

dispersed except forty-seven resisters who remained on camp ground. Arrested, taken in police van include Drs. Naicker, Goonam and M. D. Naidoo, President, Vice-President (and) Secretary respectively (of) Natal Indian Congress, European resister Reverend Michael Scott and eight women. Doctor Dadoo on behalf of Joint Passive Resistance Council issued statement: "Consider police action and arrest first victory. Spirit of resisters excellent. Their non-violent behaviour under extreme provocation and assaults magnificent. Struggle continues more and more volunteers will go into action according to plan. We shall resist."

A. I. Meer
Passive Resistance Council
Natal Indian Congress

II

Following statement made in court today by Dr. G. M. Naicker, President Natal Indian Congress and Chairman Passive Resistance Council when charged under riotous assemblies act together with 46 other passive resisters: "I am South African born Indian peaceful citizen of this land. Recently Government has passed Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act 1946 which deprives my fellow countrymen and myself of certain basic elementary human rights. In protest to this unjust and inhuman law I have occupied land which act debars me from. I am not challenging Durban City Council's ownership of land nor am I engendering hostility to any section of community. As a passive resister I can never be accused (guilty) of arousing hostilities. I bear no illwill nor malice towards any person irrespective of race, colour or creed. On the contrary code of passive resistance enjoins upon me and all those who follow me to exercise moderation, restraint and calm in the face of bitterest provocation. My declared intention of opposing Asiatic Act is common knowledge. It is (a) pity that Government is evading the real issue between my community and itself and chooses firstly to charge me for trespass. My duty (is) to defy Asiatic Act for vindication of honour and rights of my people no matter what suffering and hardship it entails."

In accordance with passive resistance code resisters pleaded guilty though no evidence brought before court to show resisters guilty of any act of violence. Drs. Naicker, Goonam and M. D. Naidoo were sentenced to 7 days' hard labour suspended for three months. All others cautioned and discharged. About forty-four Indians non-volunteers rounded up in vicinity. Appearing before court this afternoon all pleading not guilty.

Marked feature about roundup that groups of Indians found there after expiry of 5 minutes' warning irrespective of whether they waiting for transport arrested. But groups of Europeans seen standing in vicinity even an hour after expiry of warning were not touched by notice nor arrested.

Dr. Naicker
President Natal Indian Congress

APPENDIX IX

(A) GOA

The Goan authorities are going on merrily with their 'humanizing' activities by gagging the people of Goa. The latest instance is that of their 'court martial' sentencing Shri Braganza Cunha to eight years and deporting him to a far off Portuguese settlement in Africa for the crime of daring to assert his elementary right of civil liberty. Well has the Working Committee passed a resolution in condemnation of the policy of the Goan authorities which stands in striking contrast to the action of the French Governor who has encouraged the people to throw in their lot with the people of British India.

M. K. Gandhi

Sevagram, 12-8-1946

(*Harijan*, August 18, 1946)

(B) DR. LOHIA'S CHALLENGE

It would appear from newspaper reports that Dr. Lohia went to Goa at the invitation of the Goans and was served with an order to refrain from making speeches. According to Dr. Lohia's statement, for 188 years now, the people of Goa have been robbed of the right to hold meetings and form organisations. Naturally he defied the order. He has thereby rendered a service to the cause of civil liberty and especially to the Goans. The little Portuguese Settlement which merely exists on the sufferance of the British Government can ill afford to ape its bad manners. In Free India Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free State. The present Portuguese Government will no longer be able to rely upon the protection of British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants of Goa against their will. I would venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognize the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with its inhabitants rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British Government.

To the inhabitants of Goa I will say that they should shed fear of the Portuguese Government as the people of other parts of India have shed fear of the mighty British Government and assert their fundamental right of civil liberty and all it means. The differences of religion among the inhabitants of Goa should be no bar to common civil life. Religion is for each

individual, himself or herself, to live. It should never become a bone of contention or quarrel between religious sects.

M. K. Gandhi

New Delhi, 26-6-'46

(*Harijan*, June 30, 1946)

(C) GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PORTUGUESE INDIA'S
LETTER TO GANDHI

English translation as there is no one here to do it in the language you speak.

Sir,

I took notice through the Press, a few days ago, of the warning given by you to my Government.

Apart (from) the Dictators who have been condemned by the conscience of the people, I have known so far no political leader who has allowed himself to meddle in the internal life of other powers.

But as I admit, in the first place, that you were deluded in your good faith by false and malevolent information, I wish to enlighten you, so that, as regards this case, you are not led to break the moral line which I suppose is at the basis of your political ideals.

I am well aware since long of your juridical culture and I hope you are in a better position to judge me, after you know that I have also passed a law course and belong to the judicial magistracy of my country. Can you therefore, believe, that, being a judge, I may be unaware of the civil rights of the people I administrate?

If you do believe it, you will deny the value of the juridical science which we both cultivate and will do injury to the historical truth of more than four centuries of the Portuguese administration in this part of India.

I can understand that you are not well conversant with the history and the character of the Portuguese people. But by ascribing 188 years to a rule which you call as being of "subjection of the inhabitants of Goa against their will" you seem not to know not only the present reality, but also the history of India itself.

The Portuguese did not come to India for the subjection and economical exploitation of this country, but they came guided by a high ideal of fraternity and they therefore consider always the Indians as their brethren and never as their subjects. And that these are not merely words is shown by the fact that there are 10,000 Indians earning their living in Portugal and in the Portuguese Colonies — every profession being

accessible to them — as against a couple of hundred European Portuguese in Portuguese India.

Since the far off time of Albuquerque up to this date, the Portuguese have always, in a self-denying way, tried to free the Indian from what in your well known opinion, is the black spot of the Indian civilization and they have obtained such a success in this path that the Goa people, freed from the oppressive and iniquitous rule of the castes and untouchability distinguished themselves among the general masses of the population of Hindusthan.

The people of Goa, sane and honest, recognizes and wishes for the benefits of this real work of civil freedom which seems to be unknown only to a few adepts of anarchism. Those, suffering from a war psychosis, think that it is too early yet for a world at peace.

Rendering full justice to your enlightened mind, and considering your great political responsibilities, I can hardly believe that you are siding with those last as can be inferred by your having accepted without controlling (convincing ?) proofs the informations of Dr. Lohia.

What moral or juridic principle gave to a stranger like Dr. Lohia the right to trouble this peaceful people precisely at the moment he was receiving the Portuguese hospitality?

Is there in any country of the world a principle of civil liberty allowing agitators to fool the ready belief of a humble people with the misrepresentation of facts, injuring thus the true liberty they enjoy in peace, work and progress?

At the risk of denying its own function, no constituted authority can give its acquiescence to such an abuse of liberty allowing a small group to impose its will on the great majority of the population at the expense of its just and true freedom.

Portugal is a peaceful country and not an oppressive power, as was shown in the recent war, and being so is therefore an orderly nation.

There is order in administration, order in the minds, order in the streets. Its constitutional laws are naturally fitted to the traditions, customs and nature of the people, but generically (generally?) they give them the same rights (as are) enjoyed by any other civilized country.

You must know that absolute freedom is an unrealizable utopia. In social life there cannot be absolute rights because the right of everyone has to give place to the right of others, among them the right of authority.

The first right and also the duty of authority is to look after the well-being of the people. And if to authority is committed the preservation of the people's physical health against pestilence and the use of narcotics

and toxics, with the same reason it must look after the mental health not leaving it a prey to unsettling ideas. I don't believe that there is lesser liberty in the existence of a benevolent censorship trying to educate without party spirit, than in other forms of State intervention that I see even in other so-called more democratic countries.

For instance, a price list of goods as the one I saw published by the Government of India in the second page of the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 5th instant doesn't exist in my country. Except one or two indispensable articles, prices are freely fixed by the merchants or by its corps and not by the State. Where is then trade freedom?

In conclusion, on the responsibility of my juridical profession and my official position, I can assure you that the people of Goa's civil liberties are not in danger. Those who menace it are the agitators who by bribery or compulsion try to lead the humble classes away from their peaceful work.

I am confident that, reviewing your position, you will with the same publicity before used, not allow such agitators to act in your name.

Nova-Goa*

18th July 1946

Yours truly,

Jose Bossa

Governor-General of Portuguese India

(D) GANDHIJI'S REPLY TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF
PORTUGUESE INDIA

Uruli-Kanchan,

Dt. Poona,

2nd August 1946.

Dear Friend,

It was kind of you to write to me in reply to what I had written in *Narijan* about Goa affairs. I suppose you know that I have visited Mossambique, Delagoa and Inhambane. I did not notice there any Government for philanthropic purposes. Indeed, I was astonished to see the distinction that the Government made between Indians and the Portuguese and between the Africans and themselves. Nor does the history of the Portuguese Settlement in India prove the claim set forth by you. Indeed, what I see and know of the condition of things in Goa is hardly edifying. That the Indians in Goa have been speechless is proof, not of the innocence or the philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government but of the rule of terror. You will forgive me for not subscribing to your statement that there is full liberty in Goa and that the agitation is confined only to a few malcontents.

Every account, received by me personally and seen in the papers here in this part of India, confirms the contrary view. I suppose, the report of the sentence by your Court Martial of eight years on Dr. Braganza and his contemplated exile to a far off Portuguese Settlement, is by itself a striking corroboration of the fact, that civil liberty is a rare article in Goa. Why should a law-abiding citizen like Dr. Braganza be considered so dangerous as to be singled out for exile?

Though the politics of Dr. Lohia probably differ from mine, he has commanded my admiration for his having gone to Goa and put his finger on its black spot. Inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for Independence, until much greater India has regained it. But no person or group can thus remain without civil liberty without losing self-respect. He has lighted a torch which the inhabitants of Goa cannot, except at their peril, allow to be extinguished. Both you and the inhabitants of Goa should feel thankful to the Doctor for lighting that torch. Therefore, your description of him as "stranger" would excite laughter, if it was not so tragic. Surely the truth is that the Portuguese coming from Portugal are strangers whether they come as philanthropists or as governors exploiting the so-called weaker races of the earth.

You have talked of the abolition of caste distinctions. What I see has happened is that not only no caste distinction has been abolished but at least one more caste, far more terrible than the system "caste", has been added by the Portuguese rulers.

I, therefore, hope that you will revise your views on philanthropy, civil liberty and caste distinctions, withdraw all the African police, declare yourself whole-heartedly for civil liberty and if possible, even let the inhabitants of Goa frame their own Government, and invite from Greater India more experienced Indians to assist the inhabitants and even you in framing such Government.

Yours etc.,

M. K. Gandhi

P. S. Since your letter was sent to the Press I am publishing this in *Harijan*. M. K. G.

(*Harijan*, August 11, 1946)

APPENDIX X

SECURITY PRISONERS' LETTER TO GANDHIJI

Dum Dum Central Jail,
17th January 1946.

Mahatmajji,

Since your release, we have been urging on you to come to Bengal. Today Bengal needs your tender care. At last, as soon as the opportunity has offered itself, you have come to Bengal and we hope Bengal has given you her best reception. We regret we could not physically take part in that reception.

We offer you our allegiance — to you personally for your ideal and methods and to you as the leader of the nation. The last 3 or 4 years have been years of trials, tribulations and sufferings for the nation; you personally had your bereavements also. The nation has felt with you the national sufferings and humiliations as also your bereavements.

Now to our personal matters. When the Congress was faced with a crisis, we took charge of the Congress amidst wide-spread and deep opposition. With our limited resources, and in the short period available, we could just save the structure of the Congress organisation but could not achieve much in terms of definite work. About a year before that, by a public declaration we had liquidated the Jugantur Party and joined the Congress without any party reservation. But as regards the details of the Congress methods and programme we were yet labouring under some doubts. When we were faced with the alternative either to take the official responsibility of the Congress or to see Bengal cutting adrift from the All-India Congress, we faltered for a while. We discussed our difficulties with the Maulana Saheb. We gave him in writing where and how far we then differed from the accepted policy of the Congress. We sent copies of that statement to you and to the members of the Working Committee. Our statement was discussed in the Working Committee after which Maulana Saheb asked us to accept official responsibility.

We started working honestly and sincerely; and our doubts and differences melted away particularly in view of the ever-developing policy of the Congress during the war. But we were arrested in May 1941. Then the threat of Japanese invasion, the programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection, the August movement, the famine — the aftermath of the

war — all these have brought us close to you, have made us deeply appreciate your love for the common man that permeates your outlook and programme. Just after our arrest we had some correspondence with you. You then wrote — “I have no difficulty in accepting your limitations of non-violence. If worked honestly it will automatically expand.” Now we can say we have no difficulty in accepting your non-violence — not only as the best means for achieving Indian revolution, but also for saving the common man of the world as against the rising world Fascism based on naked violence. Your gospel of non-violence and constructive work (which primarily means service to the rural population and to the down-trodden) is the only way to save the common man from slavery and misery.

We have come over to you traversing through Marx — who was certainly a landmark in human history. But history has not been standing where he elaborated his programme of action for particular regions. You may not like it, but we see in you the natural culmination of Marx — if we take him as the inspirer of an outlook, as the propounder of a method for analysing history and deciding on a course of action, and not merely as the giver of a set of rigid dogmas for all time and for all climes.

We have been working in and with the Congress since 1921 — of course retaining a second love sometimes dormant and sometimes dominant. In 1938 we outgrew that and made the Congress our only vehicle for serving the cause of Indian independence. Now we believe, your method and programme is the only right way to be followed. We further believe that the Congress should be made into a monolithic organisation with undivided and indivisible allegiance. We feel, unless this can be done, it is difficult to do real Congress work at least in Bengal, where there are scores of parties.

Bengal has done some pioneering work in the field of national awakening. The young men of Bengal have had a sneaking pride for that past service. Even when that has gone out of date, our workers have clung to that. That was our handicap. But we felt a new atmosphere had come after the glorious August upheaval and the terrible famine. We were gladly awaiting a congenial atmosphere for real Congress work. The pronouncements of prominent Congress leaders after their release also encouraged us in that hope. But suddenly a diversion was created giving a fresh fillip to romantic politics. Facts were overlooked, teachings of history were ignored, admitted failures were covered up. Even top leaders were swayed off their feet to make unexpected utterances. Perhaps you have cautioned them. Anyhow, in all probability, during your recent

sojourn you have noticed that atmosphere today is much clearer. Particularly after the ravages of the famine, it is extremely favourable for working the constructive programme. We hope the moment of the psychological break-away from the past would not be allowed to slip away and under your inspiration and insistence every effort would be directed to organising the masses on the basis of your 18 point programme.

Our next problem is Communal. Here also much harm has been done by diluting your stand. This we note with deep sorrow. We believe the best way to prevent Pakistan is to concede autonomy and to prepare the masses for it through service. Much harm was done in Bengal in 1934-37 by an unseemly wrangle over the Communal Award. We hope the same mistake may not be repeated on an all India scale now.

After our release, we shall be working with the outlook stated above. We shall try to stay with you for some time before we start work here. In our future work we shall seek your guidance and help. We hope, now Bengal will appreciate and accept the ever-evolving Gandhi, evolving on the fundamental basis of his love for the common man

This is purely for your personal knowledge.

Before concluding, we must say a few words regarding our detention. The Government plea of terrorism is wholly false. Even before our arrest, Sir Nazimuddin, then Home Minister, personally told us his police reports had confirmed his personal information that we were doing nothing but Congress work. This was barely two months before our arrest. In 1943, as Premier, he made almost the same statement in the Assembly. This bogey of terrorism is simply a police trick — to serve a double purpose — to misrepresent us to the public and thus to create difficulties for our work, and secondly to keep a broad hint that terrorist groups are still active so that guileless and sincere young men may be duped and an atmosphere of terrorism kept up to serve imperialist purposes as against the Congress programme. This is because that programme cuts at the very root of the full-fledged Fascist structure that is coming into being through the United Nations' plannings as well as Indian Government's. There has been no case of terrorism in Bengal since 1934 and it is simply insulting our intelligence as well as our patriotism to say that we are thinking — or for that matter any other political group is thinking — of terrorism at this hour of the day.

Yours sincerely,
Arun Chandra Guha
Bhupendra Kumar Datta
and friends.

APPENDIX XI

GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT ON FOOD SITUATION

The food situation brought the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy to me. I had many meetings and appointments up to a fairly long time. These I could not disregard and I do not know how to fly and hope I may never have to do so. Therefore, in reply to an imperative invitation from His Excellency, I asked that he should send me someone who could speak for him and so the P.S.V. came yesterday. Food situation alone brought him to me.

Could I say something in order to lift the question out of the political arena and out of the general distrust of Government intentions and policy? As the matter brooks no delay I give here the purport of what I said. So far as the Congress policy is concerned His Excellency should invite Maulana Saheb and if he cannot come ask him to name his deputy. I personally feel that the present irresponsible executive should be immediately replaced by a responsible one chosen from the elected members of the Central Legislature. I also personally feel that this responsibility should be shouldered by the elected members of the Central Legislature irrespective of parties, for famine of cloth and food is common to the millions of India. Whether the Government can accept the suggestion and whether the different political parties that compose the Central Legislature consider it practicable or not is more than I can say. But this much I can say without fear of contradiction. I have little doubt that if the mercantile community and the official world become honest, if only in face of the impending calamity, we are such a vast country that we can just tide over the difficulty even if no help comes from the outside world, which is itself groaning. Grain and cloth dealers must not hoard, must not speculate. Food should be grown on all cultivable areas wherever water is or is made available. Flower gardens should be used for growing food crops. This has been done during the period of war. The present is, in some respects, worse than the war period. Before we have eaten up the grain we have in stock we must economize like misers. All ceremonial functions should be stopped. Women can play the highest part in the alleviation of the present distress by economizing in their households. In nine tenths of our activity we can manage our daily affairs without the aid of the Government, whatever its colour may be, if only it will refrain from interfering with the people. Panic must be avoided

at all costs. We must refuse to die before death actually takes toll and think of the skeletons of India, and the least little thing we may do to help, and all will be well with India. Let us not hypnotize ourselves into the belief that because we can indulge ourselves, our next-door neighbour can do likewise. Cloth famine, I know, is a mockery for, if only the Government and millowners will act honestly and intelligently, no one need go naked for want of cloth. We have cotton enough and idle hands enough and skill enough to make in our villages all the cloth we need.

· (*Harijan*, February 17, 1946)

APPENDIX XII

GANDHIJI'S DRAFT PROCLAMATION ON SALT AND THE NOTE ON THE PROPOSED PROCLAMATION

(A) THE PROCLAMATION

In order that the poorest in the land may feel that independence is coming and as an earnest of their *bona fides*, the Government of India declare that the Salt Tax is abolished from today. To that end the inspectors of . . . shall withdraw from their scenes of activity and the villagers will be notified by beat of drum and otherwise that they are at liberty to manufacture salt wherever they can for themselves or for sale. Other instructions about the State manufacture and sale of salt will be issued in due course.

(B) NOTE ON THE PROPOSED PROCLAMATION ON SALT

When the Salt Tax is abolished the monopoly goes likewise. Individuals should be free to manufacture salt for consumption or sale.^c Therefore, while there would be no monopoly in law, the Government will by their better organising power and scientific skill be able to create a virtual monopoly. They will not allow private corporations to make manufacture and sale of salt a source of profiteering. It will be a legitimate paying business in the hands of the State. Consumption of the article is so universal that the profit of even a pie on every seer would bring in a natural income to the State. Every dealer in salt will be required to take out a licence for selling salt in his shop. Dealer is not to be confused with a hawker. A hawker who carries salt on his person will be free to sell salt without a licence. This will free the individual manufacturer and seller from interference.

Government will add to the revenue also by putting a heavy, though not a prohibitive, customs duty on foreign salt, whether British or otherwise.

Whilst anxiety has been shown in this note to show how salt may be made to yield legitimate revenue to the State, equal if not greater care has been taken to make salt free like air and water for the individual who wants to labour for its manufacture and sale.

New Delhi,
25th April 1946.

APPENDIX XIII

AN EXACTION AND OPPRESSION

"The salt tax is an exaction and oppression, and if the people understood it, it would only breed discontent. It is a survival of the general exploitation of India's poverty by a profit-making Company."—Ramsay Macdonald

"For a poor population the pressure of what is equivalent to a poll tax is heavily felt and often produces grave discontent."—Bastable

The present annual consumption of salt in India has been estimated to be 51,050,000 maunds per year according to Government estimates. An intake of 12 lbs. of salt per head per year is said to be necessary for maintaining an individual in the tropics in health. At this rate the total quantity of salt required for 40 crores would come to 600,00,000 mds.

The salt requirement for cattle and other four-footed animals per head has been calculated to be 16 lbs. for a cow, 45 lbs. for a bullock, a buffalo and a horse and 11 lbs. for a goat and a sheep. According to a rough estimate of the present cattle population of India, their requirement in salt would come to about 4 crores and 13 lakhs mds.* Another 3 crores mds. is required for various industrial purposes. This makes a total of 13 crores. The present production of salt is 510,00,000 mds. per

* Total requirement of salt for cattle and other quadruped population of India:

According to the 1935 census the number of cattle in India was 21 crores and 50 lakhs. At the rate of half an ounce of salt daily, equivalent to 12 lbs. for the year, they would require about 4 crores and 73 lakhs maunds of salt per year. Similarly, calculating the salt requirement of milch cattle as $\frac{3}{4}$ chhatak for 10 seers of milk, one hundred crore maunds of milk which are annually produced in India call for an annual consumption of 1 crore and 12 lakhs mds. of salt for milch cattle alone. The estimate of 3 crores mds. of salt for the consumption of cattle and other four-footed animals in India is therefore a palpable under-estimate. According to veterinary authorities the inadequate supply of salt available for cattle has resulted in a deterioration of their health and quality of the breed.

year. This comes to 38% of the actual requirement. As the industrial development of the country progresses the requirement for salt would increase still further.

The energies and expenditure of the Salt Department of the Government of India have hitherto been used more for preventing unlicensed manufacture of salt than for developing the salt industry itself. In 1939-40, the Government paid Rs. 33,72,251-4-10 as compensation to the various States to prevent the manufacture of salt in the States.

Given the freedom to manufacture salt, India could easily increase its salt production by tenfold. The map of India is strewn with areas which were at one time flourishing centres of salt manufacture but which are now lying in a state of disuse as a result of the stringent enforcement of the salt laws, and it is a matter of shame that with all the unutilized natural sources of salt in India, we today import 194,00,000 mds. of salt or 25% of the total consumption, not to mention Rs. 1,42,42,000 worth of sodium and potassium salts other than sodium chloride. The total amount of nitrates and alkalies imported in 1937-38 was worth Rs. 3,33,00,000. This included potassium nitrate, sodium sulphate, calcium chloride and magnesium chloride. *Pari passu* with this, thousands of acres of land in India are today rendered unfit for cultivation owing to excessive salinity of the soil. If, instead of spending lakhs on the suppression of salt manufacture, Government were to utilize even a fraction of that amount for developing the salt industry which forms the base and starting point of all heavy chemical industries, not only could large areas of land be reclaimed for agricultural purposes, but crores of rupees could also be saved from being drained out of the country for the purpose of importing chemicals.

The suppression of the salt industry has also spelt the suppression of the manufacture of a number of other chemicals. According to 1873-76 figures the number for the manufacture of some of these chemicals in North India alone was as follows:

Year	Shora	Kruthad	Khari	Sajji	Rassi
1873-74	212	13908	668	3760	815
1874-75	186	7409	498	3620	114
1875-76	132	6701	750	4853	387
1876-77	130	5633	544	1765	212

The relation between the suppression of these manufactures and the enforcement of salt laws will be seen from the following extract from a Government report for the years 1872-73, page 109:

"I have seen the analysis of the samples of salt obtained from Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Badaun, Agra, Mainpuri, Faruqabad, Jaunpur and Ghazipur. In my opinion, to allow alkalies to be manufactured from the saline earth that is to be found on either side of the Jumna river would be disastrous. To give permission to manufacture alkalies at any place from the saline earth would be dangerous. It would jeopardize the salt revenue on lakhs of maunds of common salt."

In 1940 and 1941, 1,50,000 cwts. of dried and salted fish was exported from the country. The dried and salted fish consumed in the country must be taken to be many times that quantity. Similarly, in the year 1939-40, 31,800 tons (87,00,000 mds.) of dried and cured hides were exported from the country. Salt is also used in paper manufacture, agriculture, soap, glass and steel industries and in the manufacture of glazed earthenware, to mention only a few. And yet the amount of rebate claimed and granted on the use of salt for industrial purposes has been showing a decline in spite of the rapid growth of these industries.

Salt consumption declined by 25% (12 to 9 lbs. per head) in the course of 50 years as a result of the imposition of the salt tax.* At the same time the cost of salt to the rural labourer for a family came to about two months' wages i.e. 1/6 of the whole annual earnings (J. Cranford—1836).

Considering that the total production of salt in India is 5.1 crore maunds and includes the quota used for industrial purposes and cattle, an average of about 10 lbs. per head is left for human consumption which is far below the requirement of a man in the tropics.†

In spite of this decline in the basic consumption of salt, in Canara and near Vedaranyam‡ special excise personnel are employed to turn into the sea or otherwise destroy salt fit for human consumption as soon as nature deposits it.

Government have hardly shown any initiative in organizing the salt industry on scientific lines. Their methods of salt manufacture are crude,

Year	Consumption per individual
1793	11.90 lbs.
1803	11.27 „
1823	11.44 „ See also Appendix A, page 324
1833	8.74 „
1843	9.00 „

† See Appendix B, page 325

‡ See Appendix C, page 326

primitive and inefficient. The overhead and supervising charges exceed the actual cost of production, for instance, in the case of Sambhar salt the cost of production per maund is only 8.6 pies but after the addition of the overhead and supervising charges it comes to 3 as. 2.34 pies per maund.* For Delhi the overhead charges work out to 623% of the cost of production.

* Place	Cost of production	Total cost including overhead charges	Average cost of Production for the whole year	Sale price
Sambhar	0/0/8.64	0/2/6.60	0/3/2.34	0/4/3
Didwana	0/1/9.84	0/2/3.80	0/2/8.02	0/2/6
Pachbhadra	0/2/2.19	0/2/10.82	0/3/0.12	0/3/0
Khewda	0/2/8.69	0/3/3.65	0/3/4.42	0/4/3
Barchha	0/1/10.97	0/2/4.42	0/2/4.43	0/4/3
Kala Bara	0/2/10.30	0/3/0.88	0/3/3 88	0/4/3

Most revealing too are the following figures provided by the Salt Department of the Government of India:

Rate of Duty	Rs. 1/9/- per md.
Per capita incidence	Rs. -/4/- „
Cost of production at the Govt. salt sources 1944-45	Rs. -/4/4 „
Place	Wholesale price per md.
Delhi	Rs. 3—8—4
Allahabad	„ 3—3—0
Calcutta	„ 6—8—0
Madras	„ 2—1—1
Bombay	„ 3—12—10
Sind	„ 2—8—10

Two points that emerge from this are that whereas the cost of production of salt at the Government salt sources (1944-45) was Rs. -/4/4 per md., the wholesale price per maund in Delhi was Rs. 3/8/4. Deducting from it Rs. 1/9/- duty, the balance of Rs. 1/11/- over the cost of production represents the overhead charges, i.e. nearly 623% on the cost price. The corresponding percentage for Calcutta is 1592!

And why this discrepancy between the Calcutta price and the Delhi price of salt? Is it because the bulk of Liverpool salt is landed in Calcutta and is consumed almost entirely in Bengal? Must 13 crores of the people be taxed to subsidize this unnatural import? Nothing could show better the monstrosity of the Government's salt monopoly. If the people of Bengal were free to manufacture salt without any duty or licence, they could have all the salt they require at 1 or 2 annas per maund.

Nothing has been done to reclaim other valuable by-products from the Sambhar lake deposits after the extraction of common salt and so lakhs of tons of sodium sulphate, sodium carbonate and soda bicarbonate are allowed to go to waste while large sums of money are drained out of the country by the import of the chemicals for industrial purposes.

II

It is little realized that salt manufacture was at one time next in universality only to the hand-spinning industry, nor is the story of its exploitation and suppression less tragic.

During the days of the East India Company's salt monopoly numerous petitions were presented against the sweating of Molunghees. Under date 26-9-1874, wrote the Board of Trade to the Governor-General-in-Council in the course of a communication:

"Your honourable Board expressed your opinion that the investigation you have made into the circumstances relating to Adjoora tenure left no room for doubt of its being a system of coercion; consequently, equally repugnant to the spirit of the Regulations and to the dictates of justice and good policy."

In 24-Parganas the Agent reported that "the remuneration of Molunghees amounted to only Rs. 6/- for $7\frac{1}{2}$ months' labour, i.e., the entire salt manufacturing season, so that the Molunghee was in permanent bondage to the Agency." Special courts of justice were established claiming to safeguard the interests of the Molunghees but these only helped to "tantalize wretches who neither can, or else do not, prefer a complaint from the dread of still greater oppression."

So widespread was the manufacture of salt that to safeguard the monopoly, savage laws were passed. Thus the 1778 Salt Rules and the Regulation of 1793 required proprietors of land "to give information of illicit manufacture or import on pain of penalties, if salt was proved, in *Diwani Adalat*, to have been made or imported with their connivance." Regulation 6 of 1801 provided for Rs. 5,000/- fine, if manufacture or establishment of salt works was not reported when proved. Regulation 10 of 1819 imposed a fine of Rs. 500/- for each salt work on a Zamindar's estate about which information was knowingly suppressed from Government. Section 31 made each little fireplace a *khalari*, so that some salt water boiled in a cooking pot, made the Zamindar liable to a fine of Rs. 500/-. By Regulation 10 of 1826, burning of straw steeped in water, with the purpose of using saline ashes as condiment for food was

made an offence as under Regulation 10 of 1819, and also any bed prepared for evaporation of sea water was construed to be a salt work.

Regulation XXIX of 1838 added to the above penal provisions: "Such knowledge shall not be required to be established by the direct proof but may be inferred from circumstances at the discretion of the judge." Also, if the *Zamindari* was a partnership, each of the several proprietors was liable to a fine of Rs. 500/-.

The abolition of the Government monopoly of salt in 1863 resulted in the abandonment of salt manufacture by the Government. At the same time, free manufacture of salt in India was inhibited owing to the excise duty on salt, with the result that Indian salt was soon entirely replaced by imported salt. It reduced thousands upon thousands of persons who, under the monopoly system, were engaged in the manufacture of salt to landless labourers. In the words of Sir Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Government of India, "they were the first victims of famine in Orissa. They had nothing to fall back upon . . . they had no agricultural produce of their own . . . a great many of them starved," and, "a considerable number of them were swept off the face of the earth."

That Draconian policy continues even today. Section 48 A of the Bombay Salt Act lays down among other things that any salt revenue officer "who is guilty of cowardice shall on conviction before a magistrate be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to three months' pay or with both." The word 'cowardice' is not defined. But one will have no difficulty in understanding what cowardice can possibly mean in the administration of an Act which takes in its sweep millions of human beings, men and women, young and old, cripples and healthy.

Salt duty has been called the Indian *gabelle*. In France an excessively high salt tax was one of the causes of the French Revolution. History has not been far different in India.

As the places, where salt used to be manufactured before its suppression are also places where there is a perpetual scarcity of rainfall and conditions are not otherwise favourable for cultivation, salt manufacture provided an occupation *par excellence* to hundreds upon thousands of poor people. In Balasore and Cuttack alone at one time 44,000 people derived their living from the manufacture of salt. Suppression of salt manufacture resulted in widespread unemployment among these people and, in fact in many places, produced such discontent as to cause risings which had to be suppressed with great severity.

In Surat the raising of the salt duty from as. -/12/- to Re. 1/- in 1844 caused riots which were suppressed. The duty was afterwards restored to the old scale of as. -/12/- per maund. In 1817 the enforcement of the salt monopoly caused a "widespread rebellion" in Orissa which had to be suppressed with "maximum force".

How extensive this occupation was and what potentialities for expansion there are for developing the salt resources of the country will be seen from the following bird's-eye view of the centres of manufacture which at one time were flourishing but are today lying in a state of disuse as a result of the suppression of free manufacture of salt.*

In a country where salt can be manufactured in such abundance locally by the people themselves at negligible cost from hundreds and thousands of salt lakes, salt springs, brine wells and saline earth, not to mention thousands of miles of seaboard, it is nothing short of criminal to deplete the salt mines of their contents, squandering the nation's patrimony, while all these sources are left undeveloped.

To sum up:

1. Free manufacture of salt by the people without any tax or licence should be encouraged and an effort made to bring back into operation all the centres of salt manufacture which at one time flourished but are today in disuse as a result of Government suppression. This will enable the full complement of salt requirement for men and cattle to be produced from local salt at about an anna per maund, eliminating as it will, the cost of transport and supervision and middleman's profits. What is more, the extension of salt manufacture by the people in the way suggested will not jeopardize Government's revenue if it chooses to undertake manufacture of refined salt.

2. The import of Liverpool and Cheshire salt is a monstrosity. It has an evil history.† It ought to be stopped immediately by the imposition of a heavy import duty.

3. This would prevent 45 lakhs of rupees every year from going out of the country.

4. Free permission for the manufacture of salt in the Indian States will save Government an annual sum of nearly 34 lakhs of rupees, which is at present being given to the various States as compensation to prevent salt being manufactured within their territories.

5. The Government should undertake the reclamation of salts other than the common salt which are to be found in the various saline earths

* See Appendix D, page 327

† See Appendix E, page 329

in India or exist as impurities along with the salt in the salt lakes. The Government should further undertake the manufacture of alkalis and chemicals from earth on scientific lines and prevent their importation from abroad by the imposition of import duties.

6. The present Excise Department ought forthwith to be abolished and the development of salt manufacture made over to the Industries Department. The present Excise personnel are by tradition and training unfit to handle an industry on scientific or business lines. The money spent on providing salaries to the highly paid officials of the department should be utilized for meeting the deficit in the revenue caused by the abolition of the salt duty or for promoting research for the organization of the salt industry on scientific and economical lines.

These measures will reduce the deficit caused by the direct loss of excise revenue to a very considerable extent, and the country on the whole will materially gain in the end by being provided with cheap salt and other chemicals required for its industries, agriculture and cattle which are at present being starved.* Occupation will also be provided to lakhs of people in areas which are unfit for cultivation and therefore subject to repeated famines. There will thus be an all round improvement in the health of the soil as well as the inhabitants on it, both animal and human.

Appendix A

EXCISE AND SALT CONSUMPTION

Mr. Gokhale, speaking from the Congress platform in 1895 at Calcutta, said:

"In 1882, i.e. before the duty was reduced to a uniform rate of Rs. 2/- a maund, the consumption of salt in India was about 2 crores, 90 lakhs maunds. In that year, the duty was reduced all round to Rs. 2/- and consumption at once began expanding. And this consumption stood at 337 lakhs in 1887, when Lord Dufferin again raised the duty to Rs. 2/8/- a maund. What was the result? The expansion of consumption, which had gone on so steadily during Ripon's time, at once ceased. And since that year up till now, i.e. during a period of 8 years, consumption has remained absolutely stationary, the figure for the last year being 341 lakhs of maunds....We thus find that, while under Lord Ripon's reduced duties the consumption increased in 5 years by

* See Appendix F, page 331

about 50 lakhs of maunds, under Dufferin's enhanced duties it increased by only 4 lakhs in a period of 8 years. Population has been steadily increasing and you will at once see that consumption has actually gone back during these 8 years."

Coming to the more specific issue of *per capita* consumption, Mr. Gokhale said:

"Eminent physicians have laid down that for healthful existence the annual consumption of salt must be 12 lbs. per head. Now, during the administration of Lord Lawrence ... the consumption was about 12 lbs. per head. After that it began to decline, till at the end of Lord Lytton's regime, the average figure per head stood at about 9 lbs. Then came the beneficent administration of Lord Ripon. And the duty on salt was lowered, as I have already mentioned, to a uniform rate of Rs. 2/- a maund. Consumption went up by leaps and bounds and in 1887, the average per head stood at 10.1/3 lbs. The enhanced duties, however, have once more put back the figure, and last year it stood at only 9½ lbs. per head."

Appendix B

SALT AND HEALTH

More salt is required to keep a man in health in the tropics than in cold or temperate climate. Again, when the diet is wholly or partly vegetarian, more condiment is required to maintain the balance of salt in the system.

* Observes Mr. Carver in his article on salt: "A year or two back the British army authorities in India began issuing extra salt to the troops, because it was discovered that in the hot season it keeps them healthy, and prevents exhaustion and heat stroke. The salt replaces that lost from the body by profuse perspiration. Doctors have found that perspiration on hot-work, resulting in loss of salt, makes men liable to muscular cramp. During the war, workers in America were supplied with tablets of common salt for adding to drinking water in order to replace the salt lost."

• Continues Mr. Carver: "Without salt, health and vigour fail. In Holland in the Middle Ages one of the legal punishments was to deprive a man of salt, and this caused depression and illness. Criminals in Sweden were once allowed, as an alternative to capital punishment, to abstain from salt for a month, eating saltless food, and the result was, they usually died.

"During the sieges and famines, too, shortage of salt always causes suffering and ill-health. Only where man lives mainly on milk and flesh —the latter consumed raw or roasted so that its salt is not lost -- is it possible for him to do without ordinary salt, sodium chloride. But a cereal or vegetable diet calls for a supplement of salt."

How heavily the duty on this essential article of diet affects the millions of the poor in India may be judged from the following from petition which the cultivators from Bombay submitted to the Bombay Government on November 26, 1852 and which was read out by Rustomjee Viccajee in the course of his examination before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in the following year. The petitioners stated "that the produce of their fields supplied them with food enough for eight months in the year; that during the remaining four months they subsisted on vegetables, which they season with chillies, and salt when the latter was free from duty, but when it was made subject to duty, they were obliged to forego even this poor comfort."

Appendix C

DESTRUCTION OF NATURAL SALT

Bruce writing on the salt sources of India in 1863 observes: "In Ganjam and Rajahmundry, these swamps abound," whereas Tanjore and Masulipattam "are especially productive of fine quality salt." In these districts, this spontaneous salt as it was called could be manufactured "to almost any extent, of fine quality and at a small charge, probably on an average of Rs. 4/- per 120 maunds or $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per maund." The great swamps to north and west of Point Calymere, near about Vedaranyam, extending for upwards of 30 miles, produced a variety of salt "very white and of peculiarly fine crystals". But the policy of the administration did more serious injury to the spontaneous salt, than even to the Malabar sea-salt, described by T. A. Barber. *Its manufacture was automatic and therefore not preventible. The Government, therefore, sought refuge in destroying it wholesale, so as to render smuggling impossible, the reason urged to support such a policy being that the localities, where it was produced, were isolated, and inconvenient of approach in the then state of inland communications. The 1876 Commission, however, noted the fact of its being collected at some places, and sold at a discount — against manufactured salt — the Vedaranyam salt in particular. In 1859, the Government circularized Collectors asking for information in regard to their present and proposed attitude towards "spontaneous salt," but no important action was taken upon the replies received, the destruction*

at some places, and collection at others, continuing the same as ever before.

Appendix D

Excellent salt in large quantities was produced at Tilwada, eight miles away from Pachbhadra, which was known as Tilwadi salt. In the villages of Hundu, Limbu, Padharu, there are ponds full of saline water fit for manufacture of salt. Natural salt of a high quality was also found in Charni, opp. Chitwana, from Charni down to Waramba. There is a great concentration of salt in river water which continues right up to Mandola downwards. Besides there are a number of salt springs down the river bank where crystalline salt is found in a natural state. In Phlaudi in Jodhpur and in Lokasur in Bikaner there are salt lakes. In the west of Rachodra village there is a lake, which is several miles in area, into which several salt springs empty themselves. The salt produced from it is better than Sambhar salt, being of 97-98% purity. 2,00,000 maunds of common salt was at one time produced in Phlaudi State. In Nayear and Jodhpur States there are 36 villages covering 400 sq. miles of area where salt can be manufactured under particularly favourable conditions of production. In Rivasa, 1,25,000 mds. of salt was produced.

Thirty miles from Sambhar is the Raichur salt lake with several other salt lakes in its proximity. Lakhs of maunds of salt were manufactured in the villages of Nasnoda, Pali, Humauns, Sayanko, Dharasani, Khedwa Goora, Kuchpak, Lalki, Sanod, Rupvas, Buryalo and Samwora. Other places of salt manufacture were Akhari, Parvata and extensive areas round Bhakigaon, Bhakhimandol and Jahyali. In these places salt can be dug up in a free natural state.

In Chakur near Churu in Bikaner, 2,50,000 mds. of salt was annually produced. In Pokhtu 30,000 mds. of salt was annually produced. In Durgapur State, Mr. Young in the year 1890 catalogued 2,992 salt factories, the annual production being 70,000 to 80,000 mds. of salt. In Jhabua State two varieties of salt were produced, *phul* and *sadharan*, with sodium chloride content of 96 and 88% respectively.

In Jaisalmer State 30,000 mds. were produced in the year 1867. In Bharatpur State according to the Government report of 1867-68 the annual production averaged:

Matia	12,000 mds.
Katila	75,000 „
Purania	6,00,000 „

In 1867 salt was manufactured in the villages of Sultanpur, Sadrana, Saidpur, Mahmudpur, Mubarikpur, Basirpur, Balpur, Kaliabaz, Jaharpur and Silona, covering an area of 1,565 acres. The number of salt wells was 330. The average annual salt production from these wells was 50,56,058 mds. In the years 1866 and 1868, the salt manufactured and sold was 6,94,357 mds. The figure for 1877-78 was 9,24,442 mds.

In Burari, 8 miles from Delhi, 2,00,000 mds. of salt was manufactured in 19 villages, covering an area of 30 sq. miles. Tanks in this area yield $1\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. of salt from every 2 lbs. of water. Other places of manufacture are Basipur, Adari, Ferozepur, Ghadi and Dariapur. In Ballabhadra Tahsil, salt is manufactured from saline earth in 30 villages. In Rohtak Dist. there were 90 nitre factories, in Hansi and Hissar 50, in Shahpur Dist. 19. In Jind State nitre was manufactured in 72 villages out of the total 150. In Bhawalpur State the manufacture of salt was stopped by paying an annual compensation of Rs. 86,000 to the State. Similarly, in Yudo Kotah State the manufacture of salt was stopped in 1867 by paying Rs. 38,000 annually as compensation. In Mysore State the Government income for the year 1867 from the salt pans was Rs. 13,007/12/7. On behalf of Riyasat Bow in the Bombay Presidency a letter was addressed to the Government in 1926 to the effect that 2 lakh maunds of salt annually could easily be dug out of the ground and put into the market if the necessary permission was granted.

In U.P., at one time there were said to be 15,000 salt factories in operation in the province. As a result of their activities there was a diminution of 10 lakhs of maunds in the sale of Government salt in the year 1867.

In the Bombay Presidency, in Malabar and Canara there were 6,438 salt factories which were stopped. According to a report by Mr. T. A. Barber in 1876, 6,438 persons were thrown out of employment as a result of the suppression of salt manufacture.

In Bengal, salt was manufactured all along the sea coast up to Bangalore and Cuttack in Orissa. The production of salt was 44 lakhs maunds and gave employment to 44,000 men.

In Madras, according to Mr. Bruce (1863), there were a number of salt lakes in Ganjam, Rajahmundry and Masulipattam where salt was manufactured at the cost of Rs. 40/- per 120 maunds. According to Plowden there was a lake 30 miles in length near Vedaranyam which yielded white crystalline salt. When all efforts to prevent the people from manufacturing salt failed an attempt was made to destroy the salt

and thus the manufacture was put to an end. In Levingpura, Sevatlakulam, Urani, Kamalapattanam, Arumugeneri, Kiranpur and Kulasekharapattanam in Tinnevely Dist. on the western seaboard there were a number of factories manufacturing salt which were stopped in 1844.

In Sind salt was manufactured in a number of places in Thar and Parkar districts in 1847 and the Run of Cutch. In 1845-46, 6,924 mds. of salt were produced from Mokai lake in the desert of Sind. There are a number of places where crystalline salt is found. According to Mr. Burke there is a salt deposit 20 miles by 15 near Kotri station. The amount of salt in it is estimated to be 184,41,51,430 tons. Up to the year 1878 and 1879 salt was manufactured from saline earth. There were innumerable factories for the manufacture of salt from saline earth. In that year the salt tax was raised from as. -/8/- to Rs. 2/8/- per maund and all these small factories were stopped.

Appendix E

LIVERPOOL SALT — A MONSTROSITY

Mr F. W. Prideax, Asst. Examiner of India, N0. 1815 in his evidence before the Select Committee of Indian territories clearly stated that the East India Company's price fixation policy of salt in Bengal was influenced by the consideration of helping British manufacturers of salt as well as British exporters. The shipping industry suffered in the East India trade from a dearth of cargo on the outward journey. Stones had often to be used as ballast. Later salt came to be used as the most suitable material to be transported, both as ballast and as cargo. James Aikin, shipowner, gave the following evidence before the 1836 Select Committee on Salt:

"Mr. Bagashaw: Do you know many shipowners at the port of Liverpool who would much prefer loading salt immediately on the vessels arriving for Calcutta, than to keep them in the berths waiting for light goods?...Certainly, and as I presume the object of the Committee is to obtain information and not to enter into a contract, I will endeavour to show the testimony I have given is correct. We obtain from Liverpool to Calcutta freight amounting to £500 to £600. After lying on the berth a month or six weeks, if we could get the same sum by taking salt £ 1 per ton in a few days instead of weeks, of course, we should prefer it; even if we did it at a cheaper rate, the difference of time would more than compensate."

What the import of foreign salt meant to the people of Bengal and Bengal's Salt Industry will be seen from the following from Frederick J. Haliday, Secretary, Government of India, Home Dept.:

"It is generally understood by those acquainted with the subject and it cannot be denied by any one, who looks into the details, that the present price of the Government manufactured salt in Bengal is very much raised to the consumer in the market by the necessary want of economy, not to say extravagance, connected with the Government system of manufacture and by those many speculations and extortions and corruptions which are inevitable in such a system and carried on with such instruments. It has seemed almost certain under these circumstances to persons informed upon the subject that if the Government were to withdraw, if there were no duty imposed and the whole were left perfectly free, the native manufacturer in Bengal would forthwith completely and entirely undersell the imported salt and there would not be a grain of salt imported into Bengal."

And this in spite of the fact that, the salt manufactured in Bengal, as the test showed, was as good as, if not better than, the imported salt.

In 1931 the question of imposing a customs duty on imported salt was brought up before the Central Legislative Assembly and it was resolved to impose a duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ as. per maund on it. This was calculated to bring Rs. 34 lakhs of additional revenue to the Government. A countervailing duty of an equivalent amount was at the same time put on salt imported into Bengal from other provinces. This continued during the year 1932-33. In March 1933, the duty was reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ as. per md. and in 1936 still further to $1\frac{1}{2}$ as. per md. Finally in May 1938 it was altogether removed with the result that in that year the import of Aden salt into Bengal decreased from 83,78,440 to 45,24,829 mds. But whereas in 1937-38 salt imports from Port Said, Jibuti and Ras Haifa were nil, in 1938-39, 21,12,480 mds. were imported from Port Said, 5,61,630 mds. from Jibuti, 4,52,640 mds. from Ras Haifa. Liverpool which in 1937-38 had exported only 22 mds. of salt, in 1938-39 exported 1,69,710 mds. and in 1939-40, 2,34,875 mds. The import of salt into Bengal from other parts of India, which in 1937-38 was 62,34,059 mds. or 39.43% of the total consumption, fell in 1938-39 to 5,49,874 mds. or 38.96% of the total consumption. But the import of Aden salt was reduced, as we have already seen, to half the import, and the import from Liverpool increased from 22 mds. to 1,69,710 mds. In other words the foreign salt

completely replaced the deficit caused by the drop in the import of Aden and Indian salt.

Appendix F

SALT AS MANURE AND CATTLE FEED

As in the case of salt used for human consumption, so in the case of salt used for agricultural purposes as manure, there has been a marked decline as a result of the imposition of the salt tax.

Mr. Robertson, who was appointed by Government to report upon agricultural conditions in Coimbatore, observed in the course of his report:

"Salt has long been used for promoting vegetation. It is of the greatest value as a manure in inland countries....It has been ascertained by direct experiment that the lands near some coasts receive annually as much as 300 lbs. of salt per acre carried to it by the winds. Salt is generally used as an auxiliary manure with lime or other manures. In England as much as 600 lbs. of salt per acre is applied with other manure to land intended for Mangold Surtzel, and for meadow land a usual top dressing is 200 lbs. of salt with 100 lbs. of nitrate of soda. Heavy dressings of salt are sometimes applied to pasture land to improve the herbage and kill insects injurious to grass."

The same was testified to by Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., in his evidence before the 1888 Select Committee on Salt Duties in England. Quoting from a letter from Mr. Bevin of Chester, he described the results of an experiment made on a farm 'overrun with coltfoot and other weed' of strewing on it ashes from salt works. The account concluded:

"The effect on the corn crops, besides destroying the weed completely, was very great. I do not exaggerate in saying, that on the part of the field on which this manure was laid, the crop was nearly treble in proportion and the grain, of excellent quality."

The following figures of the issue of denatured salt will show how our agriculture is starved of the necessary manure:

1914-15	2,644 mds.
1915-16	2,655 mds.
1918-19	Suspended on account of shortage.
1919-20	175 mds.
1920-21	402 mds.
1922-23	772 mds.
1925-26	2,407 mds.

In cattle the salt hunger obtains in such an intense form that cattle often resort to human or animal excreta by the wayside to satisfy it.

"I marvelled very much at this abnormal appetite," observes Ratton in his Handbook on Salt, "but subsequently finding that such cattle were depastured on poor grass without any salt whatever either in their natural food, or in the crude state, I ceased to wonder, for these excrements happen to contain an appreciable amount of salt and are often rich in it. The consequences of the habit are most dangerous."

Ratton goes on to describe how it gives rise to the disease of hytids, and how herds of cattle perishing therefrom had been saved by the liberal use of salt, "not that salt is in any sense a remedy, but it is a prophylactic or preventive of the disease."

That the scarcity is the direct result of the salt duty will be seen from the following from the evidence of John Crawford of the Bengal Medical Service before the Select Committee on salt in British India (1836):

"It is a constant argument used by the Board of Customs against an increased consumption of salt in Bengal that salt neither is, nor ever will be, used except for mere alimentary purposes. This is not strictly correct, even as applicable to the present state of things. A good deal of salt (not indeed nitrate of soda, for that being highly taxed cannot be used for such a purpose, but of other impure and untaxed substitutes) is given to horses, horned cattle and even to sheep; pure salt, and in considerable quantity, would no doubt be given, if it could be afforded."

Delhi, 13-5-'46
(*Harijan*, May 19, 1946)

Pyarelal

APPENDIX XIV

NOTES ON SALT CIRCULATED TO THE CABINET

Finance Department,
Office of the Private Secretary
to the Finance Member.

The Honourable Finance Member has asked me to circulate to all Honourable Members of Cabinet the attached note setting out the proposal in regard to the removal of the salt tax. These proposals were shown to Mahatma Gandhi on the 4th October and received his general approval.

A copy of the previous note dated the 18th September is also appended.

Sd/- S. Jagannathan
9-10-'46

To

All Members of the Cabinet.

THE NOTE

As desired by the Vice-President in the beginning of September, urgent consideration has been given to the problem of how best to effect the early removal of the salt tax. Fortunately much of the necessary spade-work had already been done, a special investigation having been prosecuted for some months into the possibility of substituting for the present excise system an organisation designed primarily to improve and expand the supplies of salt in India and with revenue as a secondary objective. The results of this investigation are embodied in a report which is now in the last stages of preparation and will be ready shortly.

2. On the 18th September a preliminary note was circulated to Members of the Cabinet, briefly setting out the principal considerations entailed and suggesting that the present excise system should be succeeded by the nationalisation of India's salt resources.

3. Control over salt production is essential to the maintenance of quality and of adequate supplies and the best means of providing the requisite administrative machinery for exercising this control is to keep the existing salt staff in being. It was accordingly first proposed that the tax should, for the time being, be reduced to such a figure as would provide funds sufficient to cover the total expenditure of Rs. 1½ crores,

which is annually incurred on account of the salt administration. Moreover, the processes incidental to the uprooting of such a large, long-standing and ramified system are necessarily complex and at first it was thought necessary to proceed by stages.

4. The matter has however since been re-examined with a view to synchronising and simplifying these processes as far as possible and the following course of action is now proposed :

(i) that a press note be issued as soon as possible stating that after careful examination of the subject Government has decided

to abolish both the excise duty on indigenous salt and the Customs duty on imported salt;

but to continue its own production of salt and to retain control over organised manufacture;

to allow individuals full freedom to manufacture salt, provided that they enclose no land nor utilise any structure for the purpose and provided further that salt so produced may not be conveyed by rail or motor-vehicle, or by water otherwise than in small country-craft;

to introduce the necessary legislation in the forthcoming Budget Session of the Legislative Assembly;

and in the meantime to anticipate these measures by remitting both excise and customs duty, and allowing individual manufacture, with effect from the 1st January, 1947;

(ii) that, in order that the prospective withdrawal of the duty may not cause wholesale dealers to abstain from renewing their stocks of salt, which would lead to shortages and high prices in up-country areas, the trade be assured that full refund of duty will be paid on all bagged stocks of twenty maunds or over held on the 1st January 1947 and declared and exhibited to the checking officer and shown in the owner's accounts;

(iii) that, lest retail dealers also should in the meantime be discouraged from holding their usual stocks, Government should arrange for the setting up of reserve stocks at selected centres to ensure as far as possible that consumers do not go short of salt;

(iv) that in order to provide that as far as possible the full benefit of the remission of duty is passed on to the consumer, Government should prescribe maximum wholesale and retail selling prices and should at once license dealers in order to secure the due observance of these maxima;

(v) that, before the press note is issued the States be informed, both as a matter of courtesy and in order to enlist their cooperation in respect of stock-taking and in controlling prices with a view to passing on the

benefit to the consumer and to permit them to take parallel action in regard to manufacture by individuals.

5. The remission of duty can be effected by an order of Government under rule 8 of the Central Excise Rules and section 23 of the Sea Customs Act, and necessary changes will be made in the Salt Rules.

6. Salt will thus for the present retain the status of an excisable commodity so as to enable the present controls over manufacture in enclosed factories to continue under the authority of the Central Excise Act and so avoid creating a further legal instrument until Government bring forward the enactment which is to be substituted for the present salt law.

7. Finally it is proposed that the legislation to be introduced in the forthcoming Budget Session of the Legislative Assembly should take the form of a bill nationalising the country's salt resources, with a view to

- (i) improving the quality of salt produced in India;
- (ii) making a variety of grades for different purposes;
- (iii) increasing the quantity so as to make India independent of foreign supplies and thereby avoiding shortages arising from external causes;
- (iv) providing sufficient salt for increased personal consumption, adequate cattle consumption, and industrial uses of all kinds;
- (v) stabilising prices at the minimum necessary to ensure good quality and regular distribution and to yield a reasonable revenue to the State; and
- (vi) perhaps ultimately providing a surplus for export to neighbouring countries;

and that the Bill should also provide for

The purchase of all imported salt by Government;

The licensing of wholesale and retail dealers in salt; and

the manufacture of salt by individuals for their own use and for sale by hawking.

8. Manufacture and distribution will as far as possible be left in private hands, and control will be limited to protecting the consumer's interests, particularly in respect of quality, output and price. Only by Government coordination and control can this important industry be fostered and brought to full development and the country be assured of adequate supplies of good quality salt at all times and in all areas and in such varieties as her several needs may require.

Sd/- H. Greenfield

NOTE DATED SEPTEMBER 18, 1946

The organisation for the collection of the salt tax which Government are now being urged to abandon is nearly a century old and closely interlinked with it is the administrative machinery for the production of salt in mines and works administered by Government and for control over quality and minimum output in private salt factories. If the tax is presently to be abolished it will be necessary to decide whether and to what extent Government should conduct or control production and what organisation it should maintain for this purpose. Since May this year the Central Board of Revenue has been investigating this problem and for this purpose has carried out a survey of present production and consumption of salt in India. The investigation is now nearly complete and a full report is under preparation and will be ready by the end of the month.

2. Briefly stated, the regime which the report will propose to substitute for the present taxation system is the nationalisation of India's salt resources. As a natural product and an essential ingredient of the human diet salt is an eminently suitable subject for nationalisation and its production is a Government monopoly in a number of other countries; and Government control and direction seem particularly desirable where, as in India, potential resources are vast and their utilisation can fairly be rated as a national industry. The proposed nationalisation scheme would harness, not eliminate, private enterprise and would utilise all its products provided they conformed to prescribed standards of quality, colour and grain.

3. The main objectives of the proposal are:

- A. to make India self-supporting in this vitally important commodity;
- B. to increase personal consumption, which is low, and consumption by cattle, which is negligible;
- C. to increase provision for industrial use;
- D. by providing abundant supplies, to reduce the price to the consumer;
- E. to improve the quality; and
- F. to make a number of varieties, suitable for different purposes.

4. *Production* : There is strong reason to believe that India is capable of being made self-supporting, not only on her present scale of consumption but also on the increased scale which further industrialisation, and expanding population and a rising standard of living will require. India's salt sources which in 1930 (according to the Tariff Board report of that year) produced 14 lakh tons annually have, during the recent war, achieved

an annual output of over 20 lakh tons. But this expansion has only been attained under the stimulus of high prices and unless it is sustained by the more lastingly effective specific of rationalising production and distribution it will rapidly wilt under the impact of cheaper salt from Aden and other Red Sea ports. The war-time development has effectively demonstrated that India's salt sources are capable of considerable expansion and the investigation just concluded shows that, if properly organised and centrally controlled, they could be expanded still further and could within five years be made to yield an annual output of 30 lakh tons.

5. *Consumption*: India's per capita consumption is less than 13 lbs. per head, which is barely enough to sustain the human population and allows all too little for cattle consumption. It could, and should be brought much closer to the world average of 28 lbs. per annum. But consumption will only increase if it is diligently fostered and if ample supplies are made constantly available.

6. *Price*: Whenever imports of foreign salt are cut off by the interruption of sea-borne trade, acute shortages develop in certain parts of the country, which result in high prices with consequently hardship to the public and particularly to the poorer classes. The consumer can only be protected from these periodical blizzards by developing our internal resources and by maintaining adequate buffer stocks.

7. *Quality*: The general quality of salt made in privately owned factories is very low. Much of it is dirty and contains a high proportion of magnesium chloride and other hygroscopic salts. A sample analysed at the instance of the Tariff Board in 1930 was found to contain only 81 per cent of sodium chloride and similar instances have been found during the present survey. Such inferior salt not only represents poor value for the consumer but may also react seriously upon his health. Considerable improvement could be brought about by a sustained drive, centrally directed; but close supervision over the operation of all factories and hydrometer tests of brine at all stages of manufacture would be necessary.

8. *Variety*: Little effort has hitherto been made to manufacture different grades of salt for different purposes. Under central direction and by installing modern appliances in selected centres a full range of qualities could be manufactured to provide for all classes of consumer and for different industrial and agricultural purposes.

9. *Nationalisation* would undoubtedly be a large and difficult project but the difficulties are not insuperable. On the other hand it would yield enormous advantages intimately bound up with the national welfare. Moreover, a comprehensive overhaul of the salt industry is not

merely desirable; it is, indeed, essential if the country is to be provided with the increased supplies of salt which will be required in the years to come, to feed the expanding population and to provide for the country's agricultural and industrial needs.

10. If the proposal should be accepted, a bill would be drafted during the coming cold weather with a view to legislation during the Budget Session. In the meantime, preparations for the changeover would begin. It would however be impossible to introduce the change immediately on the passing of the bill and some further time, say, a year or eighteen months, would be necessary in order to complete the extensive reorganisation required to implement the new regime.

11. The present salt establishment, which is distributed throughout the country and possesses a considerable store of knowledge of salt production in India, would provide an invaluable foundation for a nationalisation system and it would be well therefore, if the existing regime could be allowed to continue until the new regime is ready to replace it. If, however, this is not possible and very early action is considered essential, the duty might perhaps be reduced to a nominal figure,—say, 5 annas a maund. This would afford a basis for retention of the staff and would provide sufficient money to cover all our expenditure under this head, which now amounts to about Rs. 1½ crores a year. Such a reduction would, at any rate in theory, enable the retail price of salt to be reduced by half an anna per seer. In practice, the trade would tend to retain this benefit but provincial Governments could be requested to institute price controls as far as practicable with a view to ensuring that the benefit of Government's liberality is transmitted to the consumer. To reduce the duty by as much as 80 per cent would afford striking proof of Government's determination to abolish the duty as soon as practicable, whereas to abolish it altogether would not enable a greater reduction to be made in the retail price. On the other hand, the retention of a five annas duty would entail no burden to the consumer and would avoid the salt establishment becoming a charge on general revenues.

12. The reduction (or, for that matter, the entire remission) of the duty could be effected by an order of Government under Rule 8 of the Central Excise Rules; but such a change would necessitate much administrative preparation and the earliest date by which it could be made without undesirable consequences would be the 15th November. Among other things, some time would be necessary to enable price control to be organised. Moreover, unless some easement were afforded to those merchants who hold large stocks of duty-paid salt, the wholesale market

would be dislocated and this would almost certainly react to the detriment of the consumer sooner or later. The only effective safeguard would be to sanction refund of duty on all substantial stocks of duty-paid salt existing on the date of the reduction in duty and certified by a Central Excise officer; and to organise a proper check on such stocks would require much organisation and careful planning. The quantity of duty-paid salt held in stock can only be roughly estimated, but the refund on such salt might be expected to amount to between one and two crores. If it be decided to grant such refunds the decision should be made public fairly soon in order to guard against the local shortages which will otherwise result from the present reluctance of wholesale dealers to purchase until the fate of the salt tax is definitely known.

Sd/- H. Greenfield
18-9-'46

APPENDIX XV

DRAFT RULES PROPOSED TO BE SUBSTITUTED

Substitute for rules 102-108 the following:

Manufacture

1. Save as provided in Rule 2, no salt shall be manufactured in any premises bounded by a durable fence, hedge, wall or earth embankment, except by the authority and subject to the terms and conditions of a licence to be granted by the Collector in this behalf.

2. (1) Any person may manufacture without licence salt for the consumption of himself and his family and for sale by hawking and may construct such minor works, namely crystallising pans, brine channels, brine pits, earth filters and furnaces as will enable him to manufacture sufficient salt for these purposes.

(2) Such person may, for the purpose of such manufacture, enclose such minor works by a thorn or stake fence not exceeding $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height or by an earth embankment not exceeding 2 feet in height.

(3) Any person may, in any local area or place designated by notification in the official Gazette, excavate, collect or remove salt or salt-earth without a licence.

Storage

3. No salt shall be stored or kept for the purposes of sale by any person in any structure other than his own dwelling or any outhouse immediately appurtenant thereto, or on any land other than land forming part of his dwelling-place, except by the authority and subject to the terms and conditions of a licence to be granted by the Collector in this behalf.

Transport

4. (1) Salt mined, quarried or manufactured by Government or manufactured in premises licensed for the purpose may be conveyed by any means, but if such salt is conveyed by rail, or by motor-vehicle, or by water in a vessel capable of carrying more than 20 maunds, it must be accompanied by a valid permit in the proper form signed by an officer.

(2) No salt manufactured otherwise than in licensed premises may be conveyed by rail, or by motor-vehicle, or by water in a vessel capable of carrying more than 20 maunds.

Sale

5. No person shall sell salt, whether by wholesale or retail, in any premises otherwise than by the authority and subject to the terms and conditions of a licence to be granted by the Collector in this behalf; and no person so licensed to sell salt may purchase salt otherwise than from a licensed manufacturer or dealer, or from Government.

APPENDIX XVI

SUGGESTED POINTS FOR AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE CONGRESS AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

1. There shall be an All-India Union Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Fundamental Rights and having the necessary powers to obtain for itself the finances it requires for these subjects.

2. All the remaining powers shall vest in the provinces.

3. Groups of provinces may be formed and such Groups may determine the provincial subjects which they desire to take in common.

4. The Groups may set up their own Executives and Legislatures.

5. The Legislature of the Union shall be composed of equal proportions from the Muslim-majority provinces and from the Hindu-majority provinces whether or not these or any of them have formed themselves into Groups, together with representatives of the States.

6. The Government of the Union shall be constituted in the same proportion as the Legislature.

7. The constitutions of the Union and the Groups (if any) shall contain a provision whereby any province can by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten yearly intervals thereafter.

For the purpose of such reconsideration a body shall be constituted on the same basis as the original Constituent Assembly and with the same provisions as to voting and shall have power to amend the constitution in any way decided upon.

8. The constitution-making machinery to arrive at a constitution on the above basis, shall be as follows:

A. Representatives shall be elected from each Provincial Assembly in proportion to the strength of the various parties in that Assembly on the basis of 1/10th of their numbers.

B. Representatives shall be invited from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India.

C. The Constituent Assembly so formed shall meet at the earliest date possible in New Delhi.

D. After its preliminary meeting at which the general order of business will be settled, it will divide into three sections, one section

representing the Hindu-majority provinces, one section representing the Muslim-majority provinces and one representing the States.

E. The first two sections will then meet separately to decide the provincial constitutions for their Group and, if they wish, a Group constitution.

F. When these have been settled it will be open to any province to decide to opt out of its original Group and go into the other Group or to remain outside any Group.

G. Thereafter the three bodies will meet together to settle the constitution for the Union on the lines agreed in paragraphs 1-7 above.

H. No major point in the Union constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Assembly unless a majority of both the two major communities vote in its favour.

9. The Viceroy shall forthwith call together the above constitution-making machinery which shall be governed by the provisions stated in paragraph 8 above.

APPENDIX XVII

STATEMENT OF THE CABINET MISSION AND THE VICEROY

(16th May 1946)

1. On March 15th last, just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India, Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words:

'My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision. . . . I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so. . . . But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.'

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded. Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This Statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

3. We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new constitution can be brought into being. We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend a solution which

will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this Statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India; since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and wide spread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests.

6. We therefore examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas; one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and British Baluchistan; the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged. The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures¹ show :—

<i>North-Western Area</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Non-Muslim</i>
Punjab •	16,217,242	12,201,577
North-West Frontier Province	2,788,797	249,270
Sind	3,208,325	1,326,683

1. All population figures in this Statement are from the most recent census taken in 1941.

Br. Baluchistan	438,930	62,701
	<hr/> 22,653,294 <hr/>	<hr/> 13,840,231 <hr/>
	62.07%	37.93%
<i>North-Eastern Area</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Non-Muslim</i>
Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
	<hr/> 36,447,913 <hr/>	<hr/> 34,063,345 <hr/>
	51.69%	48.31%

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

7. We therefore considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of (a) the whole of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6% of the population. We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India have been established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India. The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective. The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.

12. This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element. To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of central subjects, such as foreign affairs, defence and communications.

Under this scheme provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India while other Ministers, who dealt with optional subjects, would be responsible only to those provinces which had elected to act together in respect of

such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their provinces were not concerned were under discussion.

Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.

14. Before putting forward our recommendation we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to cooperate in the new development of India. The precise form which their cooperation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States. We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow.

15. We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practical form of constitution for all India.

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form :—

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: foreign affairs, defence, and communications; and which should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British-Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each

of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures, and each Group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of a constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary however for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery.

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new constitution to be worked out.

18. In forming any Assembly to decide a new constitutional structure the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise; but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new constitution. The only practicable alternative is to utilize the recently elected provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies. There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strength of the provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each province. Thus, Assam with a population of 10 millions has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members, while Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an Assembly of only 250. Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths

of the several communities in each provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48% of the total, although they form 55% of the provincial population. After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be—

(a) to allot to each province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage.

(b) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each province in proportion to their population.

(c) to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly. We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India: General, Muslim, and Sikh, the 'General' community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs. As the smaller minorities would, upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the provincial Legislatures, we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph 20 below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities.

19. (i) We therefore propose that there shall be elected by each provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislature (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote:—

TABLE OF REPRESENTATION

SECTION A

<i>Province</i>	<i>General</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Total</i>
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Provinces	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
Central Provinces	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

SECTION B

<i>Province</i>	<i>General</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Sikh</i>	<i>Total</i>
Punjab	8	16	4	28
North-West Frontier Province	0	3	0	3
Sind	1	3	0	4
Total	9	22	4	35

SECTION C

<i>Province</i>	<i>General</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total	34	36	70
Total for British India			292
Maximum for Indian States			93
Total			385

Note:— In order to represent the Chief Commissioners' Provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Member representing Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legislative Assembly, and a representative to be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council.

To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

• (ii) It is the intention that the State should be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

(iii) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

(iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B and C, in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph.

(v) These sections shall proceed to settle the provincial Constitutions for the provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those provinces and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

(vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.

The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation it shall be open to any province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the province after the first general election under the new constitution.

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group, or Union constitution.

21. His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the provincial Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee. It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

23. While the constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance therefore

to the setting up at once of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum of cooperation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India. Besides the heavy task of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future; and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes a Government having popular support is necessary. The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people. The British Government, recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of cooperation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

24. To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence we would finally say this. We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties, and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all, this has not been possible. We therefore now lay before you proposals which, after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognise with us that at this supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual accommodation.

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals. After all the efforts which we and the Indian Parties have made together for agreement, we must state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian Parties alone. The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen; but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own countrymen, and the world as a whole.

We therefore lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four hundred millions of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be, we look forward with you to your ever increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world, and to a future even more glorious than your past.

APPENDIX XVIII

(A) RELEVANT PORTIONS OF GANDHIJI'S PRAYER SPEECH

(17th May 1946)

• He had remarked in his previous day's address that he saw the germs of the realisation of the ideal envisaged by the poet in the song that had been sung yesterday in the announcement of the Cabinet Mission provided of course that it meant what it said.

He likened that announcement to a promissory note whose worth depended entirely on its genuineness and validity. If the promise inscribed on a promissory note was not honoured in practice the note was worth nothing and fit only to be torn to pieces and thrown away.

Truth meant everything to him. He had said that he would not purchase even Swaraj at the cost of truth, because Swaraj so purchased would be illusory. It was his hope and prayer in which he invited the audience to join him that the announcement of the Cabinet Mission would be fully honoured in letter and in spirit and that God would help the members of the Mission even as He had done for His devotees to discharge their promissory note.

(B) ENGLISH RENDERING OF THE HYMN

We are inhabitants of a country
where there is no sorrow and no suffering
Where there is no illusion no anguish,
no delusion nor desire,
Where flows the Ganges of love
and the whole creation is full of joy
Where all minds flow in one direction
and where there is no occasion for sense of time
All have their wants satisfied,
Here all barter is just,
Here all are cast in the same mould,
Here is no lack nor care,
No selfishness in any shape or form,
No high no low, no master no slave,
All is light yet no burning heat,
That country is within you —
It is Swaraj — Swadeshī,
The home within you,
Victory! Victory! Victory!
He realises it who longs for it.

APPENDIX XIX

AN ANALYSIS

After four days of searching examination of the State Paper issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, my conviction abides that it is the best document the British Government could have produced in the circumstances. It reflects our weakness, if we would be good enough to see it. The Congress and the Muslim League did not, could not agree. We would grievously err if at this time we foolishly satisfy ourselves that the differences are a British creation. The Mission have not come all the way from England to exploit them. They have come to devise the easiest and quickest method of ending British rule. We must be brave enough to believe their declaration until the contrary is proved. Bravery thrives upon the deceit of the deceiver.

My compliment, however, does not mean that what is best from the British standpoint is also best or even good from the Indian. Their best may possibly be harmful. My meaning will, I hope, be clear from what follows.

The authors of the document have endeavoured to say fully what they mean. They have gathered from their talks the *minimum* they thought would bring the parties together for framing India's charter of freedom. Their one purpose is to end British rule as early as may be. They would do so, if they could, by their effort, leave a united India not torn asunder by internecine quarrel bordering on civil war. They would leave in any case. Since in Simla the two parties, though the Mission succeeded in bringing them together at the Conference table (with what patience and skill they could do so, they alone could tell), could not come to an agreement, nothing daunted, they descended to the plains of India, and devised a worthy document for the purpose of setting up the Constituent Assembly which should frame India's charter of independence, free of any British control or influence. It is an appeal and an advice. It has no compulsion in it. Thus the Provincial Assemblies may or may not elect the delegates. The delegates, having been elected, may or may not join the Constituent Assembly. The Assembly having met, may lay down a procedure different from the one laid down in the Statement. Whatever is binding on any person or party arises out of the necessity of the situation. The separate voting is binding on both the major parties, only

because it is necessary for the existence of the Assembly and not otherwise. At the time of writing, I took up the Statement, re-read it clause by clause, and came to the conclusion that there was nothing in it binding in law. Honour and necessity alone are the two binding forces.

What is binding is that part of it which commits the British Government. Hence, I suppose, the four members of the British mission took the precaution of receiving full approval of the British Government and the two Houses of Parliament. The Mission are entitled to warm congratulations for the first step in the act of renunciation which the Statement is. Since other steps are necessary for full renunciation, I have called this one a promissory note.

Though the response to be made by India is to be voluntary, the authors have naturally assumed that the Indian parties are well organized and responsible bodies capable of doing voluntary acts as fully as, if not more fully than, compulsory acts. Therefore, when Lord Pethick-Lawrence said to a press correspondent, "If they do come together on that basis, it will mean that they will have accepted that basis, but they can still change it, if by a majority of each party they desire to do so," he was right in the sense that those who became delegates, well knowing the contents of the Statement, were expected by the authors to abide by the basis, unless it was duly altered by the major parties. When two or more rival parties meet together, they do so under some understanding. A self-chosen umpire (in the absence of one chosen by the parties, the authors constitute themselves one) fancies that the parties will come together only if he presents them with a proposal containing certain minimum, and he makes his proposal, leaving them free to add to, subtract from or altogether change it by joint agreement.

This is perfect so far. But what about the units? Are the Sikhs, for whom the Punjab is the only home in India, to consider themselves against their will, as part of the section which takes in Sind, Baluchistan and the Frontier Province? Or is the Frontier Province also against its will to belong to the Punjab, called "B" in the Statement, or Assam to "C" although it is a predominantly non-Muslim province? In my opinion, the voluntary character of the Statement demands that the liberty of the individual unit should be unimpaired. Any member of the sections is free to join it. The freedom to opt out is an additional safeguard. It can never be a substitute for the freedom retained in paragraph 15 (5) which reads:

"Provinces should be free to form groups with executives and legislatures and each group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common."

It is clear that this freedom was not taken away by the authors by section 19 which 'proposes' (does not order) what should be done. It presupposes that the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly at its first meeting will ask the delegates of the Provinces whether they would accept the group principle and if they do, whether they will accept the assignment given to their Province. This freedom inherent in every Province and that given by 15 (5) will remain intact. There appears to me to be no other way of avoiding the apparent conflict between the two paragraphs as also the charge of compulsion which would immediately alter the noble character of the document. I would, therefore, ask all those who are perturbed by the group proposal and the arbitrary assignment, that, if my interpretation is valid, there is not the slightest cause for perturbation.

There are other things in the document which would puzzle any hasty reader who forgets that it is simply an appeal and an advice to the nation showing how to achieve independence in the shortest time possible. The reason is clear. In the new world that is to emerge out of the present chaos, India in bondage will cease to be the 'brightest jewel' in the British crown, it will become the blackest spot in that crown, so black that it will be fit only for the dustbin. Let me ask the reader to hope and pray with me that the British crown has a better use for Britain and the world. The 'brightest jewel' is an arrogation. When the promissory note is fully honoured, the British crown will have a unique jewel as of right flowing from due performance of duty.

There are other matters outside the Statement which are required to back the promissory note. But I must defer that examination to the next issue of *Harijan*.

M. K. Gandhi

New Delhi, 20-5-'46

(*Harijan*, May 26, 1946)

APPENDIX XX

VITAL DEFECTS

Intrinsically and as legally interpreted, the State Paper seems to me to be a brave and frank document. Nevertheless, the official interpretation would appear to be different from the popular. If it is so and prevails it will be a bad omen. During the long course of the history of British rule in India, the official interpretation has held sway. And, it has been enforced. I have not hesitated before now to say that the office of the lawgiver, judge and executioner is combined in one person in India. Is not the State Document a departure from the imperialistic tradition? I have answered 'yes'.

Be that as it may. Let us try to glance at the shortcomings.

The Delegation, after a brief spell in Simla, returned to Delhi on the 14th instant, issued their statement on the 16th, and yet we are far from the popular Government at the Centre. One would have thought that they would have formed the Central Government before issuing the Statement. But they issued the Statement first and then set about the search for the formation of the Interim Government. It is taking a long time coming, whilst the millions are starving for want of food and clothing. This is defect No. 1.

The question of paramountcy is unsolved. It is not enough to say that paramountcy will end with the end of British rule in India. If it persists without check during the interim period, it will leave behind a difficult legacy for the independent Government. If it cannot be ended with the establishment of the Interim Government, it should be exercised in cooperation with it and purely for the benefit of the people of the States. It is the people who want and are fighting for independence, not the Princes who are sustained by the alien power even when they claim not to be its creation for the suppression of the liberties of the people. The Princes, if they are true to their professions, should welcome this popular use of paramountcy so as to accommodate themselves to the Sovereignty of the people envisaged under the new scheme. This is defect No. 2.

Troops, it is declared, are to remain during the interim period for the preservation of internal peace and protection against external aggression. If they are kept for such use during the period of grace, their presence will act as a damper on the Constituent Assembly and is more likely

than not to be wanted even after the establishment of independence so-called. A nation that desires alien troops for its safety, internal or external, or has them imposed upon it, can never be described as independent in any sense of the term. It is an effete nation unfit for self-government. The acid test is that it should be able to stand alone, erect and unbending. During the interim period we must learn to hop unaided, if we are to walk when we are free. We must cease from now to be spoon-fed.

That these things are not happening as we would wish is to be accounted as our weakness, be the causes whatever they be, not the cussedness of the British Government or their people. Whatever we get, will be our deserts, not a gift from across the seas. The three ministers have come to do what they have declared. It will be time to blame them when they go back upon the British declaration and devise ways and means of perpetuating British rule. Though there is ground for fear, there is no sign on the horizon that they have said one thing and meant another.

M. K. Gandhi

New Delhi, 26-5-'46

(*Harijan*, June, 2, 1946)

APPENDIX XXI

(A) LORD WAVELL'S STATEMENT

(16th June 1946)

His Excellency the Viceroy, in consultation with the members of the Cabinet Mission, has for some time been exploring the possibilities of forming a Coalition Government drawn from the two major parties and certain of the minorities. The discussions have revealed the difficulties which exist for the two major parties in arriving at any agreed basis for the formation of such a Government.

The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission appreciate these difficulties and the efforts which the two parties have made to meet them. They consider, however, that no useful purpose can be served by further prolonging these discussions. It is indeed urgently necessary that a strong and representative Interim Government should be set up to conduct the very heavy and important business that has to be carried through.

The Viceroy is, therefore, issuing invitations to the following to serve as members of the Interim Government on the basis that the constitution-making will proceed in accordance with the Statement of May 16:

Sardar Baldev Singh,
Sir N. P. Engineer,
Mr. Jagjivan Ram,
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Mr. M. A. Jinnah,
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,
Mr. H. K. Mehtab,
Dr. John Matthai,
Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan,
Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin,
Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar,
Mr. C. Rajagopalachari,
Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

If any of those invited is unable for personal reasons to accept, the Viceroy will, after consultation, invite some other person in his place.

The Viceroy will arrange the distribution of portfolios in consultation with the leaders of the two major parties.

The above composition of the Interim Government is in no way to be taken as a precedent for the solution of any other communal question. It is an expedient put forward to solve the present difficulty only, and to obtain the best available Coalition Government.

The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission believe that Indians of all communities desire to arrive at a speedy settlement of this matter so that the process of constitution-making can go forward and that the Government of India may be carried on as efficiently as possible in the meantime.

They, therefore, hope that all parties, especially the two major parties, will accept this proposal so as to overcome the present obstacles, and will cooperate for the successful carrying on of the Interim Government. Should this proposal be accepted the Viceroy will aim at inaugurating the new Government about the 26th June.

In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16.

The Viceroy is also directing the Governors of the Provinces to summon the Provincial Legislative Assemblies forthwith to proceed with the elections necessary for the setting up of the constitution-making machinery as put forward in the statement of May 16.

(B) LORD WAVELL'S LETTER TO MAULANA AZAD
AND MR. M. A. JINNAH

I send herewith a copy of the statement which, as indicated in the letter I sent you yesterday, will be released at 4 p. m. this evening.

As the statement shows, the Cabinet Ministers and I are fully aware of the difficulties that have prevented an agreement on the composition of the Interim Government. We are unwilling to abandon our hope of a working partnership between the two major parties and representatives of the minorities.

We have therefore done our best to arrive at a practicable arrangement taking into consideration the various conflicting claims and the need for obtaining a Government of capable and representative administrators. We hope that the parties will now take their share in the administration of the country on the basis set out in our new statement. We are sure we can rely on you and your Working Committee to look to the wider issues and to the urgent needs of the country as a whole, and to consider this proposal in a spirit of accommodation.

APPENDIX XXII

A TALK WITH NORMAN CLIFF

(29th June 1946)

Cliff: Discussions are now over. Can you talk about them?

Gandhiji: Off the record — yes. If you want at any time to give anything to the Press you will, of course, let me see it first.

Cliff: Are you feeling happy about the result as developed so far?

Gandhiji: I cannot say that I am either happy or unhappy. But I am not satisfied. It is an indefinable feeling and I therefore asked the Congress Working Committee not to be guided by my instinct. While I have no distrust of the four actors (three Cabinet ministers and the Viceroy) I have a distrust of the way things have gone. It has all been artificial and unnatural. My feeling is not by way of underrating the greatness of their task. I have great regard for their industry in prosecution of the ideal they have set out for. And yet I see that what I said at the very threshold of their career has proved true. I told them they were unaware of the difficulties they would have to surmount. They do not even know them now. It is no fault of theirs. They have done a faithful job and yet a bad one. They themselves are not satisfied. They are still probing. They do not know how to handle things. They have been brought up in one school of thought. With the greatest stretch of honesty they cannot think otherwise.

Cliff: Can any Englishman then understand?

Gandhiji: Yes, for example Andrews who realised that though he had the greatest measure of success he could not quite reach there. His success lay in knowing his limitations. He copied everything Indian in order to become Indian. Curiously enough and yet not curiously he shared his innermost thoughts with me and not with Gurudev. Such was his love and reverence for the poet that he remained Gurudev for Andrews throughout. I first met Charlie in South Africa. He was a scholar. I am none. My knowledge of English literature is nil. He was a philosopher — unlike me, a man of action — and yet I took to him as perhaps I have not taken to any Indian. One day he asked for a gift. It was that I should call him Charlie and that I should allow him to call me Mohan. I readily agreed but told him that it would be harder for me to fulfil my part of the contract as I had always kept a respectable distance from friends! Andrews found in me not only a live Hindu but a live Christian.

That was the secret of his nearness to me. He shared with me his innermost thoughts on religion. And he said that he must at bottom remain a true Christian if he was to be a true Hindu and Muslim.

The Mission, I have said and I repeat, have done their best. But the best falls far short of India's needs or India's best. Take the food problem. I claim to know more than anyone about it for I have sunk myself in the masses. But the English do not understand what they should do if the masses that are sinking may live. India is being robbed of millions of pounds by Britain. An economist has only today written that the Congress ministries want to do things for village India but cannot. India should never remain naked for want of cloth. She grows enough cotton for her requirements. But it is a money crop and therefore exported. And the same in other things too. All is taken from the villages for rich city people and Britain.

Cliff: For this very reason, do you not see independence in taking over power at the Centre in the Interim Government?

Gandhiji: It looks nice and sweet put like that. But where is the power in the Interim Government as proposed? The dice were so heavily loaded against the Congress that it was impossible for them to come in. If I could form a live Central Government and thereby serve the masses I would seize the opportunity. A pure Muslim League Government would have been better than the so-called coalition they tried to form. I do not know what happened. But things seemed to go from bad to worse. Was it the secret force of the I. C. S. as before working in order to torpedo everything? The Simla Conference broke down last year. The Viceroy admitted that the Congress acted on the square. He took the blame on himself then. All the minorities were in tune with the Congress. If the League were not willing to shoulder the burden, I advised giving it to the Congress. I consider it was sound advice but it was not accepted and hence the mess that we now are in. You should know that the League is today what the Congress was at one time. All their leaders are titled men. It has not yet been through the pain and travail that the Congress has been through before it could call itself the peoples' representative.

But even so I am still working to make things a success. I cannot today support my instinct with reason. I own my defeat. And yet I must tell the truth. I may not hide my innermost feeling, if I am to be a friend and adviser to either or both sides.

Cliff: Don't you feel it is natural that the members of the Mission might find your attitude a little difficult to understand?

Gandhiji: I have accepted my defeat before them too. I said to them "I struggle to lay bare my whole soul before you." I am still advising. But I am filled with misgivings. I have to walk with the utmost caution. For failure now will be a great human tragedy.

Cliff: Success or failure of the Constituent Assembly will surely depend on the spirit of those who go into it. Will it not?

Gandhiji: Yes. But it may be that one or other party or none goes into it. I would have you remember that a Mussalman does not become a non-Indian by changing his religion. It is most fantastic claim. My son became a Muslim for a little time for purely sordid reasons. Did he lose his nationality? I am perhaps a better Mussalman than many a Hindu convert to Islam. This whole idea is wrong *au fond*. The British, imagining that they can bring the League and Congress together, are attempting the impossible.

Cliff: I am surprised that you with your boundless faith in human nature believe that the above is an impossibility. All things are possible with God.

Gandhiji: If you think deeply enough, you will see that I am quite consistent. My faith in human nature is quite consistent with my holding that men with diametrically opposite views cannot coalesce. I have called Pakistan a sin. Can I cooperate to make sin a success? God cannot belie Himself. Truth cannot work for untruth. That all things are possible with God cannot be used to make God break His law.

I have said and I think rightly that the connotation of independence of India as meant by the British, the Muslim League and the Congress is different. Muslim League independence, means splitting India first and independence after. The Congress stands for immediate unconditional independence for the whole of India. If the Constituent Assembly is to be worthy of its name, it must be a sovereign body with the right to do the right thing as well as the wrong. It may not be hedged in with conditions.

Cliff: But you do recognise and respect the British concern for minorities?

Gandhiji: I do not admit its claim to do so. It is an unconscious relic, if you like, of Imperialism. You had independence even when you heaped disabilities on Roman Catholics. Which outsider dared to interfere with your independence? What right have the English rulers who have deliberately sown the seeds of discord and brought about these interminable dissensions into our structure now to concern themselves

with our differences so-called? Not until and unless you discard this "whiteman's burden" notion will you be able truly to assist India.

Cliff: It is very difficult for us everywhere, e. g. in Egypt.

Gandhiji: You will find greater and greater difficulty as time goes on. The British Labour Party has my full sympathy. Of course, if the mind of the English people in general has been changed as Laski and others tell us and Britain will be content to be dubbed 'Little England' and get off the backs of others, it may be different. Otherwise the Labour Party will throw itself into the arms of Churchill for whose courage and resourcefulness I have the utmost admiration.

I do not want Britain to leave India because of her helplessness. I flatter myself that we have come thus far through even our limited non-violence. I do not look with equanimity to India coming into her own by brute force. If Britain would play her part nobly, the growing hatred may give place to friendship.

Cliff: Can there be a future step in London?

Gandhiji: Of course. My only fear is that the imperialistic character of the Labour Government will prevent them from doing right at any cost. They want to please all parties. This is an impossible task. They have to dare to do the right even though they displease some. This cannot be done in the imperialistic way.

Cliff: Surely then there is all the more reason for settling things in India for our own no less than for your sakes?

Gandhiji: You are right. How to do it in the right way is the question. My fear is that they may fail in spite of themselves.

Cliff: Cannot a via media be found?

Gandhiji: They are struggling. I am struggling. My helping hand is still there in spite of misreading by them of the situation here. But I confess I am just now at sea and darkness surrounds me.

Cliff: Your misgivings are not due to a fundamental distrust of Britain doing the right thing?

Gandhiji: No. But I have a fundamental distrust of their doing it at any cost. I said that the statement they issued was the best they were capable of but it was not intrinsically the best. Then at the outset it bore three interpretations. The Congress put one, the League another and the authors a third one. That makes it a dangerous document.

Cliff: But why not interpret it only as they do? They are the best judges of what they meant.

Gandhiji: The law rightly does not accept the intention of the framers of a law outside what the text bears.

Cliff: Could not the document be reworded in order to make the intention clear?

Gandhiji: That is impossible. It would mean perpetual changing and chopping.

Cliff: Would you submit to legal interpretation?

Gandhiji: Yes, of course.

Cliff: Would not interpretation in spirit be better than in letter?

Gandhiji: All these are questions for the court to decide.

Cliff: Am I right in thinking that the immediate problem is still the Interim Government and that the main obstacle there is the rejection of Congress' right to nominate a Nationalist Muslim?

Gandhiji: Yes. But the question of a Nationalist Muslim is a side issue now that a far more general right has been conceded to the Quaid-i-Azam.

Cliff: Would the issue not be solved if Congress' right to nominate anyone were conceded but they were asked not to exercise that right?

Gandhiji: A right is negatived if it cannot be exercised at the crucial moment. The Congress is reduced to a Caste Hindu body according to Jinnah's wholly wrong appraisement of it. Such an admission belies all its past history.

Cliff: Isn't self-denial one of your fundamental beliefs?

Gandhiji: (Roaring with laughter) Satan also quotes the scripture!!!

All I want is that what I have said should go deep enough into your soul so that you may be able correctly to interpret me.

APPENDIX XXIII

SUDHIR GHOSH'S REPORT TO GANDHIJI

London,
4th August 1946.

Bapuji,

After Jinnah's threat [of Direct Action] the British Cabinet asked Viceroy to send Jinnah and tell Jinnah that if he was not prepared to play the game British Cabinet had decided to hand over responsibility to Congress and such other people as were prepared to work with them, and to go ahead without Jinnah. Viceroy pleaded that calling Jinnah immediately after the threat would give impression that the British were frightened by his threat and suggested not seeing Jinnah. The Cabinet agreed.

Jinnah's outburst has really been a useful thing. It has simplified matters. It has given the Ministers as well as the administration here and in India the good shaking that they badly needed. They no longer think, as they have always done, that the Congress people are their enemies and the Muslims are their friends. They now know who are their friends and who are not their friends. Jinnah's threat has done a great deal of good. He has overplayed his hand and has burnt his boat.

Cabinet has decided that responsibility is to be made over to Congress in the immediate future. Necessary instructions have been given to their representative. They however earnestly suggest to you that a final effort should be made to bring the League into the Government — if that is at all possible on just and reasonable terms. They realise that it is no use the Viceroy doing anything about it. They suggest that Congress President without waiting for an invitation and without standing on ceremony should take this job off the Viceroy's hands. It is suggested that President should go and see the Viceroy and tell him that he is prepared to do all he can to help and would be willing to go to Mr. Jinnah and see if he is at all prepared to play the game. Viceroy has instructions to agree immediately to such a proposal. This really amounts to Viceroy asking Congress President to form a Government. If Mr. Jinnah refuses to cooperate and demands terms which Congress President cannot possibly accept, President should inform Viceroy that he has done his best and it really is not possible to work with Mr. Jinnah. Such a final effort will only show Congress reasonableness and magnanimity and will increase Congress prestige in the eyes of the world. Stock of Congress [stands] in

the eyes of British Government much higher today than ever before. If President fails, Viceroy has instructions to ask him to help Viceroy to get together a Government of representatives of Congress and other minorities. It is suggested that five seats should be left vacant and the door left open for League to come in later if they change their mind. If not, seats to be filled up with non-League Muslims later on. The Government that will thus come into existence will — technically — still be the Viceroy's Government but Congress President will be *de facto* head of the Government and Viceroy has instructions not to interfere. I understand Panditji recently wrote to Viceroy on the subject of assurances. It is suggested that you persuade Congress to be satisfied with the letter Viceroy wrote to Maulana Saheb at Mussoorie. Congress will lose nothing by doing so. It will only make things easy for the British Government. They realise the difficulty about the Viceroy but they are not in a position to do anything about it at the moment. Churchill is already giving them the maximum amount of trouble about India. They are new in office and worried about many problems.

As regards Constituent Assembly, it is requested that you persuade Congress to make declaration reiterating Congress determination to do justice to all minorities including the biggest and Congress anxiety to secure fair deal for everybody. It is also requested that no notice be taken of Mr. Jinnah's threat and no answer given to his challenge. For British Government has already decided to take the step that we all desire. They beg Congress to show their natural highmindedness and magnanimity even at the risk of such magnanimity being misinterpreted as weakness. A good resolution on the long term proposals followed by a visit to Viceroy by President (possibly accompanied by Sardarji) will, it is suggested, meet the situation. What is essential is that Congress must now come forward and take the initiative and not leave it to the British.

I know you will read this message in the way it is meant.

Love to all from
Sudhir

APPENDIX XXIV

BRITISH CABINET'S REACTION TO GANDHIJI'S CABLE TO LONDON AND LETTER TO LORD WAVELL

London,

7th September 1946

Dear Bapuji,

I got your message of the 28th August...and I cabled an answer back. I went and saw Pethick-Lawrence as soon as I got the cable. ...I guessed that you had sent it after your meeting with the Viceroy the previous evening. I therefore knew what it meant and I had no difficulty in interpreting it to Pethick-Lawrence.

I had a long discussion with him but he was rather sticky. He took the line that Congress people were trying to have it both ways; on the one hand they want to get hold of as much power as possible and want the British and their Viceroy to have as little to do with India's affairs as possible and on the other hand they want the British to step in and take a retrograde step viz. to exercise their extraordinary authority in provincial matters and to suppress a constitutionally elected ministry in Bengal. He expanded himself on the subject. I explained to him that there was no desire on the part of Congress to take any retrograde step, all that we were worried about was that we could not afford to have a repetition of the Bengal tragedy. If Mr. Suhrawardy feels that injustice has been done to the Muslim League and he must seek redress by breaking the law of the land he is entitled to do so, and in that case he should go out of the Government, break the law and face the consequences. But if he chooses to be the keeper of the law and the breaker of the law at the same time, the situation becomes intolerable. Pethick-Lawrence pointed out that he had no evidence that Mr. Suhrawardy was implicated in the crime of breaking the peace in Bengal. I told him that I admitted that I could not produce legal proof but there was enough circumstantial evidence of his guilt and in any case even if he was not implicated in the crime of breaking the peace, it was obvious to the whole world that he had fallen down in the job of maintaining order in the province which is the primary duty of a Government, and it resulted in a gruesome tragedy, such as we have never before witnessed in the history of our country; this was sufficient justification for the

dismissal of the Ministry in Bengal. Nobody in the Congress would like to take such a step, but how are they to deal with the numerous big problems that await their attention if they are not in a position to keep the country as a whole in order? Pethick-Lawrence explained that he did not believe that that was the way to keep the country in order. In his view the root of the trouble was the dissatisfaction in the Moslem mind and the only way to remedy it is for the Congress, who are now in a powerful position, to make some further concession which would induce Mr. Jinnah to come into the Government and thus there would be no further trouble from the Muslims. The concession which he thinks would satisfy Mr. Jinnah is that Congress should allow the provinces to go into their respective sections, according to the British plan, when the Constituent Assembly meets, and that they should make an announcement to that effect right now. He suggested that I should make a suggestion to Mr. Gandhi and persuade him to see the reasonableness of it. I had to be rather harsh to him and to tell him that I myself did not see the reasonableness of such a suggestion and therefore I was unable to say anything to Mr. Gandhi about it and in my view such a policy of appeasement would only make things worse. He was rather upset about it. Thus I have made myself somewhat unpopular.

But Attlee showed a great deal more understanding. I went to him two days after I saw Pethick-Lawrence. I showed him the cable and explained to him what it meant. I also showed him the cuttings of the *Statesman* editorial comments on the Calcutta tragedy. He did not try to be diplomatic. He plainly said that if in Gandhi's judgment the situation is such that the Viceroy needs the assistance of a mind abler than his own and if Gandhiji thinks that, otherwise, a repetition of the Calcutta tragedy is not only possible or probable but certain, then that is a matter which must be taken seriously. He explained that he was naturally anxious to leave these things to the Secretary of State but he was going to call the Secretary of State and have a talk with him about all this. He told me that your letter to the Viceroy on this subject had been cabled to the British Government and he showed me the copy he had got. He said that all these things would be discussed at the next meeting of the Cabinet and he added that I might go and see him again on Wednesday the 4th. I therefore went to see him again on Wednesday. He said he was happy to hear from the Secretary of State that although the weekend was a difficult time at Delhi, things had improved since the Congress leaders actually took office on Monday, the 2nd September and that there is really no need to worry about

the progress of things at Delhi. He then talked at some length about the Viceroy and your message. He admitted that there was a good case for a new Viceroy but there was no sense in making a change unless he was in a position to find someone who was obviously better than the present occupant of the post. And it is not easy to find a man from this country who is very much better. Then he went on to remark (he was thinking aloud) that the kind of assistance which Gandhi thinks the Viceroy needs should now be provided by Nehru — who has a very able mind and a legal mind. (Here he joked about legal minds and remarked that although he himself was a barrister he had left the profession early enough!) I said that the Prime Minister had hit the nail on the head; if he would now give instructions to the Viceroy that henceforward the Viceroy, in the exercise of his extraordinary authority, must always be guided by the advice given him by his Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, then the whole problem would be solved. The Prime Minister would not commit himself but he said he very much hoped things would work out that way.

Cripps is returning to London tomorrow. But I hear he is not very well in spite of his stay in Switzerland. He therefore will not be able to do much to help us. I have kept him fully informed about developments in India but he really has no very great influence with the British Cabinet. He is a good man but he is not what they call a good "party man" like Pethick-Lawrence is. Cripps' influence therefore is much less than that of Pethick-Lawrence. Attlee, on the whole, is very sensible about India. I am told that he is very different from what he used to be during the Round Table Conference days. My impression is that he is keen to get on with Congress.

Love from
Sudhir

APPENDIX XXV

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN IN MICA FACTORIES

In September last I visited one of the larger mica factories at Koderma. It was not a surprise visit and I was shown over it by the proprietor or manager. I was horrified to find that many hundreds of children are kept working there for long hours under conditions which definitely preclude them from ever growing up into healthy citizens. The Mica Enquiry Committee, which reported last year, pointed out that in this industry the provisions of the Employment of Children Acts which prohibit the employment of children under twelve years of age are completely ignored. I found that many of the employees could not have been more than six to eight years of age, and some of them had several miles to walk to and from their work. Next to nothing is done for their education, and in any case these little children, after an exhausting day's work, could not be expected to learn anything. They ought to be doing little but play at this age.

2. The Indian Mines Act defines a child as a person who has not completed his fifteenth year. But in the case of mica factories the age limit was restricted to 12 years by the Employment of Children (Amendment) Act of 1939. From 1943 the operation of this Act has been suspended as a war measure, so that there has been no restriction on the employment of children of any age.

3. There is no longer any justification for the continuance of this suspension. It has for some time no longer been a question of encouraging production: on the contrary there has been a glut in the market, and it has been a question of disposing of this in such a way as to keep up prices. The extent to which it is wise to keep up prices is a matter of some controversy. On one hand it is held that as India has almost a monopoly of the production of this indispensable commodity, prices can be pushed up higher still. On the other hand it is argued that there is already a large range of manufactures in which the use of substitutes is possible, and that putting up prices may extend this range and ultimately depress the mica industry.

4. I think the Government of Bihar ought to get more revenue out of the mica industry than they do, and they have proposals for doing so. But I regard it as the most urgent thing to get rid of these terrible conditions of child labour, and if the mica industry cannot prosper

without them, then the sooner the industry goes to the wall the better.

5. The Bihar Government have treated the matter very sympathetically. On a reference from the Central Government they have recently recommended that the Act of 1939 should be strictly enforced and that in no circumstances should children below the age of twelve be employed in mica factories; that subject to a certificate of fitness, children between 12 and 15 years of age may be employed for a *maximum* of three hours a day if they are given a minimum of three hours a day schooling the schools and the midday meal being provided from the welfare fund and that adolescents between 15 and 17 years of age may be employed for eight hours a day, but should not be permitted to work underground. The Bihar Government have asked that action on these lines should be taken as quickly as possible.

6. The Bihar Government are thus doing their best in the matter. But the social conscience in this matter requires to be roused. Organised labour unions do not seem to take much interest in this particular question of child labour. Speaking recently to officers of the Federation of Labour at Jamshedpur, I found it was recognised that conditions were terrible, but got no indication that anything was to be done about it. I suppose that the reason is that the parents of these children are poor and ignorant and would resent being deprived of the children's earnings: there is therefore no political advantage to be got by taking up the children's cause on humanitarian grounds. I have seen a report that a meeting of mica workers was recently held at Koderma under the auspices of the C. S. P. [the Congress Socialist Party] but I think it doubtful whether the conditions of child labour were specially considered.

H. Dow

18-3-'47

APPENDIX XXVI

GANDHI-JINNAH CORRESPONDENCE

M. A. Jinnah to Gandhiji

New Delhi,
13th June 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of 13th June and I thought it was quite clear what I meant that the Congress should undertake that they will not interfere with the people of the Frontier in any way whatsoever.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.,
Bhangi Colony,
New Delhi.

Gandhiji to M. A. Jinnah

New Delhi,
14th June 1947.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours of the 13th instant was received when I was at a meeting.
• I had hoped that H. E. had not clearly understood your meaning. I now see that I was mistaken. I cannot ask the Congress to commit hara-kiri.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi