with flowers. To be sent to prison is no longer a disgrace; it is a coveted honor. As Gladstone said of the imprisoned Irish "rebels": "They have made the prison the temple of Liberty." Misguided? Yes. But these results are the lessons learnt by Indians by the massacre of Amritsar and the Martial Law atrocities in the Punjab. General Dyer did not crush a revolution, he created one which is still going on.

I, who write, have fought the Non-Co-Operation Movement from its inception, have been howled down by angry mobs for counselling constitutional means only, and jeered at in the streets. All of us who have tried to popularise the Reforms have met with a similar fate. Our persevering efforts were beginning to have some effect; Sir Sankaran Nair's book had done considerable good; he has had his reward from an English jury. The Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India showed sympathy with the sufferings of families whose bread-winners had been slaughtered or maimed for life, by giving such poor compensation as money could give, and had the audacity to declare that Indian life was as sacred as English life. The verdict of the jury has shattered that idea, and the Judge has condemned the action of the Indian and English Executive Governments. I was not aware before that a Judge might condemn His Majesty's Executives, but must presume that His Majesty's legal representatives may review and brand, without giving them opportunity for defence. His Majesty's representatives of the Executive, to the huge delight in *The Morning Post*. But what will be the effect in India? The lesson taught in the Punjab convinced India—as the comparatively trifling Peterloo Massacre convinced England—that a people's lives are not safe until they win political power, and it gave a tremendous impetus to Home Rule. The punishment of Sir Sankaran Nair, and the "vindication of General Dyer" will give another great impulse to the campaign for winning Dominion Status in India. Our task in winning it *constitutionally* will be rendered much harder, for the advocates of conspiracy to overthrow British rule will be greatly strengthened. I grant that an unarmed people can *for a time* be cowed down by a Nation armed to the teeth with modern weapons, with aeroplanes raining bombs on helpless towns and villages. But I deny that the British people will for long allow the holding of India subject, by lessons like that taught by General Dyer. But if India, in despair, embraces the teachings of the Swarajists and refuses to pay taxes—as was threatened by Mr. Patel in the Indian Legislative Assembly, and this trial may lead to that—can they be collected by aeroplanes and bombs?

This trial has made it necessary for Britain to choose her road. *Sunday Express* says that "in the last resort we hold India by the sword, and as guardians of civilisation"—by massacres?—"we dare not let it slip from our grasp". That is mischievous rubbish. Two hundred and forty millions of people cannot permanently be held by force, and any attempt would mean the stirring up of Asia against Europe. India can only be held by ties of mutual love and trust, now strained almost to the breaking point. Let Britain co-operate with India in establishing Home Rule, and then, only then, will India remain a contented partner in the Commonwealth and a bulwark of Great Britain's Self-Governing Dominions in the East. Japan, China, Afghanistan, Persia, Iraq, Arabia, Egypt, Angora, are all inhabited by colored Nations, and they are all awake; they would not tolerate the holding down of their colored brethren; only the Russian Bolshevists would rejoice if Britain were mad enough to stir up all Asia against her by forgetting the words of warning, that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword. Britain has the splendid opportunity of uniting white and colored races, Europe and Asia, West and East, by accepting India as a Self-Governing Dominion in the Commonwealth. But the opportunity, if rejected, will pass out of her reach.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who has won the libel action which he brought against Sir Sankaran Nair, takes a gloomy view of the present state of India in the significant article which he contributes to our columns.

Sir Michael stands for the traditional ideas and policy of the men who have governed India with no thought of self-interest and with little belief in mild and conciliatory efforts to deal with extremism, while Lord Olivier, Secretary of State for India in a Socialist Government, represents a very different

school of thought. There is less, however, which divides them in policy than might seem. Midway, as a great, powerful and moderating influence, comes H. H. the Aga Khan, who in a recent issue of *The Sunday Express* made a striking pronouncement on India and Indian policy. Extremists of every kind are perilous to the peace and the ordered progress of communities, and blind repression might well bring in its train the evils which impotent weakness must aggravate.

Meanwhile it is urgently important that the people of this country and of this Empire should seek to understand the problem of India, difficult as it may be, and thus to force a clear cut policy on any Government which undertakes the vast responsibilities of Empire. In the last resort we hold India by the sword, and as guardians of civilisation we dare not let it slip from our grasp. A higher sanction than mere self-interest holds us to our task. To find the right way, to reconcile reason with authority, to show complete firmness without being pushed into oppression—that is the task of Imperial governance, that is the task which confronts the British peoples.