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Chronicle of Events.

January 1927.

1 Jan. '27 Sardar Jogendra Singh, Mr. Manohar Lal and Malik Feroz Khan Noon appointed Ministers by the Punjab Government.
The Industrial Congress in Calcutta—Second Day's proceedings—Mr. Birla's motion condemning the 18d gold rates of the Currency Committee's recommendation carried.
An appeal for funds to raise an All-India Memorial of the Late Swami Shradhananda issued from Delhi under the signatures of Pundit Malaviya and others.

2 Jan. do. Mahatma Gandhi in Calcutta—In reply to Depressed Class Students' address the Mahatma exhorted them to follow the teachings of late Swami Shradhananda who was a great friend of the depressed classes.

3 Jan. do. Opening Day of the Third Reformed Legislative Council at Lahore.
Indian Economic Conference in Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. L. Tannan.

5 Jan. do. First All-India Women's Conference at Poona under the presidency of the Maharani of Baroda.

6 Jan. do. Arrival of Air Liner "Hercules" at Karachi from London with the Secretary of State for Air and party on board.

8 Jan. do. First Sitting of the C. P. Council—Sir S. M. Chitnavis elected president.

10 Jan. do. First meeting of the Third Reformed Bengal Legislative Council in Calcutta—Governor's address.
First meeting of the Third Reformed Punjab Legislative Council at Lahore.
Government of India Press Communique announced that the position of Indians in Australia considerably improved by the passing of ameliorating measures by the Commonwealth Parliament.
All-India Prayer in memory of Swami Shradhananda.
First meeting of the U. P. Legislative Council—Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram re-elected president.

11 Jan. do. C. P. Council—motion for Ministers' Salaries passed.
The Indian Delegation leave Cape-Town to return to India after the Round Table Conference.
The Trial of Abdul Raschid, the assassin of Swami Shadhananda, commenced at the court of Special Magistrate, Delhi.

12 Jan. do. The Round Table Conference completed its labours in Cape-Town.

13 Jan. do. First Sitting of the B & O Legislative Council—Khan Bahadur Khwaja Mahomed Noor elected president.

14 Jan. do. Arrival of Mr. S. Saklatvala M. P. in Bombay.
Abdul Raschid, the assassin of Swami Shradhananda, committed to Sessions under Section 302 of the Penal Code.

16 Jan. do. Government of India published three important bills embodying the Currency Commission's Recommendations.

17 Jan. '27 Bengal Council—Motion for Ministers' Salaries passed—Swarajist motion refusing the demand rejected.
Steel Protection Bill—Statements of objects and reasons published by the Government of India—preferential duties provided for.
Report of the Bombay Backbay Reclamation Committee published—responsibility apportioned on its promoters.

19 Jan. do. Opening of the Legislative Assembly in New Delhi—Mr. Patel re-elected President the next day.

21 Jan. do. Pt. Nehru's adjournment motion in the Assembly—Mr. S. C. Mitra's detention denounced.

24 Jan. do. Budget Session of the Burma Council opened by His Excellency the Governor.
Viceroy's inaugural address in opening the Legislative Assembly.
First meeting of the Madras Council—Governor's opening Address.

26 Jan. do. The Steel Protection Bill referred to a Select Committee.
Hindu-Moslem fracas at Patuakhali owing to the assault on Satyagraha undertrial prisoners by a Mahomedan Jail Warder—Several persons injured, one Moslem being seriously wounded.

27 Jan do. Madras Council—Mr. Satyamurti's adjournment motion disapproving the Government of India's action in sending Indian troops to China disallowed by Governor.

February 1927.

3 Feb. '27 Burma Council—Resolution on removal of Sex-disqualification lost.
Budget cuts in 1924—26 :—Sir Basil Blacket's Statement in the Assembly.
Debate on the release of Bengal Detenus in the Assembly—Pt. Nehru's motion recommending release or trial of detenus passed.

7 Feb. do. Select Committee Report on the Steel Protection Bill presented to the Assembly.

8 Feb. do. Opening of the Council of State in New Delhi—Report of the Privileges Enquiry Committee submitted.

9 Feb. do. Burma Council—Members of Home Rule, Swaraj and Nationalist parties walked out in protest against the insulting reference of the Home Member to Revd. U. Ottama.

10 Feb- do. The International Anti-Colonial Congress at Brussells—Mr. Jawhar Lal Nehru's Statement on behalf of India.
Kumar Ganganand Sinha's motion in the Assembly urging withdrawal of Special laws in Santhal Perganas carried.
B. P. C. C. requisition meeting in Calcutta—adjournment motion carried.

11 Feb. do. B. N. Railway Workmen's Strike at Kharagpur commenced from this day—Firing by the Railway Auxiliary Force on unarmed strikers.
Adjourned B. P. C. C. meeting in Calcutta—"No confidence" motion on the Executive carried by a narrow mojority.

14 Feb. do. The Steel Protection Bill formally moved in the Assembly by Sir Charles Innes—discussion adjourned.

15 Feb. do. Bills certified in 1924—26 :—Mr. Graham's Statement in the Assembly.

16 Feb. '27 Adjourned debate on the Steel Bill—Mr. Mehta's motion to recommit the Bill to the Select Committee rejected.

18 Feb. do. First meeting of Bombay Council—Governor's opening address.
Railway Budget presented in the Assembly.
Adjourned debate on the Kharagpur Strike in the Assembly.

19 Feb. do. Heated debate in the Calcutta European Association on a resolution censuring the Y. M. C. A. on its alleged political activities which was passed.
Opening of the New Burma Legislative Council—Mr. Oscar De Glanville elected President.

21 Feb. do. Text of the South African Agreement read in the Assembly and the Union Assembly—Anti-Asiatic Bill dropped—Reparation in a new garb—Union accepts education responsibilities of Indians.
Steel Protection Bill passed in the Assembly.

23 Feb. do. Resolution for the release of political prisoners carried in the Bengal Council by a huge majority.
Discussion on the South African Agrement in the Council of State—Members' felicitous speech.

25 Feb. do. Text of the provisions of the Indian Navy Bill presented to the House of Commons.

26 Feb. do. Annual Session of the All-India Khilafat Conference at Lucknow under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ansari.

28 Feb. do. Punjab Council—No-confidence motion on Ministers negatived for want of majority favouring leave being granted.

March 1927.

1 Mar. '27 The Steel Protection Bill passed by the Council of State.
The Financial Statement for 1927-28 presented in the Assembly by Sir Basil Blackett.

2 Mar. do. Hindu-Moslem disturbance in Ponabalia on the Sivaratri Mela arising out of the Mohammadans taking exception to a Hindu *Sankirtan* Party passing by a mosque—police opened fire on the Muhammadans to disperse them.
Split in the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee—Rival factions formed owing to the Secretary, Mr. Sasmal's arbitarily closing up the Congress office—Statements from both sides issued—Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's appeal for honourable settlement.
Civil Aviation grant for ten lakhs passed in the Assembly.

8 Mar. do. B. & O. Council—Swarajist censure motion on Ministers defeated.

9 Mar. do. B. & O. Council—Minister's salaries voted.
Annual meeting of the Calcutta Y. M. C. A. under the Bishop of Calcutta challenged the European Association to substantiate or withdraw their charges.
Second Reading of the Indian Navy Bill passed in the House of Commons—Labour motion for rejection of the Bill defeated.

11 Mar. do. U. P. Council—Swarajist motion for reduction of Ministers' Salaries lost.

12 Mar. '27 Seventh Session of the Trade Union Congress at Delhi under the Presidency of Rai Saheb Chandrika Persad.
South African Indian Congress at Johannesburg opened by Revd. C. F. Andrews.
Bengal Council—Three Swarajist motions against the Ministry defeated by an overwhelming majority.

14 Mar. do. Punjab Council—Debate on Ministers' Salaries—reduction motion negatived.
C. P. Council—Ministers' Salaries Voted.

15 Mar. do. Debate in Union Assembly on the South African agreement continued up to the 19th.

16 Mar. do. Sir Sankaran Nair's remarkable resolution in the Council of State recommending to the Government to put off the Reforms indefinitely until the Hindu-Moslem differences were composed.

17 Mar. do. Party Meetings of Assembly Members at Delhi held to exchange views on the directions in which modification of the existing system of communal representation was desirable.
Babu Satindra Nath Sen, leader of Patuakhali Satyagraha, arrested at Barisal under Sections 107 and 114 Cr. P. C.

18 Mar. do. All India Youth Conference at Gurukul, Hardwar under the Presidency of T. L. Vaswami.

19 Mar. do. Annual meeting of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce—Sir M. C. T. Muthia Chettiar presiding.

20 Mar. do. Meeting of 30 prominent Muslim leaders at Delhi after a protracted discussion agreed to the institution of joint electorates under certain conditions.

21 Mar. do. Madras Council—Motion of no-confidence in the Ministry negatived—Swarajists remained neutral.
Punjab Hindu Sabha passed resolution denying the Congress *locus standi* to represent Hindu community in negotiation with Muslim organisations.
Home Member's Statement in the Assembly on the release of Bengal detenus—Wholesale release detrimental to public safety.
Congress Working Committee met at Delhi and discussed the moslem proposals regarding Joint Electorate.
Mr. Moberly's Statement in the Bengal Council on the conditional release of Mr. S. C. Bose.

22 Mar. do. Standing Committee of the House of Commons ordered the Indian Navy Bill to be reported to the House for the third reading.

23 Mar. do. Hindu Members of the Assembly under Pt. Malaviya considered the Muslim proposals and laid down principles as the basis of discussion.
Punjab Council—Motion for the release of Sikh Gurdwara Reform prisoners carried.

25 Mar. do. The Central Sikh League congratulated the Mahomedan leaders in agreeing to the Joint Electorate.

26 Mar. do. Finance Bill passed in the Council of State.

28 Mar. do. Madras Muslim Council Members opposed Joint Electorate as detrimental to the political advancement of the Muslim Community.

29 Mar. do. Madras Council—Madras University Act Amendment Bill introduced by Mr. S. Satyamurti.
Hindu-Moslem fracas at Larkana (Sind) as the result of a dispute between Hindus and Mahomedans over the possession of a woman and her three children.

30 Mar. do. Indian Debate in the House of Lords—Lord Birkenhead's survey of Indian affairs—release of Bengal detenus involve murderous outrages.

31 Mar. do. Annual Meeting of the Bombay Y. M. C. A. under His Excellency the Governor who dwelt on the excellent humanitarian work of the Association.

April 1927.

2 Apl. '27 Public meeting in Madras on the work done by the Congress party in the Local Council—Neutral policy of the Swarajists justified.

3 Apl. do. Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee meeting at Poona adopted resolution supporting the Joint Electorate.

4 Apl. do. Sind Muslim Leaders' Statement on the origin of the Larkana riot issued —Hindus and Arya-Samajists blamed for their aggressive spirit.
Gurdwara Central Board meeting at Amritsar urged Sikh Council members to resign in protest against the attitude of Government in not releasing wholesale the Gurdwara Reform Prisoners.

5 Apl. do. Third Reading of the Indian Navy Bill passed in the House of Commons—Labour amendments rejected.

6 Apl. do. Kakori Conspiracy Case—Judgment delivered by the Sessions Judge at Lucknow—Three sentenced to be hanged and one transported for life.

7 Apl. do. Sir Hugh Stephenson assumed office of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa.
Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee meeting at Poona approved suggestions about Joint Electorate—Congress should not lay down any definite rules for the acceptance or refusal of ministry.

8 Apl. do. Justice Party meeting at Madras under the presidency of Raja of Panagal.

16 Apl. do. Third Kerala Provincial Conference at Calicut under the presidency of Mr. B. G. Horniman—Swarajist Policy criticised.
Bengal Provincial Conference at Majn (Howrah) under the presidency of Mr. Jogindra Nath Chakravarty.
Tenth Session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Patna under the presidency of Dr. B. S. Moonjee.

17 Apl. do. All-India Shudhi Conference at Patna—Tributes to Swami Shradhananda.

19 Apl. do. Hindu version of the Larkana rioting issued—result of premeditation on the part of the Muslims.

20 Apl. do. Sikh members of the Punjab Council resigned in protest against Government not yet releasing Gurdwara Reform Prisoners.
Dr. Moonjee's address at a crowded public meeting at Calcutta—He urged Hindu-Muslim Unity to attain Swaraj but condemned the Lucknow Pact.

24 Apl. do. Benares Dt. Political Conference held at Chaubepur, Benares under the Presidency of Sj. Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi.

25 Apl. do. Nagpur Congress Committee passed resolution to start Civil Disobedience against Arms Act.

28 Apl. do. Second Reading of the Indian Navy Bill passed in the House of Lords.

May 1927.

1 May 27 Andhra Provincial Congress Committee meeting at Bezwada passed resolution calling on the Council and Assembly members to resign for not throwing out the Ministers' Salaries and thus violating the Gauhati resolution.
Punjab Provincial Muslim League meeting at Lahore under the Presidency of Sir Mahomed Shafi—President supported communal electorate.
Sind Hindu Provincial Conference at Sukkur under the Presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai.

3 May '27 Sikh-Muslim riot in Lahore originating in some Muslims irritating and insulting a Sikh woman.
Hindu-Moslem riot at Surat while a procession with music in honour of Sivaji Tercentenary was passing by a Musjid—The City Magistrate was compelled to open fire.

4 May do. Rangila Rasul Case—Judgment delivered in the Lahore High Court by Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh acquitting the accused Rajpal, the publisher of the pamphlet of that name.
Failure of the Compromise move in the B. P. C. C.—matter referred to the Election Dispute Panel of the A. I. C. C.

7 May do. Mr. V. S. S. Sastri appointed by the Government of India as the first agent in South Africa.

8 May do. Division among Muslim leaders in a special meeting at Patna on the Joint Electorate—some supporting the Delhi proposals and some opposing it.

9 May do. Mr. Spratt of the British Labour Party in a meeting in Bombay said that India was ripe for revolution—He urged on the Youth of India to lead the Congress.
The New Asiatic Bill embodying the terms of the South African Agreement introduced in the Union Assembly.

13 May do. Informal Conferences in Bombay under the auspices of the A. I. C. C.—future policy and programme of the Congress as well as the communal question formed the subjects of long discussion.
Bangalore Citizens' address to Mr. Sastri on the eve of his departure to South Africa.

15 May do. Second Annual General meeting of the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce held at Rangoon under the Presidency of Mr. Hussain Hamadane—Currency deflation strongly criticised.
All India Congress Committee and Working Committee meetings at Delhi continued till the 18th—Resolution on Hindu-Muslim Unity passed after a heated debate.

16 May do. Mr. Subash Ch. Bose released unconditionally by order of the Government of Bengal.

17 May do. 40th day of Kakori Prisoner's hunger strike as a protest against Jail treatment.

18 May do. Congress Working Committee approved of the conduct of the Congress Party in the Madras Legislative Council.
Bengal Provincial Muslim Conference at Barisal—Sir Abdur Rahim denouncing Bengal Government re. the Kulkati shooting.

19 May do. Lahore Riot Case commenced—8 Sikhs charged with murder and unlawful assembly.
In the Lahore High Court the appeal of Abdul Raschid, the alleged murderer of Swami Shradhananda dismissed—death sentence confirmed.
Nagpur Satyagrahi's procession with drawn swords continued—daily arrests and sentence of volunteers.

20 May do. Manifesto issued by Mr. T. Prakasam and four others in the *National Herald* questioning the legality of the resolution of the Working Committee as regards the Madras Swarajists and declaring it *ultra vires*.

23 May do. Joint meeting of the Indian community in Cape Town passed resolution offering Mr. Sastri their whole-hearted welcome.

24 May do. All Bengal's prayer for the recovery of Mr. Subhas Ch. Bose.
Mr. Awari, Leader of the Nagpur Satyagrahi's, arrested.

25 May do. Annual general meeting of the Indian Mining Federation in Calcutta—Chairman's pessimistic note on coal trade.
Edinburgh Indian Association's protest against exclusion of Indians from dancing halls and restaurants.
Opening of the International Labour Conference at Geneva under the Presidency of Sir Atul Chatterjee.

26 May '27 Mahatma's views on S. C. Bose's release—Government's cowardly act in releasing a dying man.

28 May do. Dr. Moonjee served with notice in Surat prohibiting him from attending or addressing any public meeting—Dr. Moonjee defied the order.

30 May do. Annual meeting of the Karachi Y. M. C. A.—European Associations' charges refuted.

31 May do. Annual meeting of the Indian Communist Party at Bombay.
Public meeting at Madras under the Presidency of Mr. S. Satyamurti discussed the Bombay A. I. C. C. decision and after events.

June 1927.

1 June '27 Split in the South African Indian Congress—Trasvaal's final secession.
Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivara Sastri left Simla, after conversations with the Viceroy, en route to South Africa.

2 June do. Indian Debate in the House of Commons—Earl Winterton's speech on the Bengal detenus and the Statutory Commission.

3 June do. Requisition signed by 39 members of the A. I. C. C. forwarded to the President of the Congress to convene special A. I. C. C. Session.

4 June do. Mr. Awari, leader of Nagpur Satyagraha, sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment.

5 June do. Crowded public meeting of Hindus and Mussalmans at Delhi under the presidency of Dr. Ansari who pleading for communal unity expained the significance, scope and meaning of the Bombay Pact.
Mr. S. C. Bose's reply to Earl Winterton's speech denying that he and other detenus were tried before two Judges.

6 June do. The Cotton Textile Tariff Board's Report and the Government of India's decision thereon published—Duty and bounty recommended but Government rejected both proposals.
Sind Provincial Hindu Mahasabha at a meeting accepted the principle of Joint Electorate.

10 June do. Serious Bakrid riot at Dinapore, Patna arising out of the slaughter of a cow by a Muhammadan.

11 June do. Lahore Mahomedan leader's deputation to the Governor to present their views on the "Rangila Rasul" Judgment—Governor's sympathetic attitude.
East Godavari Conference at Amlapuram under the Presidency of Mr. B. G. Horniman.

13 June do. The Servant of India Society anniversary celebration at Poona—Mr. Devadhar's Tribute to Mr. Sastri.

15 June do. Desbandhu Day observed throughout India with feeling reference to the sacrifice of the illustrious deceased.

16 June do. Satyagraha through disobedience of the Arms Act begun at Madura—Volunteers with drawn swords marching in procession through streets.
Foundation stone of the Das Memorial laid in the Shahnagore Burning Ghat, Calcutta by the Mayor amidst solemn scenes.
The Congress Arbitration Board's Award in the Bengal Congress Committee Dispute issued—Both Executives should cease to exist and a new Executive formed.

17 June '27 Debate on India Office Estimates in the House of Commons—Mr. Lansbury's reduction motion rejected.

20 June do. All India Mill-owners' Conference in Bombay protested against the Government of India's refusal to grant protection to the mill industry.

21 June do. The "Muslim Outlook" Case—Editor and Printer sentenced by the Lahore High Court on the charge of contempt of court for attacking the impartiality and honesty of Justice Dalip Singh who dealt with the "Rangila Rasul" case.

23 June do. Second Reading of the New Asiatic Bill passed in the Union Assembly—Dr. Malan's concession to Transvaal.

25 June do. Third Reading of the New Asiatic Bill passed in the Union Assembly.

26 June do. Fresh election in the B. P. C. C. held in pursuance of the Arbitration Board's Award—A new Executive formed.

27 June do. The Rangila Rasul Case—Hindu Mahasabha's telegram to the Viceroy protesting against the patronising attitude of the Punjab Governor towards the moslem deputation.

28 June do. Echo of the Rangila Rasul Judgment—Maulana Mahomed Ali's article in "Hamdard" demanding from Government the promulgation of an ordinance making the offence of insulting prophets, saints and other persons held sacred severly punishable.

30 June do. Hartal and monster meeting of Muslims at Delhi to protest against the Rangila Rasul Judgment—Judge's resignation demanded.

P.8

INDIA IN HOME POLITY

Jan.–June 1927.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF

The Indian National Congress.

The following is a Summary of the Proceedings of Working Committee which met at Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay, on the 15th May 1927 and the following days.

1. The minutes of the last meeting of the Committee held at Delhi on the 21st March 1927 were confirmed.

2. (*a*) The following accounts were passed :—
(i) A.I.C.C. Office accounts for March and April 1927 ;
(ii) Treasurer's Office accounts up to 30—4—27.

(*b*) The Committee considered the statement giving details of the ear-marked funds lying with the Treasurer and adopted the following resolution :—

"Resolved that the account *re* ear-marked funds and the purposes for which they were ear-marked be examined and that the President be asked to take necessary action thereon."

3. The Hindu-Moslem question was then taken up. The suggestions regarding joint electorates etc. which were made by the Mussalman leaders' meeting at Delhi on the 20th March were considered and the following report and resolutions were eventually adopted by the Committee for being placed before the A.I.C.C. :—

Report.

At the forty-first session of the Indian National Congress held at Gauhati, the following resolution was unanimously passed :—

"This Congress calls upon the Working Committee to take immediate steps in consultation with Hindu and Mussalman leaders to devise measures for the removal of the present deplorable differences between Hindus and Mussalmans and submit their report to the All India Congress Committee not later than the 31st March 1926.

"And this Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to issue necessary instructions in that behalf to all Congressmen in the country and take such other steps as it may deem fit after a consideration of the said report."

In pursuance of this resolution, the Working Committee at its informal meeting held in Calcutta on the 1st. January resolved that the President be authorised to convene a conference of Hindu and Mohammadan members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State in Delhi at the earliest opportunity to consider ways and means of promotjng Hindu Musljm unity. The President of the Congress, before convening such a conference, put himself in communication with leading members of the Assembly and the Council of State in Delhi as well as other important Congress leaders.

The President found it more feasible to carry on separate consultation and discussion with the Hindu and Mohammadan members of the Central Legislature as a preliminary to a joint consultation and to that end, he invited Muslim members of the Central Legislature and few Hindu friends to a social gathering which was responded to very largely by them ; and there was a full and frank presentation of the point at issue on behalf of the Mohammadans by Mr. Jinnah and other members of the Assembly and members of the Council of State—based on the resolutions of the Muslim League at Delhi in December 1926.

The President of the Congress subsequently attended a gathering of members of the Assembly and other friends who represented the Hindu Sabha point of view and learnt from them the point of view of the case put forward by them. The President also visited Aligarh, Muttra and other places and acquainted himself with the views

of both communities on the important questions in dispute and after these preliminary steps, the Working Committee resolved to convene a meeting of All India Congress Committee referred to in the resolution, on the 20th of March 1927 for the purpose of considering the report that the Working Committee expected to present. It was, however, found that in consequence of the budget sessions in most of the Provincial Councils, many members of the All India Congress Committee were unable to be in Delhi and as the discussions with the Hindu and Mohammadan leaders continued without any definite conclusion being reached so as to enable the Working Committee, to consider the matter and place their proposals before the All India Congress Committee the meeting had to be postponed until the Working Committee could do so.

In the meantime, there were important informal conferences held of the Hindu members of the Congress party in the Indian Legislature whose conclusions were communicated to the Working Committee in view of similar conferences held among Mohammadans and of the Committee of the Muslim League.

On the 20th March, however, certain important Muslim leaders met and after long and anxious deliberations, decided to put forward specific proposals on the Hindu-Muslim problem for the acceptance of the Hindus and of the country, and communicated their desire through Mr. Jinnah that the Congress should consider and agree to the said proposals.

The Working Committee which met a day after those proposals were made, resolved "that the committee cordially appreciates the decision arrived at by the Muslim Conference to accept the institution of joint electorates all over the country with reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities and appoints the following Sub-Committee to discuss details with representatives of the Muslim Conference and of the Hindu community :—

Sub-Committee :—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Syt. Srinivasa Iyengar and Maulana Mohamad Ali."

The Sub-Committee appointed by the resolution subsequently met and had various discussions and it was decided that the Working Committee should meet and formulate its conclusions after discussing details with representatives of both Communities, and has since received communications from several conferences on this matter. Among these are the resolutions of the Hindu Maha Sabha at Patna and the resolutions of the Maharashtra Congress Committee, which have appeared in the Press.

The Working Committee have also had the benefit of full and frank discussions with important Mohammadan leaders here in Bombay, yesterday, and opinion was generally in favour of the acceptance of the Muslim proposals. After considering all the materials placed before them and having had discussions with leading members of the Hindu and Mohammadan as well as other communities, the Working Committee resolved to recommend to the All India Congress Committee the following:—

Resolutions.

The Working Committee having considered the proposals made by representative Muslim leaders who met in Delhi on the 20th March last, as well as the opinions of other leaders and representatives of both communities, is of opinion :—

(1) That in any future scheme of Constitution, so far as representation in the various legislatures is concerned, joint electorates in all the provinces and in the Central Legislature be constituted.

(2) That, with a view to giving full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the Legislatures, for the present, and if desired, such representation of the communities should be secured by the reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature ;

Provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities including the Sikhs in the Punjab may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representations in excess of the proportion of the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces ; and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces.

(3) a.—The proposal made by the Muslim leaders that reforms should be in-

troduced in the N. W. F. Province and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is, in the opinion of the Committee, a fair and reasonable one.

(3) b.—The proposal that Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province is one which has already been adopted in the Constitution of the Congress on the principle of the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis and the Committee is of opinion that the proposal may be given effect to.

(4) That in the future Constitution, liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature, central or provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with liberty of conscience.

"Liberty of conscience" means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observances and associations and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with similar rights of others.

(5) No Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any Legislature, Central or Provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of either community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment.

"Inter-Communal Matters" means matters agreed upon as such by a joint Standing Committee of both communities, of the Hindu and Moslem members of the legislatures concerned, appointed at the commencement of every session of the legislature.

The A. I. C. C. approves and adopts the Report of the Working Committee on the Hindu-Muslim question and the recommendations contained therein and calls upon all Congress organisations to take necessary steps to have the said recommendation carried out.

4. The question of framing a constitution for India was then brought up and after some discussion the meeting was adjourned.

The Committee met again in the Taj Mahal Hotel at 8-30 a.m. on the 16th. May 1927.

5. The letters received from the Punjab, Andhra and Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committees expressing inability to pay their quotas to the A.I.C.C. were considered. The Secretary was asked to make a further effort to realise the amounts due from these and also from other provinces.

At this stage a deputation on behalf of the Hindu residents of Sind headed by Seth Naraindas Asamber waited upon the Committee to plead against the separation of Sind as contemplated in the proposals regarding Hindu-Moslem unity. After hearing the deputation, the President explained how the separation of Sind improved the position of Hindu residents thereof. Thereupon the deputation left.

8. The question of framing a Constitution for India was again taken up and after full discussion the following draft resolution was adopted for being placed before the All India Congress Committee :—

"The A. I. C. C. calls upon the Working Committee to frame a Constitution for India in consultation with the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and other leaders of political parties, and place the same before a special meeting of the A. I. C. C. with a view to its adoption by the Congress at its next session."

9. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's note on the Congress of Oppressed Nations held at Brussels was next taken up and the following draft resolution for the A. I. C. C. adopted :—

"The All India Congress Committee records the report of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, representative of the Congress at the International Congress against Oppression and for National Independence held at Brussels in February last, and expresses its high appreciation of his services at the Congress.

This Committee appreciates the efforts that are being made by the League against Imperialism and for National Independence founded by the said Congress to secure the independence of all suppressed nations in the world and resolves to recommend to the Congress to give support to the League as an associate organisation.

Under the rules of the League, an associate organisation is an organisation which does not agree wholly with the programme and activities of the League.)

10. The Committee discussed the Chinese situation and resolved as follows :—

"The All India Congress Committee assures the Chinese people of its fullest sympathy in their struggle for freedom, condemns the Government of India in despatching Indian troops to China and demands their immediate withdrawal."

11. At this stage the committee considered the resolution on the Nagpur Satyagraha, notice of which had been given by Mr. B. Raja Rau. The decision of the Committee was that the resolution be not supported in the A. I. C. C.

12. The question of Labour organisation was discussed at length by the Committee which eventually adopted the following draft resolution to be placed before the A. I. C. C.

"The All India Congress Committee calls upon the Working Committee to organise rural and urban labour in the provinces, to appoint organisers for the purpose and frame general regulations in this behalf.

13. The Congress disputes in Bengal were then taken up. Babu Rajendra Prasad informed the committee that efforts were being made to arrive at an understanding between the rival parties in Bengal and that there were hopes of an amicable settlement. The meeting then adjourned.

The Committee met again at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 17th May 1927.

14. The first question discussed was unity between the different parties in the Congress. Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar, Dr. Moonje and Messrs. Bhopatkar and Gokhale attended at the special invitation of the President and participated in the discussion on the subject.

In the course of discussion, Mr. Prakasam's resolution, notice of which had been sent to the A. I. C. C., was considered and the Committee decided not to support it in case it was held to be in order. Similarly, it was decided that the resolutions sent in by Messrs. Sambamurti, Pratap Chandra Guha Roy, M.K. Acharya and Annapurniah be not supported in case they were held to be in order.

15. The resolutions passed at the Kerala Provincial Conference forwarded by the Kerala P.C.C. were recorded.

16. The resolutions recommended by the Maharashtra P.C.C. particularly those relating to unity in the Congress were considered. After some discussion the question was adjourned for further consideration.

17. At this stage Babu Rajendra Prasad handed in an application signed by members of the A. I. C. C. from Bengal representing both the contending parties, requesting that the Bengal disputes be referred for final decision to Messrs. N. C. Chunder, M. L. A., Amarendranath Ghose, M. L. C., and Akram Khan. On this application the Working Committee passed the following draft resolution to be placed before the A.I. C.C:—

"The All India Congress Committee resolves that the Bengal Congress disputes be referred for final decision to the following arbitrators suggested in the letter dated 17th May 1927 addressed by (1) Mr. Purshottam Roy, (2) Mr. Suresh Chander Das, (3) Mr. Rajkumar Chakravarty, (4) Mr. Basantakumar Mazumdar, (5) Syta. Hemprova Mazumdar, (6) Mr. Ghiyasuddin Ahmed, (7) Mr T. C. Goswami and (8) Mr. Pratap Chandra Guha Roy,
Arbitrators :—Mr. N. C. Chundra, M.L.A., Mr. Amarendranath Ghosh, M. L. C. and Mr. Akram Khan". The Committee then adjourned.

18. When the A. I. C. C, rose for refreshments at 4-30. p. m. on the 17th, an emergent meeting of the members of the Working Committee then present was held at the Congress House and the following draft resolution was adopted for being moved as an official resolution before the A. I. C. C :—

"The All India Congress Committee appreciates the proposal of the Hindustani Sava Dal to send an Ambulance Corps to China and appeals to the country to give its moral and material support to this humanitarian work—to tend the wounand the Sick.

"The A. I. C. C. calls upon the All India Board of the said Dal to take all necessary steps in connection with the despach of the proposed Ambulance Corps".

The Commitee met again in the Taj-Mahal Hotel at 2—30 P.M. on the 18th May 1927.

19. The appplication of Pandit Santanam, President of the Punjab P. C. C. for a grant of Rs. 3,000 was considered and it was resolved that Rs. 1,500 be advanced to the Punjab P. C. C. through its President, Pandit Santanam, as a loan on condition that the amount be returned by February next.

20. Babu Rajendra Prasad's application asking for a grant of Rs. 800 to enable him to meet certain outstanding demands in connection with the last year's general election expenses in Behar was placed before the Committee : the Committee resolved that the Secretary be authorised to pay the amount, funds permitting, out of the balance of the Central Publicity Funds.

21. The draft rules forwarded by Mahatma Gandhi regarding the habitual wear of Khaddar were placed before the Committee and it was resolved that the issue of instruction on this matter be postponed till after the President's consultation with Mahatmaji..

22. The All India Congress Committee's resolution on the Nagpur Satyagraha was next taken up and the following resolution was adopted :—

"Resolved, in pursuance of the A.I.C.C.'s resolution on the Nagpur Satyagraha, that Syt. Vallabhbhai Patel be deputed to study the situation and submit a report in a fortnight's time.

23. Discussion on the question of unity or co-operation between the parties in the Congress was resumed. Dr. Moonje was specially invited to be present. The following formula was considered as a formula of co-opertion, not of unity between parties to the extent co-operation was possible consistently with the Gauhati resolution :—

"While adhering to the principle of non-acceptance of ministries by Congressman the Working Committee recommends that the Congress party in the Council should co-operate to give practical effect to clauses (c), (d), (e) and (f) of resolution V of the Gauhati Congress in Provincial Legislatures where ministries have been or are likely to be formed by Responsivist or Independent Congressmen."

The Committee considered the matter fully and unanimously arrived at the formula contained in the following instructions issued to the Congress party in the several Legislatures.

"The Working Committee hereby instructs the Congress party in the several Provincial Legislatures that their duty under clause (a) of Resolution V of the Gauhati Congress is to prevent the functioning of dyarchy as such wherever possible and does not impose on them the duty to defeat a ministry if the result of such action is, in the judgment of the party, likely to strengthen the bureaucracy or any anti-national party and is further of opinion that it is desirable for the Congress party in the several legislatures to co-operate with other parties for the purpose of carrying out the policy and programme laid down in clauses (c), (d), (e) and (f) of the said resolution.

24. The question of the Congress party's conduct in the Madras Legislative Council was then considered as Mr. Sami Vankatachalam Chetty, the leader, had asked for instructions. He and Mr. Satyamurti, deputy leader of the party, were present during the discussion on this matter. After hearing them, the Committee adopted the following resolution :—

"Having heard all that has been said pro and contra the conduct of the Congress Party in the Madras Council, the Working Committee is convinced that the party has done nothing inconsistent either with the ultimate object of the Congress, the attainment of Swaraj, or with the spirit and letter of the Gauhati resolution as in its judgment there was no probability of wrecking dyarchy in that province at that time, but that on the other hand done all that lay in its power to prevent the strengthening of the bureaucracy by means of an alliance of the bureaucracy with a party whose avowed policy is to promote communalism and to repress nationalism for the purpose of securing office at the hands of and as a favour from, the bureaucracy. In so far as it has succeeded in doing this, the Madras Council Party deserves the thanks of the Congress and the country. But the Working Committee would at the same time make it perfectly clear that in no case shall the party in the Council resort to such co-operation with the Ministers as is not permissible under clauses (c)—(f) sf the Gauhati resolution and shall always work for a favourable opportunity of destroying dyarchy.

14

All-India Congress Committee.

BOMBAY—15TH MAY, 1927.

The picturesque pandal specially constructed for the purpose ...n the ground of the Congress House at Bombay was fully packed with delegates and vi...itors when the A.I.C.C. opened its session on the 15th May at 4 P.M. with Mr. Srinivas... Iyengar in the chair. Owing to want of space the huge crowds that were wa...iting outside could not gain admission. Long before the committee met, members in...terest. Those present informally discussing the Hindu-Moslem questions with great in... groups were seen included, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mrs ... Naidu, Messrs. M. R. Jayakar, N. C. Kelkar, A Rangaswami Iyengar. Mahomed Ali, ... Shaukat Ali, Zahur Ahmed, Dr. Moonji, D. V. Gokhale, T. Prakasam, K. San...anam, Rajendra Prasad, Mathura Prasad, T. C. Goswami, George Joseph, Poth... Joseph, Gaurishankar Misra and S. N. Haji, Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas, ... Messrs Sheo Prasad Gupta, M. K. Acharya, Seth Govindas, Jamnadas Dwarkadas ... and B. G. Horniman, who, clad in Khaddar dhotie and a shirt, received an ova...tion as he entered the pandal. Proceedings opened with a chorus of "Vande Matara..." sung by two Maharashtra girls. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar then delivered his ...augural address laying stress on the need for unity in the Congress ranks and urgi... the acceptance of the Jinnah conference proposals.

In his preliminary address Mr. Iyenga... said: The meeting had no more important subject to deal with than the que...stion of Hindu-Muslim unity and after years of trouble and strife he thought ... was possible to see a ray of light. For the first time after many years leadi... Mussalmans had shown a real desire to lay the foundation of national life on s...olid lines. He had come to the conclusion that proposals now famous in the His...tory of India as the Delhi proposals represented the earnest and anxious desire ... of the Mussalman friends to co-operate with the Hindus. Whatever theoretical o...bjections there might be the proposals offered a basis for what might be regarde... as a safe compromise for the present and as leading ultimately to perfect nation...alism.

Discussing various cla...uses in the proposals, Mr. Iyengar said very little objection had been raised to the ... population basis. Nobody could seriously object to the North West Frontier Prov...inces having the same reforms as other parts of the country. Lala Lajpat Rai's ob...jection to reforms in these provinces on the ground of the existence in them of ... the Jirgha system could not be regarded as very serious to us. He could not u...derstand how the Jirgha system could be bettered and how under ... could be any worse. As for the separation of Sind, the Congress could not object to it as it had given its support to the constitution of the provinces on a linguistic basis and when Musalman friends agree to the separation on its own merits Hindus could not have any objection to it. I do not think by being in the province of Bombay Hindus get more protection now nor is there anything to show that there will be less protection if it is separated. When joint electorate is introduced with a view to the development of nationalism it will be begging the question to think of communal interests. We must demand the formation of linguistic provinces in India in accordance with our Congress scheme. At any rate Congressmen can have no objection whatever to it. We should agree to a formula of religious freedom as a fundamental law of the constitution and also to the convention that no inter-communal matter shall be taken or discussed if it is objected to by three-fourths of members belonging to any particular community in the Legislative Council in which the question is raised.

I think communal unity will be more easily established if political unity in the Congress is also brought about. I would suggest that the A. I. C. C. should convoke an Assembly composed of itself as well as the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures for the purpose of settling a constitution for India and for the purpose of devising sanctions binding on elected members of the legislature in case that constitution is not agreed to by the Government. The Committee should take definite steps for the organisation of rural and urban areas and starting of mass movement in districts and provinces.

With reference to the grievances on which there is the most feeling difference

among the Congressmen culminating in the running of rival organisations it is required that the Working Committee should be specifically invested with powers to declare which are real Congress organisations and which are not and to create special emergent organisations where there is negligence, default or rebellion."

Resolutions

1. GANDHIJI'S HEALTH.

The President then put from the chair a motion wishing speedy recovery to Mr. Gandhi to enable him to continue his work for India and the world. The motion was unanimously carried.

2. HINDU MUSLIM UNITY.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, General Secretary, then read a report of the Working Committee on Hindu-Muslim unity. The report referred to the Gauhati resolution on the subject and the President's activities in carrying consultations and discussions with Hindu and Muslim leaders and bodies. It also referred in detail to the activities in Delhi both by the Hindu and Muslim members of the Central Legislature prior to and after the Jinnah Conference proposals on the question of a joint electorate. After reiterating the Working Committee's resolution on the question in the middle of March when a Sub-Committee was appointed to go into the question the report went on to say that since then the Committee had the benefit of the opinions of various bodies and men including the informal conferences that had been meeting in Bombay since Thursday.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION.

After considering all the materials placed before them by all bodies including the Hindu Mahasabha, the Working Committee resolved to recommend to the A. I. C. C. the following:—

1. That in any future scheme of constitution, so far as representation in the various legislatures is concerned, joint electorates in all provinces and in the Central Legislature be constituted.

2. That with a view to give full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the legislatures for the present and if desired, such representation of communities should be secured by reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature, provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities, including Sikhs in the Punjab may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion of the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces.

3. (a) The proposal made by the Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced in N. W. F. Province and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is in the opinion of the Committee a fair and reasonable one.

(b) The proposal that Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province is one which has already been adopted in the constitution of the Congress on the principle of redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis and the Committee is of opinion that the proposal may be given effect to.

4. That in the future constitution liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature, central or provincial, shall have the power to make any laws interfering with liberty of conscience. Liberty of conscience means liberty of belief and worship, freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with similar rights of others.

5. No bill, resolution, motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any legislature, central or provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of either community affected thereby in that legislature is opposed to the introduction, discussion or passing of such bill, resolution motion or amendment. Inter-communal matters mean matters agreed upon as such by a joint standing committee of both communities, of Hindus and Moslem members of the legislatures concerned, and appointed at the commencement of every session of the legislature."

On behalf of the Working Committee Pandit Motilal NEHRU who received an ovation moved the following resolution: "The A.I.C.C. approves and adopts the report

of the Working Committee on the Hindu-Muslim question and the recommendations contained therein and calls on the Congress organisations to take the necessary steps to have the said recommendations carried out".

In moving the resolution Pundit Motilal Nehru said that any arrangement of this character must be based on the principle of give and take as every compromise must represent the agreed wish of the parties to the compromise. You cannot expect it to conform entirely to individual views of bodies or parties concerned. He agreed it was not the ideal arrangement, but having regard to all circumstances nothing better could be devised which could remove the present unfortunate communal tension. Whatever the intentions of the framers of the Delhi proposals were they were to take it as the report of the Working Committee which had considered it in every aspect. He denied it was the intention of the Muslim friends that a price should be paid by Hindus for securing Muslim assent to joint electorates. The Working Committee had considered each part of the proposal as an independent one and if one part was not acceptable to the members they should express their disapproval of that part alone. There was only one point on which there was very strong feeling on both sides and that was the separation of Sind. The feelings were based on a consideration of the administrative and financial difficulties of the question. Looking back to the previous history of the question it had never been stated that the separation of Sind would in any way affect the Hindus adversely.

On the other hand distinguished leaders of Sind had in the past expressed their disapproval of Sind being tied to the chariot wheel of Bombay. The question had been asked : If the separation of Sind should be agreed to because the Congress had given its approval to the constitution of provinces on a linguistic basis, why not extend the proposal to other provinces also ? His answer was that they were not considering the general constitution of India but only that part of the constitution which affected the question of Hindu-muslim Unity and therfore they need not go into the larger question at this stage. As for the financial commitments of Bombay in Sind in such projects as the Sukkur Barrage, it was only a matter of book entry and the Congress was not concerned now with it. It was the concern of the Government and the Congress need not allow the considered opinion of the members to be affected by these considerations.

Brbu Rajendra Prasad formally seconded the resolution.

Andhra Opposition

Mr. VISWANATHAN moved an amendment to Pundit Motilal's motion merely appreciating the spirit of the Delhi proposals made by the Muslims and reiterating the Congress Committee's faith in the principle of joint electorate and in the principle of the distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis and providing for the inclusion of these principles in any future scheme of Swaraj for India. Mr. Viswanathan averred that the original resolution implied the acceptance of the Royal Commission and committed the Congress to the acceptance of a policy of taking part in the future elections also. So far as the introduction of reforms in N. W. F. and Baluchistan was concerned he asked : were they asking for the same reforms they were fighting against to-day ?

Another Amendment.

Mr. NIMBAKAR was assailed on all sides when he rose to move the second amendment on the ground that he was not wearing khaddar as per Gauhati resolution. Mr. Nimbakar asserting that he was, the President permitted him amidst laughter to continue. The speaker said that it was not fair to come to any understanding and settlement when Lala Lajpat Rai and Pundit Malaviya, the leaders of the Hindu Sabha, were not there. They had also to bear in mind that neither the Muslim League nor the Khilafat Committee, the two responsible bodies of Moslem opinion would give any lead on the matter.

Dr. ANSARI who was well received explained why the Pandit's motion ought to be accepted. To the argument that the Delhi proposals did not emanate from a responsible Moslem body, Dr. Ansari said that the Muslim League at Delhi and the Khilafat Conference at Lucknow had appointed committees to confer with the leaders of the sister community and find out ways and means to put and end to the unfriendly relations between the two great communities. The Delhi Jinnah Conference was the result of those two resolutions and it would be therefore unjust to dub those

resolutions of Delhi as unrepresentative or irresponsible. Continuing, the Doctor admitted that even now there was a body of Mussalmans who placed faith in separate representation and special seats ; but it was to end this that the Jinnah Conference made the proposals which were meant to end this mentality. They should not forget that with very few exceptions all Muslim leaders of all creeds and sections attended the Jinnah Conference. "Take it from me", continued Dr. Ansari, "that those of us who pressed for this unanimous decision had an uphill fight. It is a great victory and you should realise that no sacrifice is too great to bring about such a consummation. It is equitable, honourable and patriotic and I request and appeal to you to understand that the spirit that pervaded the Jinnah Conference was nothing more than one of give and take." Amidst cheers Dr. Ansari repeated his appeal for the acceptance of the proposals.

OTHER AMENDMENTS

Mr. S. C. Das then moved an amendment which banned the A. I. C. C. to refrain from expressing any opinion on the subject of the introduction of Reforms in Baluchistan and N. W. F. as the Congress had not expressed any opinion thereon. The motion was duly seconded.

Mr. Rajkumar Chakravarthi wanted that the resolution should lay down some definite course in regard to the question of music before mosques which was at the root of all troubles.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar assured the members that the problem was engaging the attention of the working committee. One part of the resolution which was ripe had been placed before the members for their acceptance, namely, the question of joint electorate, but the question of music before mosques was not ripe for discussion.

Mr. *Satyamurti* gave enthusiastic support to the resolution. He was sure it represented a distinct advance on the Lucknow pact in at least six different directions. He expressed the opinion that the joint committee to be appointed according to the resolution to decide what were communal questions should be appointed not at the beginning of every session, but at the beginning of every Council, since in the former case members would not be entirely free from a spirit of rivalry engendered during the session.

Mr. *Jayakar*, who entirely supported the resolution except in two points, moved an amendment which wanted to add after the clause advocating reforms for N. W. F. and Baluchistan a proviso favouring the reforming of the judiciary and other things in the provinces so as to bring them on a par with other provinces. Explaining this amendment, Mr. Jayakar said that unless rules and regulations in respect of the judiciary, law of evidence etc., in these provinces were brought upto-date the reforms would be defeated in their purpose.

Mr. Mahomed Ali and Shwaib Quereshi suggested that instead of making it a proviso Mr. Jayakar might make it an additional obligation. Mr. Jayakar declined to do it.

Continuing, Mr. Jayaker said that the object of his motion was to compel the bureaucracy to yield its valued rights. Coming to the clause favouring the separation of Sind, Mr. Jayakar moved an amendment in the following words :—"Separation of Sind should be considered and given effect to as part of a complete scheme whereby the entire country will be redistributed on a linguistic basis."

Mr. Jayakar thought that it would be wrong to create an impression that they were sacrificing Sind for the sake of other provinces. Just as in the case of the rendition of Berar they raised a hue and cry against the proposal unless the Beraris favoured it, he should say that unless Sindese favoured it Sind should not be separated but he was reasonable and knew that there had been a nation-wide demand for separation of provinces on a linguistic basis. Therefore he would suggest that under this clause other provinces should also be encouraged to attain their ideal. The speaker paid a tribute to Pandit Motilal for the wonderfully statesmanlike way in which he moved the resolution and appealed to him to accept his amendment, which really covered the spirit of the resolution. Mr. Jayakar repeated what he had already said at Delhi that the Moslem proposals were an improvement on the existing order of things and also reiterated his appreciation of the spirit in which they had been made.

In opposing Mr. Jayakar's amendment Mr. *Goswami* declared that Sind had always been regarded as a separate entity and there was no evidence that Sindese had any bitter feeling against separation. The resolution did not propose any comprehensive scheme for the whole of India. It was simply an answer to Muslim proposals.

The principles laid down in the resolution would form part of the future constitution of India. He finally appealed to members to stick to the original resolution.

Mr. Joglekar opposed the resolution on the ground that the reforms which granted fr nchise only to about 2 per cent of the Indian population were sought to be exa ended to other provinces. He was entirely against such an extension.

tMr. Shweib Qureishi supported the resolution. The only point of difference was the separation of Sind, which a section regarded as a sacrifice. Even if it was a sacrifice. he urged that it was worth making for the sake of unity and Swaraj. The committee then adjourned till next day.

SECOND DAY—16th. MAY, 1927

REFERENCE TO MR. S. C. BOSE

The good news of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's release was referred to by Mr. Srinivasa Iyenger, President of the Congress, in opening the proceedings of the A. I. C. C. when it reassembled this afternoon. Members received the news with cheers. Mr. Iyengar said he thought the release was unconditional and hoped that Mr. Bose would soon be restored to health and be able to take up his former activities again. Mr. Iyengar was sure that the members of the A. I. C. C. fully appreciated Mr. Bose's many sacrifices and the manly spirit with which he refused to accept the conditional offer of release made by the Government. There was not much to be said, said Mr. Iyengar, regarding the action of the Government in this respect which was most tardy and grudging, especially as there were other detenus still unreleased.

Before resuming discussion on Pandit Motilal Nehru's resolution accepting the Muslim offer a member from Bengal requested the President that the press reporters should be warned against misreporting the proceedings of the Committee. He refered to an instance in which the Free Press had reported that there were two opposing sections among the members from Bengal and U. P. and one of these sections was refused admission to the proceedings. It was an entirely false report. The President appealed to the pressmen to be fair and impartial in their reports.

SIND MEMBER'S SUPPORT

Discussion on the resolution before the house was then resumed. The first speaker on it was a member from Sind, Haji Abdulla Harun Jaffer. He supported the Pandit's motion. He referred at length to Sind's attempts for over thirty years to get separated from Bombay and also recalled Mr. Harichandra Vishindas' activities in that behalf. As a handmaid of Bombay Sind had no advantage. The speaker also said that he and his friends in Sind had recently agreed to the institution of joint electorates.

Mr. George Joseph asked the President if there was any truth in the rumour that a compromise has been arrived at between Mr. Jayakar and the Working Committee. The President replied that in the absence of Mr. Jayakar he could not say anything.

Mr. Deshmukh then moved an amendment that the proposal to separate Sind might be given effect to "consequent on the satisfactory working of the joint electorate system to be introduced in Sind simultaneously with other provinces in accordance with the Congress constitution."

PANDIT NEHRU ON A COMPROMISE

Pandit Motilal Nehru alluded to Mr. Joseph's interpellation and said that the Working Committee had consultations with Dr. Moonje and Mr. Kelkar and those of Mr. Jayakar's party in the absence of Mr. Jayakar. In Mr. Jayakar's absence he could not say anything but he understood that a compromise was acceptable if Mr. Jayakar withdrew the amendment. The Pandit was agreeable to amend the Sind clause of his resolution so as to admit Andhra also being constituted into a separate province and to admit of other provinces following suit. The Pandit, in reply to a question, said that it was open to the house to decide the question then and there, irrespective of Government.

MR. SAMBAMURTHI'S AMENDMENT

Mr. B. Sambamurthi then moved another amendment virtually putting off further consideration of the question.

Mr. Sambamurthi's amendment called upon the A.I.C.C. to postpone consideration of the Muslim proposals since Muslim organisations, which had met after the proposals were published, had not ratified them and the bulk of Hindu opinion had not expressed itself in favour of them. Meanwhile the Working Committee should be authorised to strive to bring about mutual understanding and harmony between the two communities. Mr. Sambamurthi declared that the proposals seemed to him to have been framed with an eye to the prospect of giving evidence before the Royal Commission. If the country made up its mind that they should not go before the Royal Commission but should determine the cause of Indian freedom themselves they must repudiate the proposals. The joint electorates, he was sure, were not going to bring about unity at all but were a source of danger in the near future. Mr. Sambamurthi asked the members of the A.I.C.C. why they should recognise these proposals at all while Mr. Jinnah and other authors had not taken even the courtesy to inform them of these proposals. None of the Muslim bodies which had met subsequent to the publication of the proposals had ratified them. The Bengal Muslim League on the contrary repudiated them.

Maulana Mahomed Ali: No. The Bengal Muslim League cannot speak for the whole of India. We are not slaves of Sir Abdur Rahim.

Mr. Sambamurthi continuing made a final appeal to adjourn the consideration of the proposals altogether and not accept them in a moment of weakness.

Mr. Harichandra seconded the adjournment motion.

Mr. Harisarvothama Rao opposing the amendment appealed to the members to throw it out. The proposals before the House were only a means of bringing about communal unity but if they threw out these proposals, where was the scheme to carry out civil disobedience while even the greatest men in India were not prepared to back it ?

Mr. George Joseph moved and Mr. Gopala Menon seconded that the question be put.

Mr. Jamunadas Erunza raised the question of non-khadi wearers. The President after assuring himself that all were wearing khadi put the motion which was carried.

Pandit Nehru's Summing up.

Pandit Motilal Nehru on the invitation of the President explained the position of the Working Committee. He was sorry that his opening remarks yesterday had not been followed, for he clearly said that they were not entering into a pact nor accepting a pact but merely putting forward their own proposals. It was only a coincidence that the Delhi Muslim proposals were in the same nature but he would assure them that it was not an offer and was not taken by his Committee as one. All that the Committee was called upon to do was to carry the Gauhati mandate. The Working Committee after feeling currents and undercurrents in the country had put forward the present proposals which were similar but by no means identical to the one of Mr. Jinnah's conference. Continuing, the Pandit referred to Mr. Sambamurti's motion and said : "We are considering the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. If there is any question on which we should forget and discard all notions of false dignity it is this (Hear, hear). But I can assure you that even I who am described by a certain section of the press as a proud man (Laughter) and who was described by Mr. Sambamurthi as a dangerous man (Loud Laughter) would not hesitate to take the very dust if thereby we can bring forward Hindu-Muslim unity."

Pandit Motilal Nehru proceeded to elaborate the disadvantages to the country resulting from the postponement of the question. He wanted to make it clear that it was not in anticipation of the Royal Commission that the Working Committee had put forward the proposals before them. He would assure them that nothing was farther from the mind of the Working Committee. His appeal to them was that they must frame a constitution for themselves which the Royal Commission may or may not accept, no matter whether it came now or later. But if in such framing they did not seek the co-operation and help of the Muslim community, who had hitherto kept aloof from them, how would that constitution be looked upon by the world in general. Let alone the British Government. Without Hindu-Muslim unity, Swaraj was unthinkable.

Concluding, the Pandit said : "We certainly are not going to give evidence before the Royal Commission or any other commission to prove our capacity for Swaraj or

our ability for Swaraj or to undergo any kind of school boy's examination which is provided for in the Government of India Act."

After Pandit Nehru's explanation Mr. Sambamurthi's adjournment motion was put and lost by a large majority.

MR. JAYAKAR'S AMENDMENT.

Mr. Jayakar then moved the following altered amendment regarding the separation of Sind which he had accepted : "In regard to the proposal that Sind should be constituted into a separate province the Committee is of opinion that the time has arrived for redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis, a principle that has already been adopted by the constitution of the Congress.

"The Committee is also of opinion that such a readjustment of provinces be immediately taken in hand and that any province which demands such a reconstitution on a liguistic basis be dealt with accordingly :

"The Committee is further of opinion that a beginning may be made by constituting Andhra and Sind and Karnatak into separate provinces."

The following is the text of the amendment regarding reforms to N. W. F. Provinces and Baluchistan :—

"That the proposal made by Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced into N. W. F, Provinces and British Beluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is in the opinion of the Committee a fair and reasonable one and should be given effect to, care being taken that simultaneously with other measures of administrative reforms an adequate system of judicial administration shall be introduced in the said provinces."

Mr. Jayakar said his only point regarding the separation of Sind was that the province should not feel that it had been singled out for special treatment.

Mr. Jayakar's amendment was incorporated in the resolution.

Other Amendments.

The remaining amendments before the House were one by one at the persuasion of the President withdrawn.

Mr. Gaurishankar Misra then moved an amendment that the principle of representation on population basis should be adhered to all along the line. He declared that the clause in the proposals regarding this question was somewhat self-contradictory. The amendment was opposed by Pandit Nehru and was lost by a large majority.

Dr. Moonje, clearing his position as the Mahasabha President, expressed his agreement with the amended terms of the resolution and averred that the Hindu Mahasabha dealt with the question in a national and not a communal spirit. Continuing, he said neither Muslims nor Hindus would ask for each other's protection : for each community was strong by itself although he was aware his community was dubbed as meek. He supported the whole resolution subject to the reservation on the question of the N. W. F. reforms.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar, speaking in support of the motion, repeated Mr. Jayakar's statement that although a member of the Hindu Mahasabha he was capable of looking at the communal question from the nationalist point of view and had always done so and would continue to do so. He would, however, say that it was not fair for Muslims to ask for the reservation of seats and an excessive representation at the same time. He gave whole-hearted support to the separation of Sind.

Mr. Pattabi Sitaramayya, speaking in support of the resolution, expressed his firm conviction that the time-spirit that was abroad was responsible for the understanding between the two communities which the resolution before the House represented. He denied that it was actuated by any consideration of the impending Statutory Commission any more than the 1926 pact was so actuated.

Maulana Mahomed Ali was the next speaker. He described the spirit in which the proposals were conceived at the Western Hotel, Delhi where a most heterogeneous gathering of Muslim leaders were present and till the last moment no agreement was in sight. At last they all rose to offer their evening prayers and offer their supplication to God that the right spirit should prevail and a way out should be found out of the terrible communal situation and, as if God had listened to their prayers, at the suggestion of the Deputy-President of the Assembly a way was clear in the shape of joint electorate and an agreement was reached. He believed that the younger generation wheh was represented at the

meeting of the Working Committee yesterday by his own and his brother's grandsons would look back their achievement with pride. Concluding, he congratulated the President for the earnestness with which he pursued the task and brought about unity between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins in Madras.

RESOLUTION CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

After Moulana Dawood had also spoken fully in support of it the resolution was *put and carried unanimously.*

Mrs. Naidu then rose to congratulate the House on the spirit with which it had approached the question and solved it. After the strife and victory came the woman's part which was to beautify and give "ashirwad" to the victor. She made a stirring reference to the basic unity of the Hindu and Muslim cultures. She would not enter into the merits of the terms. They were of no account before the spirit they expressed. By accepting the proposals put forward by Mr. Jinnah whom Mr. Gokhale had described as the best ambassador of the Hindu-Muslim unity, the Congreessmen had proved themselves true to be the natural spokesmen of India and on behalf of the united nation she extended her appreciation and gratitude to them.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar before adjourning the house for the day congratulated the members on their achievement. Moulana Shaukat Ali also spoke expressing his appreciation of the spirit displayed by all sections. The meeting then adjourned.

THIRD DAY—17th. MAY, 1927

3. A CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

Attendance was thinner than on the previous days when the All-India Congress Committee reassembled at half past two this afternoon. Pandit Motilal NEHRU moved : "The A.I.C.C. calls upon the Working Committee to frame a constitution for India in consultation with the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, and leaders of political parties and place the same before a special meeting of the A.I.C.C. with a view to its adoption by the Congress at its next session." Pandit Motilal said that the previous day the House having sanctioned a very small part of the constitution for India they had now to make it possible for Hindus and Mussalmans to come together and consider other necessary parts of the constitution. The reason why sanction to consult other parties was required was that the constitution as finally emanating should go forth to the world as one framed by the Indian nation.

Mr. Pattabi Sitaramayya wanted to know the implications of the motion which had been sprung upon them and demanded to know what happened behind the scenes.

The Pandit replied that there was not any secret behind it for they had not even time to discuss it for more than a few minutes.

On Mr. Hamid Khan's suggestion the word "constitution" was amended into "Swaraj constitution."

Replying to Dr. Moonje and others Pandit Motilal Nehru said that the Working Committee had not considered Mrs. Besant's Commonwealth of India Bill.

Mr. Pothan Joseph moved that, instead of the words "frame Swaraj constitution," the words "lay down general principles" be substituted.

Mr. Sambamurti's amendment laying down that the Working Committee should draft a Declaration of Independence and formulate direct action for being placed before the A. I. C. C. and the Congress was ruled out of order by the President on the ground that it not only negatived the motion before the House but also went beyond the Gauhati mandate.

Mr. Visvanatham moved for a provision that such a constitution should reserve to India itself the ultimate voice in judging the method and the manner of advance and progress.

Mr. Kausalji's amendment to include a Declaration of Rights in the proposed constitution was accepted by the mover.

A Bombay member raised the jurisdiction of the A. I. C. C. to go into the matter. The President disallowed the objection after which Mr. Sambamurti vehemently opposed the motion. He said that the time was not for drafting a constitution which would not be worth even the ink and paper on which it would be written.

He also feared that it was a move to force down their throats the Commonwealth Bill which had been rejected by the House on a previous occasion.

Mr. Joseph supporting the original motion and opposing the amendment of his brother said that something in the nature of scientific thinking was required and it would be a fault to merely lay down general principles, Mr. Joseph was surprised that Mr. Sambamurti of all people who believed in direct action denied his countrymen the right of framing their own constitution and seeking the sanction of the nation by the Working Committee.

Messrs. Nimbkar and Jayakar opposed as also Messrs. Mazumdar and Gupte.

Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetti gave his full support and said that the motion was necessary to inspire confidence as a logical corollary to yesterday's achievements.

Pandit Nehru, replying, emphasised the need for framing a national constitution.

All the amendments except Mr. Kausalji's having been thrown out, the Pandit's motion was carried by an overwhelming majority.

4. SUPPORT FOR THE LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The Committee then adopted a resolution which was put from the chair recording the report of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a representative of the Congress at the International Congress against imperialism and colonial oppression and for national independence, held at Brussels in February last, and expressing its high appreciation of his services. The resolution also recorded the appreciation of the efforts being made by the League against imperialism and for national independence founded by the International Congress to secure the independence of suppressed nations and recommend to the Congress to give support to the League as an associate organisation.

5. ORGANISATION OF LABOUR.

Mr. Vallabhai Patel moved: "The A. I. C. C. calls upon the Working Committee to organise rural and urban labour in the provinces and to appoint organisers for the purpose and to frame regulations in that behalf."

A Bombay member asked that the resolution be so amended that the work of labour organisations should be carried on in the country in consultation with the Trade Union Congress.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar assured the members on behalf of the mover that wherever branches of the Trade Union Congress existed their help would be taken but it would not make for efficient working if the A. I. C. C. should in its efforts be bound down to such consultations, especially when there were many parts in rural areas where the Trade Union Congress had no representative or branch.

The amendment was defeated and the original resolution was carried by a large majority.

6. INDIAN TROOPS TO CHINA.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar moved a resolution condemning the Government of India's action in despatching Indian troops to China and demanding their withdrawal. The motion was agreed to.

7. AMBULANCE CROPS TO CHINA.

Dr. Ansari moved: "The A. I. C. C. appreciates the proposal of the Hindustani Sevadal to send an ambulance corps to China and appeals to the country to give its moral and material support to this humanitarian work to tend the wounded and the sick and the A. I. C. C. calls upon the All-India Board of Hindusthani Sevadal to start all practical work in connection with the despatch of the proposed ambulance corps."

The mover said that the wounded in China were in no way to be considered different from those in other parts of the world and the corps proposed to do such work among the Chinese wounded men as was recognised by the International Red Cross Society. They should not in any way be obstructed by the Government who ought to place every available facility at their disposal. The motion was carried.

8. SHOOTING IN MADRAS.

On the motion of Mr. G. Harisarvothama Rao a resolution was passed calling upon the Madras Government to take action regarding the shooting on the oil strikers in Madras, with Mr. V. A. Desai's rider that "the A. I. C. C. further calls upon the members of the Madras Legislative Council to offer civil disobedience."

A good deal of laughter was caused by Mr. Kelkar and his party voting for the rider, Mr. Kelkar remarking to Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar's query "What does it matter to me?"

Further amusement was created by Mr. Satyamurthi later in the day calling attention to the news of the end of the B. O. C. strike in Madras.

The President remarked amidst laughter that in that case the rider became inoperative. He added the rider was passed in ignorance of the fact and called upon the Secretary to make a note of it.

9. THE ENGLISH TRADE UNION BILL.

Mr. Jogleker's motion condemning the Trade Union Bill in England evoked opposition on the ground of the expediency and the jurisdiction of the Congress to interfere in the internal affairs of another country.

After a long discussion the President ruled the motion in order on Mr. Pothan Joseph's pointing out that labour legislation in India would run on the lines of British legislation.

Ultimately, however, Maulana Mahomed Ali's compromise amendment which was accepted by the mover was carried unanimously : This resolution reads :—The A. I. C. C. offers its hearty sympathy to the British workers in their struggle against the imperialistic Government which is forcing through Parliament the Trade Disputes and Trade Union Bill which is an open attack on the British workers and is part of the policy of aggression and repression directed against all movements and actions of the people opposed to British imperialistic and capitalistic greed. This meeting particularly protests against the attempt to deprive the working classes of the right to declare a general strike". The meeting then adjourned.

FOURTH DAY—18th. MAY, 1927

10. ILL-TREATMENT OF KAKORI PRISONERS.

The All-India Congress Committee met at 8-45 in the morning when Swami Kumaranand moved condemning Government for the ill-treatment of Kakori prisoners and demanding the same treatment as is meted out to political prisoners. The mover related how he himself was tortured by electric batteries and given wine to drink when he underwent thirteen years' sentence. The resolution was carried *nem con.*

11. NAGPUR SATYAGRAHA

Mr. Raja Rao moved congratulating the organisers of the Nagpur Satyagraha and wanted the Working Committe to collect funds and to help it in other ways. He said that the breach of the Arms Act now practised is non-violent with a view to attain the release of Bengal detenus. He appealed to the Committee to support those workers.

The member from Nagpur explained the situation and in answer to the President's question replied that the movement was undertaken on the casting vote of the President of the Nagpur Congress Committee.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Majumdar made a vigorous speech and said that direct action, determination and movement were absolute essentials for achieving freedom.

Mr. Sambamurthi amidst cheers opined that an absolute non-violent situation is impossible and to attain the object we must be ready to face some freaks of violence or give up civil disobedience altogether.

Mr. Harisarvothama Rao moved an amendment. He wanted Messrs. Prakasam, B. K. Majumdar and Sambamurthi to report to the Working Committee on the situation.

Mr. Kelkar in a witty speech opposed both the resolution and the amendment and supported his plea by adding that the Working Committee was not willing to undertake any responsibility. To a retort "Go into the Councils", Mr. Kelkar said : "We are chips of the same block and none is better than the other. Those in the Councils have not succeeded nor have they outside the Councils."

Mr. Rangamuda Naidu in opposing the resolution said that the country was not ready for such a movement.

Mr. Kelkar put in an amendment which wanted a deputy to report on the situation deleting the portion congratulating the organisers.

The amendment of Mr. Kelkar was accepted and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTIONS RULED OUT OF ORDER

The President quickly disposed of within a few minutes all remaining items in the agenda including Andhra resolutions for Council walk-out, etc. Mr. Sambamurthi's resolution that Congress Councillors in view of the absence of response from the Government to the national demand should walk out of the councils and devote themselves to the constructive programme at the same time making attendance so as to prevent their seats in the council from being declared vacated was ruled out of order on the ground that it was a direct radical repeal or negation of the Gauhati resolution.

Mr. Prakasam's similar motion was likewise ruled out of order.

Mr. M. K. Acharya's long resolution asking people to devote half an hour every day to secure divine grace and asking Mahatma Gandhi to be appointed Congress Dictator with power to override the Congress and the All-India Congress Committee and the President shared the same fate as the President thought it went fundamentally against the Congress constitution.

Mr. Joglekar's motion seeking to change the Congress creed and constitution on labour and communist lines was similarly ruled out on the ground of jurisdiction.

The President then appealed to Messrs. Kelkar and Bhopatkar not to press Maharashtra proposal regarding Council question and party fusion as negotiations had not been completed.

Mr. Kelkar having agreed, Mr. Annapurniah's resolution dissociating Congress from Council programme was also ruled out as it contravened the Gauhati resolution.

Mr. Sambamurthi's next motion to delete clause relating to compulsory wearing of Khadi as condition precedent to Congress Membership evoked a mild discussion and while Mr. Mahomed Ali quoting his previous decision as ex-President demanded its being ruled out of order, Mr. Mathra Prasad asked the President to take the sense of the House in regard to the matter.

The President refused, remarking amidst laughter that though he was not strong, he was not so weak as to delegate his right of giving a ruling.

The motion was ruled out of order, Mr. Sambamurthi having refused to withdraw it. Several resolutions on the Congress Constitution were also ruled out of order.

12. MADRAS SWARAJISTS AND THE MINISTRY

Mr. Gopal Menon moved a resolution of censure against the Madras Swarajists for giving their active aid in the formation of the Ministry in the Council as a betrayal of the Gauhati resolution. Mr. Gopal Menon said that he was charged by the Kerala Provincial Conference with moving the resolution. He added that it was in the interests of the Congres discipline that he was moving that resolution.

Mr. Govindachari seconded.

There was a great rowdyism at this stage when many speakers stood up simultaneously. On this question the President vacated his seat as he wanted to speak. Pt. Motilal presided.

Mr. Kelkar, in opposing Mr. Menon's resolution, said that the question must be considered as a national problem and the Madras Swarajists should be congratulated on their behaviour. "Don't be obsessed by "melancholy meanness," a thing which was never done when all boycotts were violated," he said. Mr. Kelkar here ended saying : "Though there were examples when a responsible leader boasted of amputating diseased limbs we are going to treat Madras with generosity."

Dr. Pattabhi said : "Mr. Kelkar, you have wrecked your vengeance."

Mr. Kelkar, while sitting, said : "I am also a human being and I cannot take such things quietly."

Mr. S. Venkatchalam Chetti justified the Swarajists' behaviour in an able, closely reasoned speech in which he tried to show how the Justice Party was doing injury to national interests.

Dr. Moonje opposed Mr. Menon's resolution. He said : "One of the essentials of politics is to change according to the times and if you go on amputating limbs what will remain ?"

Mr. Mahomed Ali : "Soul will remain."

Dr. Moonje asked them not to make a scapegoat of the Congress but to call leaders to account.

Mr. Satyamurti made the most effective speech of the day. He feelingly spoke for seven minutes and converted the majority to his views. "We have done all this in the interests of the nation with a view to subserve national interests. There is no-

body in the land which is more notoriously reactionary than the Justice Party. Remember that if the Justice Party comes into power, the Congress in Madras will be nowhere," he said. Mr. Satyamurti, replying to Mr. Kelkar's retort to ask for provincial autonomy, replied that Mr. Kelkar should sit in conference instead of passing gibes.

M.r Mahomed Ali blessed Mr Satyamurti and opined that he would be the first man to amputate a diseased limb if Madras was such and he was sure Mr. Satyamurti would help him and further added that he found consistency in all that Motilalji has done so far. He gave sharp retorts to Messrs. Moonje and Kelkar, saying that fixed principles in politics cannot be changed as on a chessboard.

Mr. Rangiah Naidu opposed Mr. Menon's resolution.

Mr. Nageswara Rao wanted Mr. Gopal Menon to withdraw his resolution.

Mr. Sambamurti moved an amendment demanding an explanation from the Madras Swarajists.

Mr. Hamid Khan supported Mr. Sambamurti's amendment.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar said that he was not aware of the full particulars. Still he could say that there was no understanding between the Swarajists and the Ministers.

Mr: Menon withdrew his resolution in favour of Mr. Sambamurti's amendment, which, on being put to vote, was carried by the House.

The amendment refers the question to the Working Committee and wants it to ask an explanation from the Madras Swarajists for the so-called lapses from the Congress resolution. It was carried by the House by a majority.

President's Closing Speech.

The President's closing speech was remarkable for earnestness, patriotic fervour, and sincerity, qualities which enabled him to achieve so much from the heterogeneous elements gathered under the banner of the Congress. It was no use, he said, talking of boycott of Councils until they came to a time when a greater spirit than that of years 1920 and 1921 came over them and they found themselves in the same position to which the people of Egypt and Syria had brought themselves. He asked them not to imagine that the Congress party of the Madras Council would escape the arm of justice if they were found guilty and assured them that he would be the first to take disciplinary action. Referring to civil disobedience the President said he had come to the conclusion that the movement was not fit to be launched by the Congress which was not a sufficiently homogeneous body for that kind of work. He thought it should be in the hands of quite a separate organisation altogether. Proceeding, the President said that the Hindu Muslim unity which they had achieved at this session of the Committee was the greatest thing that they could ever have done and they should rightly congratulate themselves upon it. He submitted that they would be able to achieve communal unity by political unity in the Congress. He would tell this in fairness to his Hindu and Muslim friends who had expected this Hindu-Muslim unity that in was no good thinking that unity consisted in joint electorates and reservation of seats, and it was political co-operation that would bring the two communities together.

The Committee then adjourned 'Sine die'.

The Congress & Madras Swarajists.

Mr. Prakasam's Statement.

The Working Committee's resolution (See page 13) approving the attitude of the Madras Council Congress Party however roused intense opposition from a section of Congressmen who characterised the Working Committee's move as treachery to the Congress cause. Mr. T. Prakasam, member of the Working Committee, who could not be present at the Committee's Meeting said: "When we were called upon to oppose the formation of the Ministry, it cannot be contended that we should be supporting the same Ministry when the effect of that conduct would be to vote even against beneficial measures. That is what has happened in regard to some of the matters in the Madras Council. I do not wish to say more about this now. The reputation which the Congress Council Party attained on account of its weak-kneed policy has been that it is the Hon. Law Member of the Madras Government that controls the Ministry as well as the Congress Party. I do not believe that the Justice Party would have come into power if this Ministry had been defeated or that the Council would have been dissolved as contended by the Madras Council leaders. At the worst, the transferred subjects might have been taken over by the Government. It was merely a threat and bluff of the Justicites and Ministerialists. The Congress Party were taken in but the consequences have been of a very far-reaching character. The Ministry gained strength and moral prestige and the Congress Party was demoralised. Congressmen were found at the doors of some of the Ministers at all hours of day and night waiting to get some of their own men nominated for taluq and district boards and some other favours. Sometimes Congressmen themselves put up rival candidates for nomination before the ministers. I am sorry that the Andhra Province to which I belong has come in for a good share of shame and disrepute in this connection. The Deputy Leader of the Party, Mr. Satyamurti, gave a dinner to the Chief Minister in his own house just before he left for the hills at which seven members were present and there was a discussion on what terms the Congress Party should co-operate with the Ministers.

"I should not have considered it necessary to go into these details at this stage but for the fact that the resolution of the Working Committee passed on Wednesday is not only *ultra vires* but substantially accepts what was demanded by the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and what was virtually ruled out of order by the A. I. C. C. The Maharashtra Congress Committee wanted to delete clauses (a) and (b) of the Gauhati resolution and retain clauses (c) (d) (e) and (f). This they could not get in the A. I. C. C., but the Working Committee on its instructions made a free gift of the same."

Mr. Sambamurti's Statement.

Mr. B. Sambamurti said that it was gross treachery to the A. I. C. C. to pass this resolution after an amendment had been passed at the A. I. C. C. meeting the same afternoon at the instance of the President of the Congress himself. He added: "I can only say that the President hurried the matter in an indecent fashion only in his anxiety to finish up the matter finally and to put forward before the country under cover of instructions a formula which he wanted to arrive at with the Responsivists as compromise. By a master stroke of diplomacy, the situation was availed of by the President to go beyond even the letter and spirit of the Gauhati programme and postulate his dictum that clauses (c), (d), (e) and (f) of the Gauhati resolution should hereafter be worked out in co-ordination with other parties in the Councils. This can only be done in co-operation with Ministers that have already been appointed. This is really an achievement of the political unity of which the President had been so recently talking. It would have been more straightforward and honest if the Maharashtra and other proposals before the A. I. C. C. for considering the Gauhati programme from various aspects had not been ruled out of order and had been given an opportunity of being discussed and considered by the A. I. C. C. The A. I. C. C. will not certainly allow this supercession of its powers

hereafter by the Working Committee. The wrong, which has been done to the country, I hope, will be righted shortly at the next meeting of the A. I. C. C. I hope the next meeting will not be held later than the end of the next month."

Mr. S. Iyengar's Statement.

Apropos the above statement of Mr. T. Praskasam and others as well as the manifesto issued by them in the *Notional Herald* questioning the legality of the resolution of the Working Committee as regards the Madras Swarajists, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyenger, President of the Congress, issued the following statement to the Press:—

"After the termination of the All-India Congress Committee's proceedings the Working Committee met to consider what could be done in connection with inter-party unity so far as Congress is concerned. This has been engaging the anxious attention of every one and I am glad that I have received a wire from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, amongst others, urging political unity. For, in my opinion, without some atmosphere conducive to restoration of Congress unity the Hindu-Moslem resolution could not be completed by settlement of two outstanding questions and implemented so as to make it a living measure of co-operation between the two great communities. If I have advocated unity in the Congress I have done so entirely for the purpose of achieving Hindu-Moslem unity. The coming months will show whether the spirit and purpose of political non-co-operation with the Government and the bureaucracy is not my inflexible attitude.

"Consistent with the Gauhati resolution in its judgment the Working Committee issued instruction, to the parties in the Councils which retain the refusal to accept office in clause (a) and the duty to destroy dyarchy whenever possible. The Working Committee was entitled to issue the instruction ; but it is quite open to the All-India Congress Committee to put a different interpretation on the Gauhati resolution, if it considers that its duty requires it to do so. I trust the All-India Congress Committee will not do so and will support the interpretation of the Working Committee. This was the main business of that meeting ; but as the general instruction issued by the Working Committee applied to Madras as well and as the leader of the Madras Congress Party in the Council wanted explicit instruction from the Working Committee, the latter after hearing him and others and after considering everything passed the resolution. The Working Committee was entitled to pass it in exercise of its own powers and as its own opinion without interfering with the authority or freedom of opinion of the All-India Congress Committee. Written explanations from those representing the majority of the Madras party of their action in the Madras Council will be taken and submitted to the All-India Congress Committee at its next meeting along with this opinion of the Working Committee.

Simply because feeling runs high in some quarters it should not be taken that there was any intention on the part of the Working Committee to give the go-by to the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee. If them after had been delayed the members of the Working Committee would have dispersed the opportunity of personal exchange of views on the important question of the inter-party unity of which the resolution relating to Madras Swarajists was but a corollary. Whether the resolution should have been immediately published and how it obtained publication in *The Times of India* are matters with which I am not concerned ; but they should not affect the propriety of the action of the Working Commitee or should cloud the judgment as to the intention of the Working Committee to deal with the question without in the slightest degree affecting the authority of the All-India Congress Committee to declare its own interpretation and to express its opinion upon the explanation of the Madras Swarajists, which will be submitted in due course."

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar's Statement.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, General Secretary, Indian National Congress, issued the following statement:—

"I must say that I am extremely surprised at the statement issued by Messrs. Prakasam, Sambamurthy, Horniman and others taking objection to the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Bombay.

"It seems to me ridiculous to contend that because the A. I. C. C, asked the Working Committee to obtain the explanations of the Madras Council party and place the same before the A. I. C. C. at its next meeting for its consideration,

therefore the powers as well as the duties vested in the Working Committee by the Congress itself under the Gauhati and Cawnpore resolutions have been taken away. Much less should it be possible to contend that the Working Committee as a body is deprived of its elementary rights of recording its own opinion on matters in which every member of the Congress is entitled to express an opinion. The resolution of the Working Committee on the conduct of the Madras Swarajists is an expression of its opinion and is expressed as such in the resolution itself. It is indeed contended that the Working Committee should not form an opinion and should not and could not place its opinion also for the consideration of the A. I. C. C.

"The other resolution passed by the Working Committee in regard to the attitude and conduct they should adopt as to the Ministries that are functioning in different Provinces and in respect of measures brought before the Council, which come under clauses (e) to (f) is an instruction which the Working Committee found it urgent to issue in view of the differences of opinion that have admittedly arisen and upon which the Congress Council parties in Provincial Legislatures were entitled to seek the guidance and instruction of the Working Committee.

"The Working Committee is bound by the election pledges it has taken from members and by the express directions of the Cawnpore Congress, the A. I. C. C. and Gauhati Congress to issue instructions from time to time to the party. It is no doubt perfectly open to the A.I.C.C. to modify or supercede such instructions but until this is done the Working Committee's acts are not open to question and I am surprised that Mr. Prakasam should describe them as *ultra vires* merely for the reason that his view of the instructions that could be issued may differ from that of the rest of the Working Committee."

"It is indeed a bitter irony that while Mr. Kelkar denounces the Working Committee for having refused to accept the responsivist programme and lays the responsibility solely at Pandit Motilal's doors, the Andhra and Bombay friends who have issued the statement should blame the Working Committee for having accepted the programme. I hope that Mr. Kelkar would at least have got out of the temper that he got into both in the A.I.C.C. and Pandit Nehru has gone as far as in his judgment was consistent with the Gauhati resolution for the promotion of co-operation and unity between the two wings. Mr. Kelkar can also hardly have forgotten the fact that even if the Working Committee had decided to adopt the Responsivist programme definitely conceding liberty to accept office in any province or provinces on the basis of provincial autonomy, the difficulty was felt throughout of reconciling any such proposal with the Gauhati resolution. In the face of this it seems to me that Mr. Kelkar has been led to carry personal prejudices too far in imputing sole responsibility in the matter to Pandit Nehru and ungenerously insinuating a motive therefor.

"As for Mr. Horniman's complaint about the supply of news to "The Times of India", I am afraid that in spite of his journalistic experience he is trying to saddle the blame on the wrong horse for the omission of "The Indian National Herald" to publish the news earlier. Apparently his reporting staff have not been as enterprising or alert as that of the Associated Press of India or "The Times of India". The meeting of the Working Committee in the afternoon of Wednesday was openly announced in the meeting of the A.I.C.C. that morning and the representatives of the Associated Press of India and "The Times of India" were there outside the closed room of Mrs. Naidu at the Taj for hours to get at some "copies" of the resolutions as indeed they did on all the days of the Working Committee meetings in order to get such copies as would be available to the press. As General Secretary, I handed over a copy of the two resolutions to the Associated Press of India and had every reason to presume that they would supply the news to all papers in Bombay and all other centres of India. As a matter of fact no representative of "The Indian National Herald" ever asked me for copies during all the four days of the proceedings of the A.I.C.C. and the Working Committee in Bombay."

Mr. S. Satyamurti's Statement.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, deputy leader of the Madras Swaraj Party issued the following statement to the press :—

"Mr. Prakasam must now be happy. He has delivered himself of his tirade against Madras Council Congress Party. I do not propose to imitate him but I merely want to correct the misstatements contained in his interview to the press at Bombay.

"The Working Committee can and will take care of itself as against Mr. Prakasam's

attempts thereon. As against Mr. Prakasam's one-sided statement that Mr. Muthiah Mudaliar was not called on to speak, I desire to say that Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti was run down in the course of his speech, that I was given only five minutes and that several members of the A.I.C.C. who entirely approved of the action of the Madras Council Congress Party and who rose several times were also not allowed to speak.

"Mr. Prakasam's statement about the Council Congress Party in Madras that we have voted against beneficial measures for the purpose of supporting the Ministry is wholly incorrect. We have never voted against beneficial measures; we have never voted with the Government. On the question of excise we carried a vote against the Government. On the question of the rejection of the entire demand we remained neutral after having made our position perfectly clear on the token cut. On the question of reduction of registration fees our motion was withdrawn on a distinct and satisfactory assurance from the Minister but we did not vote against the reduction. We only remained neutral.

"Mr. Prakasam must know his facts before he attacks other people. The statement that the Law Member controls the Congress Party is a figment of Mr. Prakasam's imagination. It was the Congress Party which voted down 5 lakhs of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's Police demand. It was the Congress Party which drew out some of the scandals connected with the Mettur project. It was the Congress Party which pressed for Mr. Narayana Menon's release and for the release of Mopilla prisoners.

"Rhetoric, Mr. Prakasam must know, cannot take the place of facts. Mr. Prakasam's ex cathedra opinion that if the present Ministry is defeated the Justice Party would not have come into power but the transferred subjects would have been taken over by the Government is not based on knowledge of facts. The Party's opinion and my opinion was and is that either the Justice Party would have come into power or the Council would have been dissolved.

"Had Mr. Prakasam stopped with this I would not have cared to reply but he has chosen to attack me vulgarly. Let me state the facts. I did not give a dinner to the Chief Minister. There was a breakfast at my house at which Messrs. K. Nageswara Rao, A. Kaleswara Rao, V. Ramadass, all as true-blooded Andhras and patriots as Mr. Prakasam, and Dr. U. Rama Rao, Messrs. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti and A. Rangaswami Iyengar were present. Dr. Subbaroyan was one of the guests. Dr. Subbaroyan is a very old friend of mine. I was his tutor at the Madras Christian College. We have since been thrown together often at the Bar, at the Senate, in the Council and in England year before last. If at a dinner attended by so many friends he was also one of guests I do not know what resolution of the Congress or what canon of Indian or English, social or political etiquette I have offended. There were only three members of the local Council present. There was a discussion no doubt on political topics but it was not, as Mr. Prakasam asserts, evidently from clairvoyant knowledge, as to the terms on which the Congress Party should co-operate with the Ministers; rather the discussion was how the Ministers and their party may come into the Congress gradually. I do not believe in political untouchability any more than in social untouchability and even Mr. Prakasam I will dine with several times, if I can thereby get him to take a sane and practical view of politics.

"I regret that Mr. Prakasam should have so far forgotten his responsibilities as a journalist and as a public man as to indulge in his attack on me. I know it cannot harm me; it will only recoil on him, but his lowering of political standards should not be tolerated by the public."

Mr. Prakasam's Counter-Statement.

Mr. T. Prakasam subsequently issued the folowing counter-statement to the press :—

"In my first statement to the Press in Bombay I stated that the Working Committee would not have committed such a serious error, if it had noticed the scope of reference embodied in the amendment of Mr. Sambamurthi, and I had hoped that the President of the Congress might revoke the instructions when his attention was drawn to it by my statement. But Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar justifies the position taken by him and the other four members of the Working Committee on the ground that the Working Committee was at liberty to express its own opinion and publish it pending the decision of the All-India Congress Committee. The Working Committee would certainly have been entitled to express its opinion and issue instructions to the Congress members in the Provincial Councils if the censure motion had not been moved before the A. I. C. C. and the same had not been

adjourned to another session of the A. I. C. C., the Working Committee being in the meanwhile called upon to take the explanation of the Madras leaders and send the same to the A. I. C. C. for disposal at its next meeting. To understand whether Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's position is corect, one must examine the circumstances under which the reference was made and also the scope of authority of the Working Committee, The full scope of reference is embodied in the amendment of Mr. Sambamurthi which reads : "That this Committee authorises the Working Committee to call for an explanation from the Madras Council Congress Party for not having voted down the salaries of Ministers and refused supplies so as to overthrow the Madras Ministry and submit the same for consideration at the next session of the Committee."

"This amendment was moved by Mr. Sambamurthi at the request of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, and Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar told me also that we should not carry this motion to a division but that it should be talked out or adjourned to the next meeting as proposed by Mr. Sambamurthi in his amendment. The amendment was accepted after Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar had given an undertaking that we both should inquire into the truth of the pleas raised by the Leader and Deputy Leader of the Madras Council Party. He also said in the same speech that the members of the A. I. C. C. should realise the seriousness of the question in all its aspects, that he had not been in full touch with the work of the Madras Council Party, that he had heard complaints that it was cooperating with the Government too much, and that they must look into it if that was so. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar in conclusion asked the House to accept the amendment of Mr. Sambamurti. The amendment was then carried as a substantive proposition, It was about 12 noon on the 18th, just before the close of the A. I. C. C. session, that Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar made this appeal to the House to accept the amendment and postpone that discussion.

"The Working Committee, after the close of the A, I. C. C. session, met at 2-30 p. m. on the same day. When it was announced that the Working Committee would meet at 2-30 p. m, I asked Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar whether there was anything special to be discussed. He said that the question of the explanation of the Madras Councillors might come up. I told him that there was nothing to be done by the Working Committee beyond taking the explanation, and that I could not attend the meeting as I was not feeling well. Under the circumstances I had no reason to believe that the Working Committee was at liberty to express its opinion or would attempt to express it in the manner in which it has been done. I was living in 'Sirdar Griha' where both Dr. Moonje and Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar. the General Secretary, were also staying. There was a telephone message to Dr. Moonje at about 3 p. m. that he should go to the Working Committee meeting. Dr. Moonje happened to meet me before getting down the stairs and questioned me whether I was not also going. I said that there was nothing much to be done after the amendment of Mr. Sambamurthi had been accepted and after all our efforts to come to an understanding on the question of unity had proved abortive. When I read the resolution of the Working Committee in "The Times of India" the next morning I felt that the Working Committee might have at least asked me on the telephone before adopting the resolution. I was greatly surprised to read those resolutions and I could not believe that the Working Committee would have consciously passed such resolution. That was why I said in my first statement that the Working Committee might have been under a misapprehension as to the scope of their authority. But we are now told that there was no such misapprehension. I could not help issuing a statement to the Press having regard to the fact that clauses (a) and (b) of resolution (5) of the Gauhati Congress have been virtually abrogated in the form of these instructions, after every effort on the part of the Working Committee to arrive at a common basis for unity between the Congress Party and the Responsivists had failed and after the resolution of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee was withdrawn at the request of the President, that the negotiations between the two parties brought forth no satisfactory basis of agreement and that, if they did arrive at a decision it would be placed before the next meeting of the A. I. C. C. I hope on a perusal of all these facts and the sequence of events the President will see that a serious mistake was made in issuing such instructions and that he will endeavour to revoke such instructions even without the necessity for calling a special session of the A. I. C. C. for this purpose. It would have been more satisfactory, and a basis for real unity would have been found, if the resolution of the Maharashtra Provincial Committee had been allowed to be considered by the A. I. C. C. and a decision had been arrived at What could not be done by the A. I.

C. C. can certainly not be accomplished by the Working Committee and that in the form of "instructions" at a meeting at which only five members of the Working Committee were present. If the President thinks that the Working Committee was justified in creating such a situation, I would suggest a special session of the A. I. C. C. or even a special session of the Congress, to decide the all important question of Hindu-Muslim unity inside the Congress. In my humble opinion it is much better that the Congress should consider the present situation and decide in favour of acceptance of office, if it is so inclined than supporting a Ministry which has no party or following in the Council or in the country, and which in the terms of the Congress resolution we were bound to oppose at its formation and overthrow whenever we could snatch an opportunity, and which the Provincial Congress Council parties are now called upon by the Working Committee to support as long as it serves our purpose and turn down the moment we feel secure that some other anti-national party would not come into power.

"As regards the apprehension of the Madras Congress Council leaders, that the Justice party might have come into power, if they had turned down the present ministry. I would like to point out that in a speech delivered by the Raja of Panagal at a public meeting at Soundary Mahal on March 15th he said that his party would not accept office in the present Council. "Justice", the accredited organ of the Justice party in its issue of March 16th, declared also that that party would not take office in the present Council and that the leaders of the party had made the position clear in public meetings. This was also stated by Mr. M. Krishnan Nair as President of the Tanjore Non-Brahmin Conference on May 7th. As for the dissolution of the Council the Government will only act up to the conventions it has created so far, and no such dissolution could have been possible with a Ministry that has no following of its own and with the irresponsible constitution given to India under the Montford Reforms.

"Mr. Satyamurti is very angry. Referring to my statement that there was a dinner given in his house to the Chief Minister and that the terms of co-operation were there discussed, Mr. Satyamurti, while admitting the dinner and the discussion of political topics, was good enough to say I was vulgar. If stating a fact is vulgar, I must plead guilty. He devoted a paragraph to suggest that I was opposed to his giving a dinner to a Minister as a friend and as an old student. I never suggested that any social dinners to the Ministers or even to Government members, unless prohibited by Congress policy, were objectionable. Mr. Satyamurti says that it was not a dinner but "breakfast". I thank him for the correction. May I state below some of the topics of discussion at this "breakfast".

(1) Whether the Chief Minister would agree to reduce excise to revenue by at least 25 lakhs this year.

(2) Whether the Chief Minister would agree to the amendment of the Local Boards Act by removing the District Boards altogether and retaining only the Taluk Boards.

"As regards Mr. Satyamurti's statement that they did not vote against or remained neutral on any beneficial measure I propose to deal with some of them in detail in a subsequent issue. I am very sorry for the present controversy. With a view to avoid conflicts, I refrained from stating anything in the press or even in public meetings because I always hoped that these differences in the Congress party, both in the provincial councils and the Assembly, might be settled after a frank and heart-to-heart discussion in the A. I. C. C. Under the circumstances I feel compelled now to deal with the question in the press with a view to take effective steps to formulate a definite programme and policy for the Congress either forward or backward."

The Hindu-Muslim Unity.

In a fervent appeal issued by Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, President of the Congress, on the eve of the dissolution of Assembly in New Delhi, considerable emphasis was laid by him on the need for both political and communal unity. The consequences of division among non-official ranks of the Legislative Assembly impelled him to warn his countrymen of the danger of allowing things to drift. Mr. Iyengar called upon all parties in the country to gather under the banner of the Congress, so that the nation's efforts to march to the goal of Swaraj may attain fruition quickly. The following is the text of the statement issued by him :—

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's Appeal

"Now that the Delhi session of the Assembly is coming to a close, it is more than ever clear to my mind that unless control of the Congress over the people is increased in all provinces and on a nation-wide scale as it was before our unfortunate differences arose we may not be able to force the Government to come to terms. Mahomedan members of the Assembly as well as public-spirited Mahomedans outside are as anxious for a settlement as many of us are. But there should be greater expedition and determination on both sides to come to some agreement. I hope that before we leave Delhi we may be able to arrive at some provisional agreement. At least I am not less anxious for fusion of all parties in the Congress and the country also expects that we ought to have a reunited Congress. I am glad that the Nationalist Party has co-operated with the Congress Party most materially and has as far as possible carried out the Gauhati resolution. The success would have been much greater but for Mussalman members of the Assembly going into the Government lobby on some critical occasion in connection with the Currency and Steel Bills. That the Assembly should have agreed to British preference and thrown out 1s. 4d ratio is a most deplorable circumstance but it only serves to demonstrate the need for greater self-effacement on the part of all concerned in bringing about unity. Mr. Jinnah's speech at the army debate was perhaps the best speech of the session and that Mr. Jayakar should have moved omission of the demand under the head "Executive Council" delighted me. Most members of the Congress have taken keenest interest in studying several subjects and have shown considerable capacity and power in the debates. Figures and finance were handled with skill as well as principles and broad policies and there was high patriotic emotion inspiring their speeches. There were many speeches on behalf of the Congress Party and whatever superior persons in the European official and non-official blocks may say, Congress prestige and Congress honour have been more than vindicated. The army debate revealed to me the fact that Indians are united on a demand for an indigenous army even more than upon political Swaraj and this is the most conclusive test of our desire and capacity for Swaraj. Unofficial members have been more businesslike and bitter experience of years is slowly teaching us the need for determination and hard-headed alertness.

"It is refreshing to find the Council of state visibly changing to a more patriotic and national outlook. Sir Alexander Muddiman told us that those who lived the frog should make friends with the crocodile. I have every faith that we shall soon be crocodile and our opponents will have to make friends with us. I have not been able to see either at Delhi or at Aligarh such cultural differences as must divide Hindus from Mussalmans. Indian heart beats insistently and generously and calls for immediate removal of misunderstanding. I appeal to members of all parties, both political and communal, to unite without further delay. There is so much to do and so much to be gained by union and every day we are losing so much by our differences and dilatoriness. I appeal to Congressmen and others to organise the Congress on an efficient and self-supporting basis in all provinces. The Con-

gress cannot afford to mark time nor to merge itself merely with the Assembly and Council parties but must forthwith become as it was in the days of 1920-22 nation-wide, vibrant and dynamic force radiating goodwill, real and self-controlled unity all round. I have no doubt in my mind that if we organise and bestir ourselves, Mahatma Gandhi and his great organisation and greater leadership will soon be available to the Congress as before in the achievement of a common political purpose."

PARTY MEETINGS IN DELHI

The Hindu members of the Congress Party in the Assembly met on the 17th March in New Delhi to exchange views on the directions in which modification of the existing system of communal representation was desirable. The meeting was of a private nature and no decision was arrived at though there was unanimity of feeling on the broad aspects of the question.

Some Muslim leaders also met at Dr. Ansari's house on the same day and felt their ground on the same subject. The Nationalist Party too discussed the same question in the light of their party's view on the subject. Lala Lajpat Rai's party also proposed calling a meeting of all the Hindu members of the Central Legislature, both elected and nominated, on the 23rd.

The Muslim Proposals.

Two day's after, on the 20th March, about 30 prominent Muslim leaders belonging to various groups met at the Western Hostel and discussed for six hours the question of modification of the existing communal representation. They included Mr. Jinnah, Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Sir Mahomed Shafi, Sir Abdul Qaiyum, Dr. Ansari, Maulana Mahomed Ali, Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan, Maulana Mahomed Yakub, Mr. Shafee and the Imam of Jumma Musjid, Delhi. Mr. Jinnah who presided read out to the meeting five tentative suggestions sent to him by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar as possible alternatives to the existing pact. These were mostly based on the plea for a joint electorate. The Muslim leaders gave expression to individual views discussing what modification they held desirable. The recent discussion in the Council of State (See p. 239) was frequently referred to. Various views were expressed by the speakers.

After a protracted discussion, the Conference agreed to the institution of joint electorates, under certain conditions. It was unanimously resolved that—

"Mahomedans should accept the settlement on the basis of the following proposals, so far as representation in the legislatures in any future scheme of constitution is concerned :—(1) Sind should be separated from Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province. (2) Reforms should be introduced in N. W. F. Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as any other province in India. In that case, Mahomedans are prepared to accept joint electorates in all provinces so constituted and are further willing to make to Hindu minorities in Bengal, the Punjab and N.W.F. the same concessions that Hindu majorities in other provinces are prepared to make to Mahomedan minorities. In the Punjab and Bengal, the proportion of representation should be in accordance with the population. In the Central Legislature, Mahomedan representation shall not be less than a third and that also by mixed electorates. These are subject to ratification by Mahomedan organisations concerned ; but it is hoped by those present at the Conference that Hindus will accept and Mahomedans will ratify them. The question of the service

and other questions with regard to safeguards concerning any bill or resolution which might affect religion or custom or usage of either community or affecting inter-communal interests were also discussed by the meeting but postponed for further consideration and will be taken up if on the main proposition there can be unanimity of opinion."

Congress Working Committee's Views.

The above decision in respect of joint electorates in the forthcoming constitution was considered by the Congress Working Committee at its meeting in New Delhi on the 21st March and it appointed a sub-committee to discuss details; but the Committee recorded satisfaction on the whole at the resolution of the Mahomedans. The Working Committee was attended by Messrs. S. Srinivasa Iyengar and A. Rangaswami Iyengar, President and Secretary, respectively of the Committee, Pandit Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. M. A. Ansari and Mr. Prakasam.

The following resolution was unanimously passed on the electorate question :—

"The Working Committee considered the report of the informal conference of the representative Mahomedan gentlemen from all parts of India together with the proceedings at the meeting of the Hindu Members of the Congress Party during the last week. The Committee cordially appreciates the decision arrived at the Muslim conference to accept the institution of joint electorates all over the country with reciprocal concessions in favour of the minorities. The following sub-committee was constituted to discuss details with the representatives of the Muslim conference and of the Hindu community :—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar and Maulana Mahomed Ali. The Committee trusts that upon this basis a satisfactory settlement of the differences between the Hindus and Mahomedans will be speedily effected."

Hindu Members' Views.

The Hindu members of the Central Legislature met on the 23rd March under the presidency of Pandit Malaviya to consider what should be the basis of discussion between the leaders of the Hindu and Muslim communities on the subject of their representation in the legislatures of the country. The proposals put forward by the leaders of the Muslim community were considered. The following principles were generally accepted by the meeting as the basis of discussion :—

"(a) Joint electorate for all legislatures throughout the country; (b) reservation of seats on population basis in all legislatures throughout the country; (c) safeguards for the protection of religious and quasi-religious rights to be provided for in the constitution; (d) question of redistribution of provinces on linguistic and other essential bases to be left open for consideration."

A Committee consisting of representatives of all provinces was appointed to frame definite proposals after consulting Hindu opinion and to make an early report.

The "Hindustan Times" Comments.

The Hindustan Times which is conducted by Hindu leaders like Pandit Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai commented at great length on the Muslim proposals remarking that the spirit behind the proposals was one of "heads I win; tails you lose." The paper wrote :—

"In what way is the establishment of joint electorates connected with the separation of Sind and the introduction of reforms in Baluchistan or N. W. Frontier? Muslims feel that in conceding to Hindus the principle of joint electorate they are entitled to expect as a price of this concession more power in Sind, Baluchistan and

N. W. F. province where they constitute an immense majority. We, however, desire to make it clear once for all that Hindu Nationalist leaders are not asking for joint electorates, because thereby there is any likelihood of any increase in the power of Hindus in India, but because joint electorates, while fully protecting the legitimate interests of all minority communities, will help in the growth of a spirit of nationalism, in eliminating rather than emphasising the differences prevailing between the different sections of the population in the country."

Proceeding, the paper observes: "If Muslims desire separation of Sind to insure their dominance in one province there are Hindus who would like to re-adjust the boundaries of Bengal and Punjab to eliminate Muslim majorities from these two provinces. If the former are justified in urging their claim, in what way are the latter not justified in pleading for theirs ? It must, however, be understood that redistribution of the provinces should be undertaken if it is at all undertaken at any time not to establish or destroy majorities, but facilitate administration of certain areas and if separation of Sind is necessary to achieve this end. Muslims may feel sure that Hindu leaders will have no hesitation in agreeing to their wishes. But if this separation is asked for merely to serve a sectional purpose, even Muslims must admit that if they can justify separation of Sind on communal grounds, why cannot Hindus ask for readjustment of Punjab and Bengal to suit a communal purpose. The object Muslims have in view is to obtain as much as they can and concede as little as possible."

Concluding the paper remarks : "We cannot but condemn the spirit of petty bartering that has inspired the resolution and feel amazed that such leaders as Dr. Ansari, Maulana Mahomed Ali and Mr. Jinnah should have appended their signatures to it. If Muslims agree to joint electorates, we can assure them that Hindu leaders will be prepared to meet them half way in other things and will be prepared only too gladly to concede reasonable and legitimate demand of Mahomedans and to consider in exactly that spirit the questions of Muslim representation in the Assembly, of separation of Sind, and of the introduction of reforms in the Frontier and Baluchistan."

PUNJAB HINDU SABHA'S RESOLUTION.

The Punjab Hindu Sabha on the 23rd March passed a resolution denying the Indian National Congress any *locus standi* to represent the Hindu community in negotiations with Muslim organisation and declaring that any settlement arrived at would not be binding on Hindus and that the Hindu Maha Sabha was the proper body to deal with such matters.

THE SIKHS ON MUSLIMS' PROPOSALS.

On the 25th March Sardar Mangal Singh, General Secretary, Central Sikh League, addressed the following letter to the President, Indian National Congress :—

"There is a consensus of opinion among the Sikhs that the principle of communal representation is harmful to the healthy growth of nationalism. They are, therefore, in favour of entire abolition of this vicious principle which is only possible if Mahomedan friends realising its harmful effects on our body politic see their way to give it up altogether. In this connection I am glad to read in the press that our Mahomedan friends have taken a step in the right direction in agreeing to have joint electorates. It would have been better if they had courageously stood for joint electorates with no reservation of seats. But under the circumstances joint electorates with reservation of seats should be welcomed. For this Mahomedan leaders deserve the sincerest thanks of all well-wishers of India. It would have been better if the matter had ended here. But they have proceeded further and have laid down certain conditions precedent to its acceptance on which I am afraid opinions may differ. For instance, we will have to meet with great difficulties in the Punjab. There are three instead of two major communities for which we will have to make provision for their adequate representation. The Mahomedan friends have been very generous in laying down that they are prepared to concede the same protection to non-Muslim minorities in Sind, N. W. F. and Baluchistan as is afforded to Muslim minorities in other provinces. But they carefully leave out of it the case of Punjab. What about the Sikhs ? I ask, are they not an important minority in the Punjab like the

Muslims in Bihar or the United Provinces ? If so, then what treatment will be meted out to them under the new dispensation ? The authors of the Montford scheme have carefully recognised this fact and have consequently recommended retention of separate communal representation to them. In the Lucknow Pact, 1916, the Sikhs were left out of it altogether which had a disastrous effect on the national movement among the Sikhs. Both Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai had to assure the Sikhs that proper attention will be paid to the claims of the Sikhs at the time of future readjustment of political relations between the different communities. I assure you that Sikhs will not stand in the way of national unification of India. On the other hand, they will do their utmost to accelerate it all. What I wish to impress on you is the fact that special conditions prevailing in the Punjab should be taken into consideration and adequate representation be provided for the Sikhs. It is needless to say that the Sikhs are an important minority with a very large stake in the country."

In a subsequent statement to the press on the 26th April, Sardar Mangal Singh said that both Hindu and Muslim formulas for settlement of the communal problem were defective. The former ignored all minorities while the latter ignored the Sikh and Hindu minorities in the Punjab and Bengal and neither of them solved the Punjab tangle which was the crux of the whole problem. He suggested a third formula which was more practical and solved the problem. It was briefly as follows.

"(1) Joint electorate. (2) adequate protection for minorities by reservation of seats wherever minorities demand it. (3) the proposal of the creation of new provinces on liguistic and cultural basis may be considered on its merits and reforms should be demanded for N. W. F. and other new provinces. If agreed to, this solves the situation in a way not unfair to any party; for it gives protection to minorities only and the Sikh and Hindu minorities will not demand any separate rights in both Bengal and the Punjab which means that communal representation will be virtually abolished in these provinces. The underlying idea of this formula is no protection for majorities. They should be able to protect themselves. It also meets Muslims half way. As regards creation of new provinces let Muslims be assured that non-Muslims will not oppose the introduction of reforms, in N. W. F. and all other provinces. If agreed to, the Hindus should be prepared to give adequate protection to Muslim minorities whereever they feel that they should be protected, unless they themselves realise like the Sikhs and Christians that communal representation is harmful to the best interests of the minorities themselves, because in that case communal consciousness is awakened amongst the majorities as well.

MR. JINNAH ON THE SCHEME

In a statement to the Associated Press on the 29th March, Mr. M. A. Jinnah explained that the Mussalman leaders' offer to the Hindus was not fully appreciated both by the Hindus and Mussalmans. He made it clear that the offer to accept a settlement on the basis of proposals made therein was subject to what he would call conditions precedent before the Mussalmans would be prepared to accept joint electorates with reservation of seats. These conditions are a *sine qua non* ;

(1) That Sind should be separated from Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province, (2) that the Reforms should be introducted in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as any other province in India and that Hindus would agree to support this demand of the Mussalmans. It is only in the event of these conditions being accepted that the Mussalmans would agree to joint electorates with reservation of seats in all provinces, and make concessions to Hindu minorities in the matter of the number of representatives in the three provinces of Sind, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan as Hindu majority provinces would be prepared to make to Mussalman minorities.

This matter of concessions can be discussed and settled by responsible committees that may be appointed by the two communities respectively. In Punjab and Bengal, the proportion of representation should be in accordance with the population ; in other words, mixed electorates with the reservation of seats according to population. In the Central Legislature Mussalman' representation should not be less than one-third, also through mixed electorates with reservation of seats.

This offer is inter-dependent and can only be accepted or rejected in its entiety. The Hindu leaders have in their meeting held in Delhi on 23rd March 1927 appointed a Committee consisting of representatives of all provinces to frame definite proposals after consulting Hindu opinion and make an early report. I therefore trust that the country will give the fullest consideration to the offer that is made without any heat or passion being created and in a calm and impartial atmosphere. I may point out that in this offer, which is far-reaching, the most notable feature is its recognition that separate electorates can only be got rid of by a thorough adoption of the system of give and take. I trust that it will be criticised in a spirit of toleration. The question of separate or mixed electorates is after all a method and a means to an end. The end in view is that Mussalmans should be made to feel that they are secure and safe-guarded against any act of oppression on the part of the majority, and that they need not fear that during the transitional stage towards the fullest development of national Government the majority would be in a position to oppress or tyrannise the minority, as majorities are prone to do in other countries.

It must be recognised that under the circumstances and prevailing conditions it is essential that the political equippoise must be maintained. It is to maintain this balance that Mussalmans have taken a simple and juster method with the reciprocity clause. If this main proposition were accepted by Hindus, then I feel that it will lead to a hopeful atmosphere and settlement is within reach. I am personally not wedded to separate electorates, although I must say that the overwhelming majority of Mussalmans firmly and honestly believe that that is the only method by which they can be secure. I think there are advantages and disadvantages in a system of separate electorates. Yet I am not prepared to subscribe to the view that separate electorates will constitute an effective bar to the growth and development of representative government. On the other hand I cannot say that the acceptance of mixed electorate system is free from objections under prevailing conditions or that it will create complete Nationalism the next day. The question, therefore, of a system of separate or mixed electorates is, as I said before, more a question of methods and means to an end.

Therefore, the real issue is how to give a real sense of confidence and security to the minorities. Other questions, namely formulæ regarding the share of Mussalmans in the service of the country, safeguards in legislatures against bills and resolutions which may affect religion, custom, usage, or inter-communal interests and the question regarding other elective bodies can I think be solved if the major proposal contained in the offer be agreed upon. As soon as I receive a definite answer to the offer from the Hindu leaders, the next step I would like to take would be to call a meeting of the members of the Central Committee of the All-India Muslim League, the Committee appointed by the Khilafat Conference, the executive members of the Jamiatul Ulema, the Muslim members of the Council of State and the Assembly, at an early date and may form a small Committee at this meeting with a view to discuss other matters with the Committee or Committees that the Congress, Mahasabha and other political organisations in the country may appoint, and then any settlement that may be finally arrived at by these Committees would of course be subject to ratification by the various organisations of the country, both Hindu and Mussalman. I may in conclusion say that no time should be lost in bringing about a speedy settlement at this critical juncture.

MADRAS MUSLIM M. L. C.'S OPPOSITION.

The following statement signed by ten Muslim Councillors of the Madras Council was communicated to the Press :—

"At a meeting of the Muslim members of the Madras Legislative Council held on the 28th and 30th March to consider the question of joint electorates tentatively agreed upon by Muslim leaders of Northern India subject to certain conditions being fulfilled, we, the undersigned, after careful consideration of the full significance of joint electorates have come to the conclusion that, under the present circumstances,

joint electorates for Muslims in this Presidency particularly will not only prove detrimental to the political advancement of the Muslim community but will also jeopardise the interests of the Muslims and to a very great extent hamper the friendly relationship that exists between the Hindus and Muslims".

Maharashtra Support of Joint Electorate.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the M. P. C! C. held at Poona on the 3rd April two important resolutions, one relating to the Hindu-Muslim question and the other relating to the constitution of the Congress and work in the Councils proposed by Mr. N. C. Kelkar were adopted . The first resolution was to the following effect :—

(1) The suggestion about joint electorates should be wholly acceptable. Without joint electorates it is impossible to establish political unity in the country. (2) The Mahomedans demand that some seats should also be reserved for them in the elections. That suggestion also is likely to meet with general acceptance. It would be just to reserve seats in proportion to the number of a Mahomedan electorate : but Mahomedans being in a majority, Hindus should be liberal-minded enough to consent to the reservation on a population basis. But the Mahomedans should regard this concession as the maximum concession. If the population basis is accepted Mahomedans will have to sacrifice some seats awarded to them in accordance with the Lucknow pact ; but Mahomedans must be prepared for such diminution. (3) This meeting is not agreeable to the proposal of separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency. At the same time it thinks that there should be no objection to give Sindh its proper position when a formation of provinces on linguistic basis is undertaken throughout India.

The second resolution ran as follows :—

In resolution No. 5 of the Gauhati Congress which relates to work in the Legislatures, clauses A and B should be deleted, clauses C. and D. E. and F may remain as they are. The Congress should not lay down any definite rules for acceptance of Ministerships ; but it should be left to the elected members in provincial Councils to do what they like. It has been proved by the election to the Councils and subsequently by the fate of specific resolutions or the amendments moved by the Congress party in the Councils that the electorates in the country are not in favour of making Ministries impossible in each province. Ministries have been formed and are so far working. The electorates have been brought into existence by the demand of the Congress placed before the Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1919. It is not for the Congress, therefore, to set up its mandate in conflict with their wishes, the original theory being that the electorates are to elect their representatives and try to express and enforce their will in the Councils so far as they may be able to do so among the elected members. In most of the provincial Councils, members elected on a non-Congress ticket are in a majority. It is obvious therefore that the electorates are not in favour of the restrictions placed by the Congress upon the formation of the Ministries. What must be a reasonable course to follow is that Ministries should be allowed to be formed in the first instance ; but, as the Governor in each province has been found to follow the constitutional practice of seeking to form a Ministry in the province by inviting the numerically larger groups in the Councils to offer their nominees for taking up Ministerships an attempt should be made to form in each province a Congress party out of not only elected members bnt even other members who may be willing to work the Councils in a national spirit and for the benefit of the country on the lines and in the spirit of clause (c), (d), (e) and (f) in the Gauhati Congress resolution. Presumably a party so formed would be numerically larger than any other party in the Councils and will have therefore an opportunity to offer the nominees to work in the national spirit. It would of course be open to such a party to demand pledges or understandings from nominees offered for acceptance of office after the Ministries have commenced to work and function in the usual manner. It would soon be discovered whether the Ministers are behaving in a manner calculated to secure the object of the party and if the Ministers are found to be on the right lines generally and to help the Councils in carrying out its will then the Ministers would naturally be supported in their measures if these be found

supportable on merits. If however the Ministers are found to be administering their departments in a spirit contrary to that of the above mentioned clauses of the Gauhati Congress resolution, then they would be asked to redeem their pledges and undertakings or to resign if they are not prepared to do so. In case the Ministers do not resign under the above-mentioned circumstances the party should defeat or even pass a vote of censure on the Ministers concerned and further take the opportunity at the next budget to cut down their salaries and thus remove them. The Ministers who are enabled to take office with the approval and support of such a Congress Party will always be found better than any other Ministers who only rely upon communal vote or Government support. The point is that the Congress Party should take advantage of the constitutional practice resorted to by the Governor of calling upon the numerically larger groups to nominate candidates for Ministerships and give their nominees a chance for enforcing the will of the electorates. Unless this is done Ministries will always go to people unamenable to popular opinion or not bound by any pledges or understandings. The reason for adopting this course is just the counterpart of the reason for which the Congress tries to capture elective seats in the Councils, the reason, namely, that it is much better in any case to prevent places of power and privileges from being captured by undesirable men. A vacuum cannot and ought not to be allowed to exist and should be filled by the better sort of men. As far as possible the Congress should be prepared to decentralize her work. So much of the national work as can be done through the councils should be left to the councils ; but there is an amount of national work that cannot be done through the councils under the present Government of India Act or even in any impending amendment of the same, for example, relations with Native States, Foreign affairs, Army and Navy administration, higher Civil services, the Secretary of State and his powers, fiscal and financial autonomy, Asiatic Federation etc., etc. The Congress should reseve her time and energy for these and other transcendental matter. There is enough work for the Congress in this respect and much less scope for friction or difference of opinion between the different sections of Indian opinion. Further the Congress should aspire to act not as a propagandist before any particular view of national salvation, much less for particular interest in the country. She should be like a League of Nations or an international body taking upon herself the duty and the responsibility of resolving as far as possible the growing conflict of different interests in India. The Congress should be in itself or should carve out its body an Arbitration Board for this special purpose. The Congress will retain the respect and love of the Indian people as a whole only if she puts herself on that higher plane. The present restrictions about Congress members on account of khaddar dress etc. should be removed if the Congress should be really an All-India and thoroughly representative body. Also, the constitution should be so framed that apart from the representatives of local electors, elected members of the different legislatures in India should have a place in the Congress automatically as a matter of right by reason of their election to the Council according to some scheme of representation.

Bihar Muslims' Opposition.

A special meeting of the Muslim representatives of Bihar and Orissa were convened on the 8th May in the Anjuman Islamia Hall, Patna to consider the Delhi scheme of joint electorate. The hall was full. Sir Ali Imam, Sir M. Fakhruddin, Messrs. Sarfraz Hussain Khan, Shafi Daudi, K. B. Mahomed Ismail, Messrs. Abdul Aziz, Mahomed Hussain, Athar Hussain Quaize, Ahmed Hussain, besides delegates from other districts were present.

Prolonged discussion centred round the Delhi proposals. Sir Ali Imam, Moulana Shaffi Daudi, and Mr. Syed Aziz, supported the Delhi proposals and pointed out that in most of the provinces as in Bihar a few Muslim representatives returned through separate communal electorates could not safeguard Muslim interests without the help of non-Muslim members who outnumber them. Any proposal emanating from them was turned down by Hindu members. Muslim representatives did like-wise. All this created misunderstanding and mischief. Militant Hindus were returned to Councils to crush legitimate aspirations of Muslims. Muslims had separate electorate for 7 years but had they gained anything ? Laws were made in Council to safeguard the interests of all communities and not to injure any of them, Sir Ali said that no community or nation would prosper unless it came in contact and competition with others. When India attained political freedom Muslims would lose much

by position of isolation. Muslims should think that whereas communal electorates had their use only once in three years, they cannot help their relations with Hindu neighbours. Muslims would by their separatist tendency meet with economic boycott and retaliation and be even feared that Muslim life and property were in danger in villages. This was because their separatist tendency had aroused suspicion and hostility in the minds of Hindus. If Muslims themselves wanted to stand aloof he saw no reason why they should complain of speeches at the platform of Hindu Mahasabha.

Khan Bahadur Nawab Mahammad Ismail, the Hon'ble Sir Fakhruddin, Mr. Atahar Hussain and Khan Bahadur Nawab Shrafraj Hussain Khan led the opposition to the joint electorate. Sir Fakhruddin said that under the joint electorate chances of friction would multiply. Friction could be avoided if good feelings were restored between the two communities. But good feelings could be restored if Muslims surrendered some of their rights. Even then he was doubtful that communal friction could be completely avoided. Khan Bahadur Nawab Shrafraj Hussain Khan said that separate electorate was necessary so long as Hindu mentality was not changed. He complained that Hindu members of the Assembly did not display impartiality in matters of introduction of reforms in North Western Frontier and Ajmere.

Discussions were adjourned in the afternoon when the following resolution were adopted :—"In view of the fact that some leaders of the sister community are taking advantage of the proposals made at the Delhi Muslim Conference and there is danger that Muslims would be deprived of their rights of separate representation without their rightful demands being accepted and in view of the fact that separate representation of minorities was necessary so long as communalism reigned supreme in the country and also in view of the fact that in spite of all sorts of friendly gestures on the part of Mussalmans the sister community has developed marked tendency towards communalism which is evident from its hostile attitude towards all political and religious rights of Mussalmans and has recently been given public expression on the platform of the All India Hindu Mahasabha at Patna, this conference of Mussalmans of Bihar and Orissa is of opinion that the proposals for replacing separate electorate by mixed electorate are premature and as such harmful to the interests of Mussalmans and therefore this conference deprecates any attempt to take away the right of separate representation from Mussalmans and declares that in the circumstances mentioned above the Mussalmans are not at all prepared to give up the right of separate representation for any price. This conference is of opinion that reforms should at once be introduced into North Western Frontier Province and Sindh should at once be separated from Bombay presidency and constituted into a separate province and hopes that Hindus as proof of their change of heart will support these demands of Mussalmans and thus pave the way for settlement of political differences."

All-India leaders in Bombay

About this time most of the Congress leaders were coming in Bombay to attend the A.I.C.C. meetings. They held informal conferences in Bombay under the presidentship of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar on the 13th and 14th May. In these conferences the future policy and programme of the Congress as well as the communal questions formed the subjects of long discussion. The position of labour in the Congress programme, the Delhi Mahomedan offer of Hindu-Moslem settlement and unity between the Swarajists and Responsivist parties in the Congress ranks were also the chief questions round which a vehement discussion centred for over three hours without coming to any conclusion. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar favoured at least a partial surrender to the Responsivists in the interest of unity, although Maulana Mahomed Ali opposed the proposal on the ground that too much surrender would lead to the extinction of the Congress. On the question of Delhi Mahomedan offer strong views were expressed on both sides. Some favoured the Jinnah conference proposals while others refused to countenance any move for separation of Sind from

the Bombay Presidency. The decision however was put off for the All India Congress Committee meetings held on the 15th May and subsequent days. (For Proceedings See p. 9.)

Bombay. Decisions and After

Under the auspices of the Madras Mahajana Sabha and the Madras District Congress Committee, a public meeting of the citizens of Madras was held on the 31st. May at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, when Messrs. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Sami Venkatachalam Chetti and others spoke on the "Bombay All-India Congress Committee and after". Mr. S. Satyamurti presided. The hall was fully crowded and Messrs. T. Prakasam and Bulusu Sambamurti were present on the platform.

Mr. SATYAMURTI, in opening the proceedings said that no one regretted more than he the personal aspect which the controversy had assumed among the Congressmen. As far as the "Justice" Party and the outsiders were concerned in it, he could not seek a quarrel with them but if a quarrel came with them then he would not withdraw from it. So far as his comrades-in-arms, the Congressmen, were concerned, those Congressmen whose patriotism were undoubted and whose motives were unquestionable he keenly regretted as profoundly as any body else that there should be this trouble among them. He was satisfied, however, that there were only temporary misunderstandings which would be ended sooner than their enemies imagined and candid friends hope for and he was sure they would all be united once again under the banner of freedom and Swaraj. Their enemies need not imagine that the Congressmen would be misled into troubled waters. That would never be the case as long as the spirit of freedom existed among the rank and file of his country. He did not propose to speak to them on the propriety or otherwise of the A. I. C. C. decisions. That was a matter to be decided between the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee of which he had not the honour to be a member. It would be decided between them at the proper time and place. He only ventured to say that under the constitution of the Congress, under the direction of their election pledges, the Working Committee had every right to issue instructions to the Congressmen in the Councils. He asked only the public to watch the discussions amongst them not as interested spectators enjoying a cock or bull fight but as men understanding that those who were engaged over this conflict were actuated on both sides with the highest of motives. They might have done wrong; after all they were only human. If they had erred they had erred not in malice but in good faith, not for personal gain but for public advantage alone they had done it.

The main question before them was this. Were they going to use or abuse the strength of the forty-one elected members of the Madras Council in order consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, to enthrone in power and in office a party which for six long years sat as nightmare over this province, which allowed consistently the communal cry to be raised over every public activity and tried to develop this province into becoming the Ulster of India? Except the Raja of Panagal and his personal friends and dependents, no patriotic Brahmin or Christian would like to play again the game played by the Justice Party. If the Congress Party had done wrong, the only ground on which they did it was to see that the Raja of Panagal and his friends were kept away from office. This, he considered, to be a distinct service to the cause of nationalism and to the interest of India. Public memories were short. They all knew or ought to know how the Justice Party, when in office, through its leader declared on the floor of the Council that political prisoners should be treated worse than criminals. That party, in fact, while in office, sold their power again and again to the bureaucracy. He would ask them to take into account the attitude of that party towards khaddar, prohibition and non-co-operation about which now that they were out of office they professed their abounding faith. The critics and the candid friends now forgot all that. When the Justice Party were in power they hounded out non-co-operation, khaddar and Mahatma Gandhi. But now the Raja of Panagal was saying that Mahatma Gandhi was a great man and he would unveil the latter's portrait, though he would not accept his politics. For about 6 years this party persecuted nationalism. Take again the question of prohibition. Sir. A. P. Patro's parthian shot on the subject when he was compelled to lay down his office was seen in the Government Order of

August. The order said that prohibition was an impossiblity. local option was unworkable and the rationing system was not practical and therefore they could do nothing to bring about temperance. The Chairman could multiply instances of that sort and did they want, he asked, that such a party should be put in power again ? The Congress Party in the face of this thing did what they considered to be the best thing. A few words now about their candid friends and critics.

THE JUSTICE PARTY AND THE MINISTRY

Mr. Prakasama and his friends told them that the Congress Party in the Council was wrong in their judgment and if only they had defeated this Ministry the Justice Party would not come to power or the Government would have resumed the administration of transferred subjects. Why ? Their friends even went to the length of saying that there could be no dissolution of the Council. Let them first note the one geographical fact, viz., that Delhi was far away from Madras and they, the Congress Party, knew the exact situation here. Mr. Prakasam was not here and the Congress Party, after careful consideration and talks with friends and foes, came to the conclusion that if they were to defeat the present Ministry they were faced with two alternatives : viz., either the coming into power again of the Justice Party of if that party kept its promise not to accept office, the Governor would be compelled to dissolve the Council. The Congress Party were taking long quotations from the speeches of the Raja of Panagal and Mr. Krishanan Nair to show that that party would not accept office. The speaker did not wish to offend the canons of public opinion and criticism. But he was entitled to say that he refused to take those speeches seriously at their face value. He had been deceived in the past and he was not going to be trapped again by the promises of that party. What worth, he asked, were the promises of the members of that party ? Their promise was that "they will not accept office in the present Council." Did they (the Justice Party) or did they not want the dissolution of the present Council ? The speaker had got the authority of a high official, whose name he would not disclose,that at that time negotiations were going between the Private Secratacy to the Governor and the Raja of Panagal and that the Raja of Panagal should be summoned to form a ministry and as Ministers they should be allowed to go to the country and with all the prestige, influence and patronage at their disposal, a re-election should be held. Those were the terms of the negotiations. Then, again, they were told that they and the Justicites could have joined to defeat the Ministry. On the floor of the House both Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti and the speaker said on two different occasions and several times outside that if any accredited leader of the Justice Party would make a public declaration either on the floor of the House or outside, that they found dyarchy unworkable and that they would not accpt office under the dyarchic scheme, the Swarajya Party would have also given an assurance and would have joined them to defeat the present Ministry or any other possible Ministry. He would still repeat that undertaking with a full sense of responsibility. Let the Justice Party accept it.

THE OTHER ALTERNATIVES

Then again their traducers said that the Governor would not dissolve the Council according to the established conventions. The speaker, however, knew of no such convention. The resumption of transferred subjects by the Governor had happened in two provinces only, in Bengal and in the Central Provinces under the rules of the Government of India Act. Resumption of transferred subjects was a very serious responsibility which could be done only with the sanction of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India. And further before the Secretary of State gave any sanction for such transfer he would have to be satisfied that there would be no possibility of the formation of any Ministry in that Council.

They were perfectly willing to face the electorates at any time but not at the dictation of the Raja of Panagal. Political parties all over the world chose their own time to go to the electorates. It was only six months ago the electorate returned them in generous numbers. Taking Madras City alone, it gave them abounding confidence by returning four Swarajists to the Hindu and one to the Mahomedan constituency. His party refused to be stampeded into an election for the sake of Raja of Panágal and his friends.

CHARGES AGAINST THE SWARJISTS

As regards the throwing out of Ministers' salaries, a charge was levelled against them not only by their enemies but also by their friends. He did not desire to answer his enemies, because they could never satisfy them. To the extent that

came from their friends he ventured to give in all humility an answer and hoped that answer would be accepted. The speaker next read out the charges made against the party in the issue of "The Swarajya" of the 29th. instant. He then said that he would chalange any one to prove that they had ever voted against beneficial measures. 'The Swarajya' had quoted Mr. Munuiwami Naidu with regard to the cut in the Ministers' salaries for the purpose of showing that the Swarajists only professed to destroy dyarchy. He could understand the object of dragging them into his party's net and his object was to get into office. But he could not understand "Swarajya's" object in quoting Mr. Muniswami Naidu to lash the Swarajists. When did Mr. Muniswami Naidu become a friend of "The Swarajya" to get the honour of an editorial mention in its sacred columns ? He would only say that he too was of opinion that the ministers ought to reduce their salaries. In a poor country like India they could not afford to pay such high salaries. They remained neutral simply because a ministry was there which could be destroyed at an opportune moment without playing into the hands of their enemies.

Proceeding, the chairman dwelt at length upon the charge that the Swarajists voted against beneficial measures. The Swarajya Party had never helped the Government. In support of this "The Swarajya" had quoted the discussion on the subject of registration fees. The Minister in charge of that department replying to the token motion stated that he would certainly do all that was possible for him to bring about a reduction in fees. Again the authority for "The Swarajya' was Mr. Muniswami Naidu, a member of a party which moved a vote of censure against the paper for some remarks against the President and the Swarajists came to its rescue. The object of the token motion was to get the purpose for which it was made and the minister had given his assurance. Were they to be blamed if they refused to be drawn by the Justicites in their game ? If the minister did not do anything on the matter then the time would come to censure the ministerialists. With regard to the charge on this very same question Sir A. P. Patro while in office refused to make any reduction, What was the reply of Mr. Ranganadha Mudaliar concerning the grant to the Andhra University ? Greater grants were asked for and the Chief Minister said that Rs. 1,15,000 was the amount that the Vice-Chancellor himself had asked for and that was put in the budget and that if the schemes were ready he would give more grants. What was the charge on this subject ? The last charge of "The Swarajya" was resolution No. 5 of the Gauhati Congress which had directed Congressmen to throw out budgets and refuse supplies unless otherwise directed by the A. I. C. C. That was a matter of interpretation of the resolution. Their own interpretation was certainly not inconsistent. On the question of the General Hospital scheme they did not support the Government. The proceedings of the Council would reveal the next position. They asked the Hon. the Law Member at Ooty to mind his own business on the question of the Irrigation Bill. They refused help to the Second Minister when he asked them to give evidence before the Committee constituted to amend the Religious Endowment Boards Act. Did these, the Chairman asked, show co-operation with the Government ? He concluded by saying that the enemies of the Congress were many who were unscrupulous and resourceful and he appealed to his friends and the public to help them and to stand by them in the hour of crisis.

MADRAS SWARAJISTS' ACTION JUSTIFIED

Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti, who was next called upon to speak, said that the manner in which the Swarajists were attacked by their opponents was unworthy of any decent man ; and the time had come when they must hit back. They had sufficiently explained why it had become necessary for the Swarajya Party in the Council to remain neutral and allow the Independent ministry to remain in office in view of the likelihood of the Justice Party being again put in power. Mr. Sambamurti who was one of those who thought that the Swarajya Party should have overthrown the present ministry had himself not been sure whether they would be doing the right thing if they voted against the present ministry. The speaker quoted from the speech of Mr. Sambamurti, and maintained that as there was no possibility of seeing that the Justice Party was not enthroned, they did not seek the defeat of the Independent Ministry and allowed it to continue until a favourable opportunity presented itself to it of killing. Dyarchy. This action on their part did not militate against the spirit of the Gauhati resolution. It was true that the Justice Party declared that they would not accept offices in the present council but the Swarajists were shrewd enough not to be led into its ruse and respond to its overtures. He

had two reasons as a leader of the Party as to the way thee remained neutral on the question of the reduction of minister's salaries. If they agreed to a reduction in the salary it would mean that they agreed to the continuance of the ministry while in reality they were waiting for a favourable opportunity to defeat the ministry and make the formation of any other Ministry impossible. That was why they thought it best to remain neutral. There was no retreat at all ; the Swarajists were in their seats but only they did not vote either way. He characterised the attacks in "The Swarajya" against the Swarajists in the Madras Council as being unfair. He was astonished, he said, that a leader of the position of Mr. Prakasam who was a member of the Working Committee should have completely ignored the wording of the Gauhati resolution when he levelled his attacks against the party. Only subject to clause (d) they could throw out the budget and refuse supplies ; Mr. Prakasam conveniently omitted to take note of this fact. There could be a good deal of ambiguity in the Gauhati resolution for which the Congress party in the Madras Council were not responsible. It was the leaders like Mr. Prakasam that were responsible. Having been responsible for the resolution, to criticise the Madras Swarajists in that manner was unfair. He would request Mr. Parkasam to be more charitable towards them. Strong epithets had been used in "The Swarajya" leading article of Saturday. The speaker was not really sure whether these were intended to hurt the leaders of the Madras Council Party. They had, in fact, shown shrewdness tact—(Mr. S. Satyamurti : Nerve)—and nerve. Mr. Prakasam must have watched the movements of the party ; but having failed to give any lead, he now criticised them.

He had discussions with Mr. Sambamurti at this anxious period ; but he also did not give the proper lead which he said now was the proper lead and left them in doubt. (Mr. Sambamurti : Absolutely no doubt). It was quite uncharitable on the part of Mr. Prakasam and Mr. Sambamurti in these circumstances to find fault with the Council Party.

In regard to the proceedings of the A.I.C.C. he must make a complaint against the President of the Congress ; because if he had only allowed Mr. Govindachari's resolutions to be voted in the House, all this controversy would not have arisen, because the majority of the A.I.C.C. would have voted against it and there would be an end of the matter. Perhaps he wanted to chastise the Council party and please the oppositionists, and therefore he pleaded for referring the resolution to the Working Committee. They were bound to respect the verdict of this Committee in whatever way it might have been given. There was nothing objectionable in the procedure adopted. In fairness to the Congress Executive this controversy must cease. When at least a theoretical unity had been reached, they ought not to create disruptions, and indulge in recriminations and bickerings. He had absolutely no hesitation in saying that what they had done in the Madras Council was the best under the circumstances ; and it was only providential that they had acted in such a manner as to keep out the Justice Party which was thirsting for power once again.

A Domestic Quarrel.

Mr. O. Kandasami Chetti considered that these differences of opinion were rather calculated to strengthen the Congress Party and not weaken it, because each section was coming to understand the standpoint of the other section. As a proof of it, he would point to the presence of Mr. Prakasam and Mr. Sambamurti at this meeting. He was sure it was a domestic quarrel as Mr. Satyamurti had said ; but only it was carried on in too loud a tone and their neighbours were trying to make political capital of it. He it was who took the responsibility on behalf of the Swarajists to press for a resolution of the Working Committee to put them right with the country. (Mr. Prakasam : So, you brought the trouble !) He told the Committee that the Madras Council had to face its critics. It had to face the Justice Party and the bureaucracy. If the Madras Council Party should be a strong weapon with which to beat the bureaucracy, the Working Committee thought that the hands of that party ought to be strengthened by the resolution. Had Mr. Prakasam been present at that meeting he would also have agreed with the resolution—(Mr. Prakasam : Oh)—and all this controversy would have been avoided. In fact, the resolution regarding Madras Swarajists came in as an illustration of the arrangement which had to be entered into with the Responsivists in the matter of acceptance of office. The Working Committee had to distinguish between those office-holders who held themselves abject slaves of the bureaucracy and those who held offices as a trust on behalf of the people

in their fight against the bureaucracy. In making that distinction, he believed the Working Committee had done well and he had no doubt that the country would endorse that decision. If they looked at the decisions in the right perspective and in the spirit of union, conciliation and tolerance, they would realise that what the Working Committee han done was just the thing that was wanted.

The Gauhati Resolution on Council Entry.

Mr. Basheer Ahmed speaking next said that there would have been no occasion for this controversy at all if both the censure resolution and its amendments were discussed at the A. I. C. C. meeting and put to vote. He was perfectly certain that it would have been defeated by a majority. This controversy was started by their political friends who had forgotten the principles on which the Council-entry question was based and the Gauhati resolution. Those friends were merely clinging to the letter of the resolutions and had forgotten the spirit of them. The Congress mandate was to throw off all Ministries and not one Ministry. Would they have achieved their object if they voted against the present Ministry—No. Mr. Prakasam was not in the know of things. "The Swarajya" kept silent over this affair when the matter came up before the Council. What had happened afterwards for "The Swarajya" to attack them on the 29th instant after a lapse of nearly three months ? The paper, as an organ of the Congress, having acquiesced in that position, was not at all well-advised in taking the present attitude now. It was wrong on its part to do so. It was simply giving a handle to its enemies in the country and abroad. If the Congress asked them clearly to come out of the Council, they would gladly obey the mandate. It was not right that motives should be attributed to them or that their bonafides should be questioned. There was no pact or secret understanding. The Congress had long ago suspended non-co-operation with regard to keeping up of social relations and ties with other parties. What was wrong if political subjects were discussed at dinner parties ? To bring such a charge was unpleasant and undesirable. "The Swarajya" had forgotten the very object of token motions. Token motions were not often pressed to a division if the object of the motion was achieved. (Mr. Prakasam : It is not a censure on the Government). Mr. Basheer Ahmed : "Not necessary." If Government, he then said, assured them that they would try to do what the motion required, it had served its purpose. The Congress was not in the Council, to oblige the Justice party and thus place them in power. If those critics knew that the action of the Madras Swarajya party had the approval of the President of the Congress, (Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar : They knew that it had his approval and as well as of Pandit Motilal Nehru) then those friends were not justified in taking up this attitude. It meant then that he wanted to condemn the President. Such a thing ought not to be allowed. The speaker then pleaded strongly to give a free hand to the Congress councillors in carrying out the Congress policy in the Council. As far as the Council-entry question was concerned he was of the view that wisdom lay in preventing the evil and making the best of the inevitable for the best interests of the country.

An Appeal to Non-Brahmins

Mr. C. Muthuranga Mudaliar in the course of his speech explained fully the position of the Congress Party in the Council and pointed out that there was no secret agreement in their work. He told them that from his experience he had found out that they could not place confidence in the words of the members of the Justice Party as long as that party believed in dyarchy. He knew that even in the Congress Party there were members who pleaded at the time of the Gauhati Congress for the acceptance of office. (A voice : Mr. Muthia Mudaliar is one of them). Those friends made common cause with the Raja of Panagal and his friends in attacking the party. There might be difference of opinion among them ; but when once a decision had been arrived at they must be loyal to that decision. He then explained the importance of the A. I. C. C. resolution concerning Hindu-Muslim unity and asked their friends to help in carrying out that resolutjon. He suggested that the time had come for the non-Brahmins also to give up the plea of reservation of seats and to fall in with the joint electorate. It was only in unity that the salvation of their country lay.

A Resolution

The Chairman next put from the chair the following resolution which was carried unanimously :—

"That this public meeting of the citizens of Madras places on record its joy on the

release of Srijut Subhash Chandra Bose and prays for his early recovery and restoration to full health and strenth and calls upon the Bengal Government as a bare act of tardy justice to release all detenues who are still detained unjustly."

One among the audience cried out that he had a resolution to move. The Chairman said that he had already called upon Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar to speak and after he had finished, the interruptor would be given a chance to have his say.

The Woking Committee Controvebsy

Mr. S. Srinivasa iyengar, who was next invited to address the meeting, said that he was inexpressibly saddened by the controversies regarding the proceedings of the Working Committee. He hoped that better counsels would prevail ; if they did not, then he had no doubt that in the fulness of time the country would determine what was the right thing to do. He would ask them to dismiss all personal and acrimonious controversies. He wanted to tell them plainly once more that he was not responsible for the action of the Swarajists in the Madras Council. It was true he sent a telegram ; but that was only in reply to Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti's communication soliciting his advice. In his telegram to the party he did not advise them one way or the other. He left their action on the situation entirely to their own discretion and judgment. His view was that though the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee had general control and superintendence over the Congress Council Party, they could not deal with the situation as the men on the spot. He had always acted upon the golden maxim "Trust your friends." He had not yet seen that the majority of the Congress Party had betrayed the trust reposed in them by the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee. Notwithstanding the frantic attempts made in some quarters to break up the solidarity of the party, he hoped that the party would continue to be united. When they were fighting against a foreign Government what was necessary was a well-knit and disciplined organisation running on wheels with little friction. Supposing there was a difference of opinion between the Viceroy and the Governor of a province or a Governor and the Collector in the district, they would not see any controversy about it in the press or the platform. There had been such differences of opinion ; but they were all expressed privately and settlements arrived at. That was why a handful of Englishmen were able to rule this big country and that was where the success of the British administration lay. Swaraj could be built up only by building up a big party, by smoothing out the differences and making the people work together ; and not by making any section rebel against another section. Leadership lay in knowing many things but keeping a quiet tongue. If they went on suspecting people nothing could be done. Mr. Horniman proclaimed in his paper incessantly that the oligarchy in the Committee should be pulled down. What was the meaning of all this ? It was easy to pull down anything in the world. They who were strenuously attempting to pull down the foreign bureaucracy, could easily pull down the edifice of the Congress. That was the game which was being played to-day. He would appeal to them to consider the majority decision of the Working Committee as a safe decision. When the time came for the All-India Congress Committee to express its opinion, let the dissentients by all means criticise it. But in the meantime let them not carry on a propaganda against the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. Swaraj could not be won by such a propaganda in the press ; it could be won by common endeavour and common action. He would ask the dissentients not to carry on the personal campaign and play into the hands of their political opponents but to sink their differences and march ahead unitedly for Swaraj. The present controversies over the Working Committee decisions were due to nothing but distrust, misunderstanding, suspicion and loss of temper. He would again repeat that the All-India Congress Committee would consider the whole matter and come to a decision upon it. The Working Committee was a responsible body and it had acted under its powers. It was left to the All-India Congress Committee to endorse the Working Committee's resolution, modify it or abrogate it. He could not see why all this bother about it. Because the Working Committee was prompt, he was accused of having deliberately conspired to prevent the matter from coming up before the A. I. C. C. No fouler charge had been made aginst him : and he must tell them plainly it was a deliberate lie. Equally false was the charge that he was the prime mover behind the instruction issued by the Working Committee. What happened was that Mr. S. Venkatachalam Chetti and Mr. Kandaswami Chetti pressed upon the General Secretary of the Congress and himself to bring up the subject before the Working Committee for a decision.

Mr. Kandaswami Chetti later brought a draft of the resolution and he circulated it to Pandit Motilal Nehru and other members of the Committee. Panditji altered the draft, leaving however the first portion untouched. It was considered by the Committee and passed. To suggest that there was a conspiracy and the speaker was the prime mover, was monstrous. Why should a man like him do that ? Presidentship of the Congress or no presidentship, he could not stoop to those things. Really it was all a newspaper stunt ; and it was set on by Mr. Horniman, as he himself said, "to pull down the oligarchy !" If the lead given by the Working Committee was not correct, there were constitutional means open to him and others to set it aside. But why this campaign of calumny in the press and platform.

All that was necessary for them to do, said Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar in conclusion, was to realise their duty, which was to support the majority view in the existing Congress organisations. He appealed to the young men in particular to learn he value of discipline, self-restraint and of doing things quietly as far as possible avoiding personalities. The road to success lay in trusting somebody and not in distrusting somebody and dividing the people. He once again appealed for support to the Working Committee without minding technicalities. "Whether I am right or wrong," he pleaded, "If you give me a chance, I will take the Congress a step further and for greater success at the end of the year. Notwithstanding the criticisms, I feel undaunted because I have full faith in God, in my conscience and in my countrymen." (Applause).

The Chairman, rising next, said that he received a resolution from a member of the audience on Nagpur Satyagraha. It was too important and controversial a resolution to be discussed at the meeting at that late hour. Discussion might be had on a subsequent occasion. He then declared that the purpose of the meeting was over and had the meeting dissolved.

A section of the audience expected that Mr. Prakasam would be allowed to speak at the end and finding the meeting was dissolved without calling upon him to address them, they cried out 'shame. shame'. as the meeting was breaking up.

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The Andhra Congress Committee

BEZWADA—1ST MAY 1927

A general meeting of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee was held at Bezwada on the 1st May 1927 under the presidency of Mr. T. Prakasam. About 70 members and large number of visitors were present. After the passing of two condolence resolutions when the subject of election of Working Committee members came up Mr. C. Ramasomayajulu pointed out that they witthin the Council were suffering under a great disadvantage as they had to obey both the decision of the P. C. C. and the Congress Party within the Council, that in order to obviate this difficulty at least to some extent he would suggest that all Congress M. L. C. s should be brought within the Working Committee either by election or as ex-officio members changing the rules of the constitution if necessary and that if this were done the Congress M. L. C.s and other members of the Working Committee would think together and see that their resolutions and mandates regarding the work within the Council would be given effect to. But the Council followed the former general policy, of course electing as many M. L. C.s as possible to the Working Committee.

VILLAGE RECONSTRUCTION

The Secretary then placed the sub-committee's report on village reconstruction before the general body and pointed out that it contained the ordinary scheme of work and that it entailed an expenditure of Rs. 1,500 every month and that it recommended for collection of money. The President pointed out that he was in a hurry to work out this programme, that he was about to deal with the currency problem with reference to this subject, that a report was already in the A. I. C. C. and would be discussed at the ensuing meeting and that it would be better for them to wait and lie over this subject until the decision of the A. I. C. C. The subject was therefore adjourned.

CONTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME ADVOCATED.

After this two resolutions were discussed regarding the conduct of the Madras Legislative Council Congress Party. Six M, L, Cs present explained the facts and the circumstances under which there were defections in the party on certain occasions. They also pointed out that they were obliged to obey the majority decision in the Council even against their own will.

Dr. B. Subramaniam then moved the following resolution :—

"As the Council programme instead of being a means to attain Swaraj is unavailing and a waste of time, this Committee resolves that the leaders should turn their attention to and carry on propaganda with great zeal for the achievement of the constructive programme."

After four hours' discussion it was carried by 28 against 15 votes.

CALL TO COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY MEMBERS

Mr, A. Govindachari, Editor, "Satyagrahi" then moved the following resolution :—

"Whereas the Congress Party members of the Madras Legislative Council did not throw out the Ministers' salaries in pursuance of the resolution passed at Guntur by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, in accordance with the Gauhati Congress resolution, but disobeyed it, this committee condemns such action and further resolves to call upon the councillors elected by the Andhra Provincial Congress Party to resign their membership in council."

Mr. V. L. Sastri of Madras raised a point of order that this resolution was already given notice of by the mover to the A. I. C. C. that it would be discussed threadbare to arrive at a definite conclusion and that therefore this resolution might be taken up after the decision of the A. I. C. C. at Bombay.

Mr. K. Sarweswara Sastri also added that the A. I. C, C. which made the selection of these councillors at the time of elections was competent to deal with this matter.

Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao further pointed that he was bound by a pledge given to the A. I. C. C. in which it was mentioned that he was to vacate his seat in the council in case he wilfully failed to carry out the policy and instructions given by the Congress or the A. I. C. C. and that therefore there was no idea of the Provincial Congress Committee there. He would therefore request the President to rule the resolution of Mr. Govindachari out of order.

The Prssident. Mr. T. Prakasam pointed out that the Andhra P. C. C. passed a resolution at Guntur giving a mandate to the Congress Party M. L. C.s to throw out Ministers' salaries and that this committee was competent to discuss this question. He could not know how the A. I. C. C. which was to meet in Bombay in a few days could base their judgment when they would not give their opinion. After all this committee conveys its opinion to the A. I. C. C.

The mover accepting the president's suggestion added after "resolves" the words "to recommend to the A. I. C. C."

Mr. V. L. Sastri remarked that there was no previous notice of such a resolution to the house.

The president ruled that the resolution was in order.

DISCUSSION ON THE RESOLUTION

Mr. Govindachari speaking on the resolution mentioned the reason for his resolution and referring to the Gauhati resolution (V. Work in the legislatures) and to the leaders' opinions, he stated that at Gauhati in the Subjects Committee there was a lengthy debate on the introduction of the words "oppose the formation of a Ministry by other parties" and there was an attempt made to clear the misapprehensions. Mr. Balakrishna Sarma in the open Congress moved an amendment for deleting that provision "which made it obligatory on the Congressmen in the councils to do their best to prevent the formation of ministries."

In opposing it Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar said: "The Cawnpore resolution insisted on non-acceptance of offices and it logically followed that the Congress must oppose the formation of Ministries by others. The ommission of the words "oppose the formation of a ministry by other parties" signified that the Congressmen need not form the Ministry but could form a binami ministry. That was deception that the Congressmen should not practise." Again, Mr. Sen Gupta in the Subjects Committee said: "There was no change of programme of Mr. Das. It had not been made easy or watery. On the other hand the provision that the formation of Ministries must be opposed showed that even loopholes were remedied and no doubt was left." Mr. Satyamurti in the open Congress said: "That's why I am opposed to the deletion of the provision on stating that we must oppose the formation of ministries. If there were offices worth accepting Congressmen would not put forward binami leaders who would accept them." Judged by these leaders' words, continued the mover, they said that that provision meant that the ministries should be opposed. It could further be said that their Madras Ministers were "binami" who were being supported by the Swarajists which they themselves called it deception on the part of the Congressmen. He said that clause (b) of the Gauhati resolution was also disobeyed as the Congress Party did not throw out the budgets. Neither the A. I. C. C. gave any instructions to take the present action of neutrality, etc., nor there was any response from the Government to change their system. Again, the words "necessary for the healthy growth of national life" mentioned in cl. (d) have become their shelter for everything. Their M. L. Cs abstained themselves from voting on the prohibition question in the council thus disobeying the Andhra P. C. C. resolution calling upon them to put the prohibition question in the council. Even bigmen like Mr. B. G. Horniman have expressed their opinions that the actions of the Congressmen betrayed the trust reposed by the Congress and the country. Again, the minority of the Congress Party submitted a report to the Secretary of the A. I. C. C. which also spoke to the same. Since the whole report was not published yet except some extracts, he next read the letter as a whole.

The mover after reading it pointed out that that letter itself would suffice for his resolution and that the minority members should be congratulated for their frankness. Mr. Satyamurti's arguments defending their action in council were not satisfactory to him. Mr. S. Venkatachallam Chetti said that if they were asked to resign their seats they would do it with no fear of being re-elected and that they had no fear that the Justice Party would come back to power but that on the

other hand "even after dissolution I am sure that the Congress Party would be returned in a larger majority than now." He, the speaker, was of the same opinion and that was why he wanted them to take an honourable course to restore confidence and prestige. The menace of the Justice Party could not be an argument for their remaining in the Council. Is it to kill the Justice Party or the Dyarchy, he asked. That is the point they have to consider. The All-India manifesto (ie., the election pledge) did not say that they should go to councils to defeat the Justice Party and there was no such mandate.

He might remind them of the conditions at the time of the "walk-out" and of their leaders telling the united Nationalists that they would remove the ban and of those discussions. Again, they opposed the Sabarmati Pact and defeated its purpose. Lastly they heard the rumour that Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar said at the time of the formation of Ministry that the Swarajist Party should move in friendliness with the Independent Ministry. That could be seen from the interview given to the A. P. I. on December 16 by Dewan Bahadur Rangachari, who said: "The new ministry, I know, has the moral support of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and his party. This did not appear to have been contradicted. While opinion being such, Mr. Iyengar in his presidential address at Gauhati pleaded for opposing the Ministers and also got the resolution passed there. What did he do afterwards? They heard that he sent a telegram to the Madras Congress Party not to throw out the Ministers' salaries. (Laughter.) The speaker concluded by saying that they would better consider whether the keeping of such "degenerated councillors" within the Council would be more beneficial to the country than asking them to resign their seats.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. K. Rangachari of Tuni.

Next Dr. B. Subramaniam's resolution was taken up.

2. CONTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

In the course of the discussion it was felt that the resolution (drafted in Telugu) was too strongly worded and was sounding very harsh and at the close of the discussion it was modified. When translated, it ran thus:—"As the Council-entry programme instead of being a means to attain Swaraj is proving futile and waste of time, this committee resolves that the attention of the leaders should be turned to carry on propaganda for the achievement of constructive programme with great zeal."

In the course of his eloquent speech Dr. Subramaniam asked his hearers to realise whether their ideal was Swaraj or a lesser thing, whether they would fight for Swaraj or for petty offices, nominations in local bodies and so forth. From the conditions prevailing at Madras and in Council they must see whether they were going back to secure small emoluments. If they really agreed with him he would ask them to pass his resolution.

Mr. M. Rangiah Naidu seconded the resolution.

The discussion on the above resolution (i.e., moved by Dr. Subramaniam) was then proceeded with. Mr. K. Sarveswara Sastri in opposing the resolution criticised the speech of the mover and asked his audience to realise that their M. L. C.'s were equally patriotic. Mr. C. Pattabhi Sitarama Gupta also opposed.

Mr. Mandeswara Sarma made a statement that the consequences of the Ministers' actions created a crisis.

The tension in the discussion became great and every one was coming forward to speak first. The President called upon the M. L. C. members to speak out their minds frankly and tell the house clearly the happenings and circumstances relating to the Council affairs. He said that the committee had the right to know facts though of a private nature and that those things should not enter the press.

Mr. Dr. Narayanaraju pointed out in his statement that he was one of those who would carry on propaganda about the ideal of Swaraj. He could not agree that Council-entry alone was responsible for the present depression in the country; because from 1922 to 1926 no one went to the Council from Andhradesa on behalf of the Congress. It had to be taken up for want of another better programme. If they wanted to revive non-co-operation he was not courageous enough that they could effect anything after coming out of Councils. He would certainly come out of the Councils if they showed more effective work outside. He could not think that Andhradesa would suffer if 10 or 12 Andhras enter Councils, when there were so many other big and good leaders available; only they must work outside vigorously. He did not forget about khaddar and was working for its development.

He would assure them that they (within the Council) did not kill the higher ideals in them..

Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao following him explained the peculiar and critical circumstances they were in. On one side they had to face the Justice Party and Communalism and on the other the grievances of the people. When non-co-operation ryots were not given water for the irrigation of 300 acres, should they not help them? Is it not necessary to work within the Council? He then explained what took place in their party meetings and why they had to be neutral in Council. He did not think that there would be [retrogression in the country if a few went to the Council.

Mr. V. L. Sastri pointed out that the wording of the resolution would tend to give a sense of censure upon their M. L. Cs, who had rendered great sacrifice, who went to jails and who were as good patriots as they were. Their aim should always be to conquer the enemy and not to alienate their own men by using harsh language. It was well-known that their Councillors did not go to Councils as a matter of fascination. By the entry of the Swarajya Party in Councils and local bodies there was a change for nationalistic outlook, and for the development of khaddar. He would therefore ask that this resolution should not be passed.

Mr. Unnava Lakshmi Narayana was also opposed to the resolution. He said that the talk about constructive programme had become a fashion of the day. If they would consider about Hindu-Muslim Unity, they would see it was kept aside. About national education, schools were started and closed and some were still lingering. Then Khaddar. What were they doing? Where was the defect? It was in the men themselves bnt not in the change of outward dressings.

Mr. Venkatappayya and others asked the speaker to show such suitable programme. The speaker reiterated his sentence and said he did not know. Mr. Venkatappayya said that they could find no better programme than non-co-operation in which the constructive programme forms a part and that that should be revived. The speaker pointed out that they were in a critical position.

The President in winding up the debate referred to the constructive programme and Mr. Lakshminarayana's remarks thereon and asked whether he was talking about constructive programme for the sake of policy. They were persons who newly entered the Legislatures and were now realising their position and gaining experience.

The resolution was put to vote and carried, 28 voting for 15 against.

After 4 hours, Mr. Govindachari.s resolution with the amendment was carried.

Second Day's Proceedings.

The Andhra P. C. C. again met on Monday morning, the 4th May, under the Presidentship of Mr. T. Prakasam. About 40 members were present.

3. Need For United Action.

The third resolution which was moved and seconded by Mr. M. Annapurniah and M. Tirumala Rao ran thus :—"In view of the conduct of the Congress Party in the Madras Legislature and the Assembly, towards the Ministers' salaries and the Finance Bill and various other matters, this Committee recommends to the A. I. C. C. to dissociate the Congress from all obligatory activities in the legislatures as imposed by the Cawnpore Congress and advise the Congressmen of all parties in the legislatures to form into one single party so as to present a united front to the bureaucracy."

Mr. P. S. Prakasa Rao moved an amendment to the preamble of the resolution which was agreed to by the mover. It read thus when translated :—"Whereas social and religious animosities are prevalent to a great extent in the country, whereas the results of the elections of 1926, were not better than those of 1923, on account of differences of opinion among the Congressmen themselves, regarding the Council programme, whereas under the advice of the President of the A. I. C. C., Sriman S. Srinivasa Iyengar, the Madras Legislative Councillor, acting against the Gauhati resolution, did not throw out the Ministers' salaries in the Madras Legislative Council and whereas the prestige of the Congress is being lowered on account of these reasons, this Committee recommends to the A. I. C. C. to dissociate the Congress from all obligatory activities in the legislatures, as imposed by the Cawnpore Congress and advises the Congressmen of all parties in the legislatures to form into one single party so as to present a united front to the bureaucracy."

This resolution was afterwards withdrawn owing to the passing of another resolution which was as follows :—

"Whereas the Government have been subjecting to unbearable sufferings the Bengal detenus, especially Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose who is in the jaws of death, by keeping them unjustly in prisons without trial, whereas the Government have refused to accept the minimum national demand and whereas the resolutions passed by the Legislative Councils were being treated with scorn and 'restored' or 'certified' and whereas the Government were resorting to such autocratic methods, this committee requests the All-India Congress Committee to resolve that all Congress members of the Assembly and the Legislative Councils shall come out of them keeping their seats by marking attendence only and shall not take part in debates, and further that they shall carry on progaganda in the country educating the people on matters of finance, military, railway, etc., explaining the evils done to them by the Government, and shall work the constructive programme and prepare the country for the early attainment of Swaraj."

Mr. Ponaka Pattabhi Rami Reddi in moving this resolution explained the sufferings of the Bengal detenus and condemned the repressive policy of the Government.

Mr. V. L. Sastri seconded the resolution.

Mr. K. Sarveswara Sastri and M. Balasubramanya Gupta opposed the resolution stating that it was inadvisable to call upon the representatives in the legislatures not to take part in the debates and also that those in the Councils were doing their best in the furtherance of the constructive programme.

Mr. M. Tirumala Rao supported it and pointed out that the present Congress Party in the legislatures were acting against the spirit of Mr. Das's policy. He advocated self-reliance.

Mr. K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu raised a point of order that this resolution could not be taken up as it would contradict the spirit of the Gauhati Congress resolution.

The President ruled that it was in order, because this committee could send any recommendation to the A. I. C. C. The President then spoke of the conduct of the Congress Party and conditions in the Assembly for the benefit of the house.

The resolution was carried by 13 against 8.

4. Money for constructive work

Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao moved a resolution to appoint a sub-committee to collect one lakh of rupees for the execution of the constructive programme. After a discussion for nearly an hour he withdrew the resolution at the request of the members.

5. Enlistment of volunteers

Mr. M. B. S. Gupta seconded by Mr. Kaleswara Rao moved a resolution for the enlistment and training of 500 volunteers and it was carried. Messrs. M. Narayana Rao, A. Venkataramayya, A. Kaleswara Rao, T. Prakasam, and Mr. B. S. Gupta formed a sub-committee to carry out that resolution.

6. Responsive co-operation

Mr. T. Prakasam, the President, then moved the following resolution in Telugu: "This committee recommends to the All-India Congress Committee that, in case the A. I. C. C. should reject this committee's recommendation to call upon legislative members to keep their seats vacant, and carry on agitation in the country, it be resolved that the legislative members shall resort to complete co-operation with Government and accept Ministerships and such other offices."

He next agreed to add Mr. D. Narayanaraju's amendment at the end of his; viz., "and that it be resolved that they shall resign their seats in the legislatures and may again stand for re-election to put this new programme into operation."

Mr. P. Satyanarayana raised a point of order that the A. I. C. C. was not competent to go against the spirit of the general Congress resolution of Gauhati and that the present resolution be ruled out of order. Mr. V. L. Sastri and Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao further spoke on the point of order that this resolution was against the policy of self-reliance as adopted at Gauhati.

Mr. U. Lakshminarayana who acted as President temporarily to decide this matter held that since a new situation had arisen this resolution could be discussed.

Mr. D. Narayana Raju seconded the resolution. He said that the present legislative members gave a pledge to follow obstruction policy in the Council and that therefore they could not offer co-operation to Government. So it would be proper

to call upon them to resign their seats and under a new pledge of co-operation which would amount to the present responsive co-operation they might again stand for re-election to work out this kind of co-operation.

The President pointed out that his resolution expressed the unconditional co-operation but not any other kind of co-operation. Because they must either have a stiff programme or if they were too helpless and impotent to carry it out they must respond to Lord Birkenhead who wanted them to work the reforms and give every co-operation to Government. They must have a resolution which they could act upon. He was unable to understand the existing kind of things without being able to act up their resolutions.

There was a lengthy discussion for three hours on this resolution.

Desabhakta K. Venkatappayya, who was requested to speak, said that there was nothing at present for despair and despondency. They co-operated with the Government for over thirty years and then they went up a step forward in Responsive Co-operation which was brought in by Lok. Tilak. They went up still further and engaged themselves in non-violent fight with the Government. Co-operation would come only after they lost the ambition for independence. All their past struggles and sacrifices would be in vain. Their hearts must be sound. They should not be disheartened. He suggested that the resolution might be withdrawn.

Dr. B. Subrahmaniam did not want to make any speech, but said that he was in entire agreement with the Desabhakta.

Called upon by the President, Mr. G. Sitarama Sastri of Guntur said that their Council-entry was the cause of this despair and depression and that he was always at the disposal of the country.

Mr. Prakasam withdrew his resolution stating why he was obliged to bring in that resolution. He only wanted to take straightforward course.

7. Sympathy with China

Mr. P. Satyanarayana moved the following resolution:—"This Committee resolves that the All-India Congress Committee shall make a donation of not less than Rs. 10,000 to the Cantonese Government as a mark of protest against the action of the Government of India calculated to obstruct Chinese Independence and also resolves that all village, taluk and district Congress Committees shall show their sympathy towards the Chinese.

After the resolution recommending financial support to the Cantonese Government was passed the proceedings of the meeting terminated.

RAJAHMUNDRY—9th June, 1927

Resolution on Working Committee Controversy

The next meeting of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee was held on the 9th June at Rajahmundry. Forty members attended. Mr. Prakasam presided. After long discussions, the Committee adopted a resolution, declaring the Working Committee's resolution, on Madras Council Congress Party's action as ultra vires and improper and the instructions as inconsistent with Gauhati Congress resolutions and committing the Congress to the policy of responsivism. The Committee also passed a resolution congratulating Mr. Avari and exhorting Andhras to render help for success of Nagpur Satyagraha and deputing Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti to Nagpur to study the situation and report on the best way in which Andhradesa can help the movement. Mr. Prakasam was nominated as the President of the next Congress.

Mr. A. Govindachari moved a resolution congratulating Mr. Avari and the Nagpur Satyagrahis and requesting the Working Committee to take steps for starting at a specified place in Andhradesa before a month Arms Act Satyagraha on principles of Ahimsa, as civil disobedience is necessary for securing the release of Bengal detenus. Prior to this motion the President suggested to defer the consideration of starting Arms Act Satyagraha till receipt of Mr. Vallabhai Patel's report and also because it required very serious thought. Mr. Govindachari said that it was necessary to disobey the Arms Act and that it could be done in Andhradesa more successfully than by sending a few men to Nagpur. He laid stress on non-violence and stated that he had nothing to do with explosives and bombs and that he would not take part in a movement having such object.

Mr. Annapurniah stating his personal study of the movement on the spot

moved the following amendment which was after three hours' discussion accepted by the mover of the original resolution and carried by a large majority :

"This Committee congratulates Mr. Avari on his starting Arms Act Satyagraha with the object of securing the release of Bengal detenus and on his going to jail on a sentence of four years' rigorous imprisonment.

"This Committee calls upon the Andhras to contribute to the success of the movement.

"This Committee deputes Mr. Sambamurti to go to Nagpur to study and suggest suitable ways for Andradesa supporting the Nagpur Satyagraha."

Mr. K. V. R. Swami wanted them to pass the original resolution.

Mr. Sambamurti replied to certain criticisms and said he was in favour of Satyagraha. Mr. P. Satyanarayana opposed both.

Dr. B. Subramanyam wanted that leaders like Messrs. Prakasam and Sambamurti in whom people had good confidence should concentrate their attention on constructive work, create a powerful atmosphere, do propaganda and in a short time launch Satyagraha.

Mr. D. Narayana Raju, opined that Mahatma Gandhi who knows mass psychology better than any other should be followed in starting Satyagraha.

The President at the close drew attention to Mr. Avari's statement in the court, and to his policy and programme of establishing bomb factories, manufacturing bombs and carrying them non-violently. He had his own doubts about such an achievement. There was no use of passing unworkable resolutions. He said he knew the existence of an enthusiastic spirit in Andhradesa and the readiness of hundreds to disobey laws and that it would be better to pass the amendment of Mr. Annapurniah which was carried.

Opposition to Mr. Linga Raju's resolution giving Andhra Congress opinion on the working Committee's decision on the conduct of the Madras Council Congress party rested on a technical point whether the decision was ultra vires.

Mr. V. Satyanarayana, Ex-editor, the "Chittaranjan", laboured hard to show that by Articles 21 and 24 of the Congress constitution the Working Committee was not subordinate to the A. I. C. C. He contented that the former had as much power as the latter, both being equally subordinate to the Congress and that therefore the former was within its rights to express its opinion. He argued that the Working Committee's resolution was not ultra vires since it had to execute also the mandate of the Congress and since the word 'submit' in the A. I. C. C. resolution conveyed sending its opinion and that it had to do so owing to the urgency of the matter.

Mr. K. Nageswara Rao of Madras opined that it would be better not to give this Committee's opinion as it had been already given and as there would be no effect by giving it now.

Mr. Sambamurti interpreted the articles of constitution to show that the Working Committee is subordinate and responsible to the A. I. C. C. in all matters, that in the particular instance the latter gave specific terms of reference to the Working Committee only to take an explanation from the Madras party while reserving to itself the decision and that therefore the Working Committee went beyond its terms of reference and that therfore its resolution was ultra vires.

The President, Mr. Prakasam, opined that the Working Committee committed a great mistake in pronouncing a opinion and said that they should understand that all the fuss of discussion on that came about not on account of the ultra vires question or other simple things but based on higher things of the attainment of Swaraj and the welfare of the country. They should either submit themselves to the British Government receiving whatever it would be pleased to grant or should take a manly and self-respecting stand to secure their own efforts, It would be proper, following the examples of Burma and Egypt, to do propaganda in the country not to give evidence before the coming Statutory Commission.

The meeting then terminated.

Tamil Nadu Congress Committee.

A general body meeting of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee was held on April 10 in the afternoon in the Mahajana Sabha Hall, Madras with Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, the President, in the chair. There was a large gathering of members. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar at the outset explained the necessity of taking great efforts te make the coming Madras Congress a great success. This was no easy task. When the last Congress was held in Madras in 1904, the whole Presidency formed into one Congress province. But now it had been divided into Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Karnatak and Kerala. The coming Congress was to be held in Tamil Nadu and he hoped that the other Congress Committees also would co-operate with the Tamil Nadu in its efforts to make the Congress a success. It was not an easy task to hold the Congress now-a-days. A new city as it were had to be built for the accommodation of delegates and all sanitary facilities had to be afforded. He was of opinion that at least two lakhs of rupees would be necessary. Therefore, the Committee must take great pains to collect the amount. He appealed to the rich, as well as the middle class people of the presidency to help the Congress. The speaker also believed that the Madras Congress would be a unique Congress. He had been and was taking great efforts to bring down the fusion of all political parties within the Congress and also to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity and if God willing the coming Congress might be a reunited Congress. He therefore hoped that the citizens of Madras would do all in their power to make the Congress a success. They could not expect any great amount from the delegation fee from the delegates, it having been fixed as Re 1. Hence the amount must be subscribed by rich men. Again as an adjunct to the Congress, they must also hold an industrial exhibition, This would involve some expenditure and he therefore made a fervent appeal to the public to help the Congress with men and money.

Continuing, Mr, Srinivasa Iyengar said that according to the Congress rules the Reception Committee of the Congress must be formed six months before the Congress session. This meeting was convened only for the purpose of taking steps to form the Reception Committee. He hoped that all the members of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Committee and a large number of other influential men of the province would enrol themselves as members. He also hoped that the district and taluk Congress sabhas all over the presidency would begin the work of enrolling members to the reception committee in right earnest and before the end of May they should have a very large number of members. With these remarks. he requested the Secretary to place the agenda before the meeting.

Resolutions

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar moved the following resolution :—

'The Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Committee hereby resolves to take steps to constitute in accordance with Article XIII of the Congress constitution, the Reception Committee of the 42nd Indian National Congress. Every member of the Provincial Committee shall be a member of the Reception Committee on payment of a subscription of at least Rs. 25."

He said that even persons not within any Congress organisation might become members of the Reception Committee. Only they must be above 18 years of age and must sign their acceptance of the Congress creed.

Mr. M. K. Acharya said that a strenuous propaganda work must be done in the mofussil to enrol as many members as possible. The resolution was accepted.

Another resolution urging the necessity of carrying of an intensive Congress prapaganda in the mofussil by paid Congress workers was also passed.

The following resolution was also passed :

'The Tamil Nad Congress Committee reaffirms its resolution passed last year to take efforts to capture all local bodies by Congressmen.'

The agenda having been finished the meeting terminated.

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Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

CALCUTTA—10TH. FEBRUARY 1927.

It may be recalled that when the term of Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta as president of the B. P. C. C. expired in December last, he expressed his inability to hold the office for a further term and Mrs. C. R. Das was thereupon elected ; but she declined to accept it. Since then the question of a President was causing a great deal of discussion, several members who were approached to accept the office declining. Therefore a meeting of the Executive was held on the 23rd January 1927 in wich Prof. Jitendralal Banerjee was unanimously elected President.

Subsequently, however, a requisition was submitted by 21 members for dissolving the present Executive Council of the B. P. C. C. In pursuance of this a requisition meeting of the B. P. C. C. was held on the 10th February at the office of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in Bowbazar Street. Sj Jitendra Lal Banerjee, President of the B. P. C. C., presided.

The supporters of the requisionists which included the members of the Karmi Sangha attended in large numbers. Sj Nirmal Chandra Chander and Sj Tulsi Charan Goswami who arrived from Delhi in the morning and Dr. J. M. Das Gupta who arrived from Barisal also attended.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta was not seen at first in the proceedings but he came in a few minutes after it had commenced. Mr. S. C. Bose came just in time and took his seat by the side of Sj T. C. Goswami.

At the commencement of the meeting the President intimated that he would wish to finish the proceedings by 8-20 P. M. and therefore requested the members to help him in the matter.

The President next asked Sj. B. N. Sasmal, Secretary of the B. P. C. C. to read the letters sent by some of the members from outside who could not attend the meeting owing to unavoidable circumstances.

In compliance, the Secretary read the letters sent by Sj Nagendra Nath Sen of Khulna Zilla Congress Committee and Sj Jogendra Nath Chakravarti of the Dinajpur Congress Committee. The writers of the letter requested the members of the B. P. C. C. not to dissolve the present executive body but to give them the oportunity to work. They did not want a division in the house and appealed to members to unite and stand shoulder to shoulder for the best interests of the country.

The Secretary next read the notice of the requisition meeting signed by 21 members.

Sj Kiran Sankar Roy thereupon moved the following :—

"Whereas the recent Executive Council of the B. P. C. C. do no longer enjoy the confidence of the B. P. C. C. for having elected Sj B. N. Sasmal who has been working against the Congress for some time past as the Secretary, be it resolved that the Executive Council be dissolved and a fresh Executive Council be elected in its place at the meeting.

Sj. Upendra Nath Banerjee seconded the resolution.

At this point Sj Nalinakhya Sanyal moved for an adjournment of the house for one minute as a protest against the requisitionists' conduct to call this meeting which was in his opinion a mere waste of money, time and energy.

The speaker said that the Congress had not come to such a position that a requisition meeting was necessary to dissolve the present Executive Council. If there was a difference of opinion that could be amicably settled and there was no necessity of calling members from different parts of the province.

Sj Nalini Nath Ghose seconded the motion.

Sj. Sailesh Nath Bisi next moved the adjournment 'sine die' and advised the members to give opportunity to the present Executive to work.

Sj Kiran Sankar Roy opposed both the motions and said that they wanted to settle the matter amicably but they were compelled to call the meeting.

Moulvi Ahmed Ali supported the adjournment motion and said that he did not understand why this requisition meeting was called. Nobody wanted to do any

work but they all wanted to capture the B. P. C. C. that was a mystery which he was so long trying to solve but failed.

Proceeding, the speaker said that it was nothing to capture the Corporation, B. P. C. C. or the Council if they did not unite and stand shoulder to shoulder to work for the best interest of the country. To-day they would dissolve the present Executive body and form another and to-morrow that Executive body would be dissolved. If the members of the B. P. C. C. were engaged in forming and dissolving the Executive body every day they would hardly find time to serve their country.

Sj Upendra Nath Banerjee contended that Mr. Sasmal in his presidential address at Krishnagar wanted to drive away a certain section of the workers from the Congress which included even a man like Sj Subhas Chandra Bose. If Mr. Sasmal wanted to forget the past, he should immediatly vacate the seat which he occupied as he had succeeded in coming there by the back door.

Mr. Sasmal, to cut the matter short, categorically refuted the charge and again expressed his heart-felt regret if any one had taken any personal offence by the observation he had made.

Dr. B. C. Roy enquired as to whether Mr. Sasmal told him at Midnapore when he refused the Congress nomination that he would expose Sj. Subhas and others and that was why he did not accept the Congress nomination.

The President ruled it out of order and Mr. Sasmal said he would reply later on. Several voices were heard then that the same thing could be said of Dr. Roy.

At this stage, as the President was going to take votes upon the motion, Mr. T. C. Goswami asked him to stand up and read the name.

Gladly doing so, the President said : But before I go further, there is one matter to which I should like to draw your attention. I do not wish to put the thing upon any personal ground at all, but since you have written to the press that you do not believe in the habitual use of Khaddar, I shall leave it to yourself whether you should take any part in the proceedings or not. (Cries of No, no)

The President concluded that he left the matter to Mr. Goswami's sense of honour. If, however, he voted, he would not raise any objection.

Votes being taken the President declared the adjournment motion lost. 100 for adjournment of the house and 109 against. Messrs Sen Gupta, S. C. Bose, Akhil Dutt, Nalini Ranjan Sarker, T. C. Goswami, N. C. Chunder, Dr. B. C. Roy voting against the motion while Messrs B. K. Bose and Sukumar Ranjan Das voting for the motion.

Before the main subject was again taken up for discussion, Sj Suresh Ch. Bhattacharya rose on a point of order and questioned the legality of the requisition, as in his opinion the rules of the B. P. C. C. did not permit it. He said that in the rules there was provision for removal of an individual member from the committee, provision for disaffiliation of the District Congress Committees but no such provision was made in the rules for the removal of the Executive in a body, specially removal of it for having elected Mr Sasmal as Secretary.

The President inviting discussion, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta said that in his opinion the parent body had the right to remove the Executive. He quoted convention in his favour and added that he knew that had he consented to become the President, no occasion would have arisen. But he had come there to protest against the manner in which the Congress work was being ruined by the Executive. After quoting his decision on a similar point on June 13, he was going to address the meeting generally when there was a breeze between the President and Mr. Sen Gupta, the President asking him to confine himself to the point of order. Mr. Sen Gupta said that if he was not allowed to speak, he must sit down. The President said that that was unfair to him. All that he asked Mr. Sen Gupta was to confine himself to the point of order. Mr. Sen Gupta then resumed his seat.

Mr. T. C. Goswami thought that since the requisition notice had been circulated, it was in order.

Mr. N. C. Chunder reminded the President of the All-India Congress Committee upon the point in the fight between the No-changers and Swarajists in 1923.

The President : You need not remind me of that. My memories are quite accurate.

Mr. S. C. Bose remarked that the right of appointment always carried with it the right of dismissal.

A voice : Can you be dismissed from the University Constituency ?

Mr. Bose said that in the absence of any provision, they must fall back upon convention.

Replying, Sj Suresh Chandra Bhattacharya pointed out the difference in the ruling given on other occasions to which reference had been made and said that the meeting was not properly convened.

The President said that the point of order raised by Mr. Bhattacharya was whether the executive as a body could be removed or not. He remarked that the first point was far from being free from difficulty. Mr. Bose had depended upon the inherent right of the parent body (in this case the B. P. C. C.) to discuss or remove from office any subordinate executive body which might have been appointed by itself. Messrs Sen Gupta and Chunder had relied upon precedents. He would deal with the latter point first. The precedent cited by Mr. Sen Gupta was practically valueless ; it was a decision given by Mr. Sen Gupta himself and it was no more binding upon his successor. But the precedent cited by Mr. Chunder was certainly more cogent and valid and the President had more reason to remember it than anyone else present. In 1923,—the matter was referred to the All-India Congress Committee which appointed a sub-committee with Moulana Mahomed Ali as President and others. Mr. Banerjee said that even there he contented that the B. P. C. C. had no power to dismiss the Executive but the committee decided the other way and up till now that was the only precedent in point.

But the question could not be decided wholly by precedents. What were the rules ? They were not silent upon the point. The rules provided and laid down a procedure for removal of individual members but they did not lay down any procedure for the removal of the Executive. On the contrary, they expressly provided that the Executive were to hold office for a time. The rules therefore seemed to provide by implication that the Executive could not be removed within the course of the year.

Inspite of this, Mr. Banerjee was inclined to think that the parent body ought to have some control over the Executive. But the question was, how was that control to be exercised ? He thought that the best way to allow a wholesale convention to grow up in their midst, the convention being that the Executive should resign if any vote of no confidence was passed upon them. He therefore suggested that the requisitionists should alter their resolution and instead of pressing for the removal of the Executive should simply pass a vote of no confidence in them. He assured them that the Executive would at once resign if such a resolution was passed, he for his own part certainty would resign.

The suggestion was accepted by Mr. K. S. Roy on behalf of the requisitionists. The meeting was then adjourned.

The Committee met again on the next day the 11th FEBRUARY under the presidency of Sj. Jitendra Lal Banerjee. After the statement of Sj. B. N. Sasmal, Secretary in which he expressed regret for certain lines in his speech which he delivered at Krishnagore was read, there was a talk of compromise and a Committee was formed to come to a settlement. The President adjourned the house for half an hour and the members of the Settlement Committee retired to a room. After about 3 hours the President and the members of the Committee returned to the main meeting and announced that the compromise had failed.

Mr. Sasmal's Statement.

The following is the text of Mr. Sasmal's statement :—

"In my statement published yesterday in the papers, I promised that if I were convinced that in my Krishnagar speech I had actually referred to the political detenus and sufferers and had also wounded their personal feelings, I would, as a gentleman, make amends and express regret most sincerely. Now, from the discussion that I had last night with several of my friends, who are political sufferers, I am convinced that certain sentences in my speech can be honestly construed in that way and so I not only express sorrow but also beg to announce that I withdraw unconditionally the whole paragraph of my speech relating to Terrorism or Anarchist conspiracy (pp 8 and 9) and the other objectionable portion thereof in pages 29 and 30 i. e. all the sentences beginning from the words and ending with the words....." I trust, this will satisfy those who have been offended and whose co-operation in our struggle for political freedom I value so much."

The compromise having failed, the President next called upon Sj Kiran Sankar Roy to move his resolution which ran as follows :—

"Whereas the Executive Committee of the B. P. C. C. has appointed Mr. B. N. Sasmal as Secretary, be it resolved that the Committee do no longer enjoy any confidence."

Sj. Upendra Nath Banerjee in course of his speech said that after the statement of Sj. Sasmal, there could not be any difference between themselves and Sj. Sasmal. The speaker hoped that in future Sj. Sasmal would help them in doing the work of the B. P. C. C. harmoniously. They must forget their past now and work with good feeling for the just interest of the country. In conclusion he said that the present members of the Executive Council would vacate their seats and new members would be elected in their place to guide the B. P. C. C. along the right path. Sj. Amarendra Nath Chatterjee expressed the same opinion. In conclusion he hoped that the requisitionists would withdraw their resolution after the statement of Sj. Sasmal.

Mr. Wahed Hossain said that he wanted to make a few observations in regard to the suggestion of a compromise. He was glad to find that a compromise had already been effected. He was sorry to say that he heard some rumour that the post of Deputy Mayor and Chief Executive Officer had been offered to him. That report had no foundation at all. Such petty inducement had no attraction for him. The only call was to serve the country through the Congress which was the only national nstitution.

The President then adjourned the meeting for half an hour to arrive at a compromise if posssible and the members elected for the purpose accordingly retired to a room.

After three hours' debate the members returned to the main meeting and the President announced that the Committee could not come to a compromise.

Some of the members asked the President to give them the details of the debate regarding the compromise.

Mr. S. N. Halder enquired whether the dispute was over one or two men or over the whole body of the present Executive.

The President then wanted to put the motion to vote.

Before the resolution was put to vote Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy questioned the validity of some of the members voting.

Sj. Upendra Nath Banerjee said that he had a great hope that they would be be able to come to a settlement and that he felt disappointed. He emphasised that the Bengal Pact was negatived by the resolution of the Unity Conference subsequently adopted by the Working Committee of the Congress. As regards the election of fresh office-bearers, they proposed the names of Sj. Akhil Chandra Dutta and Sj. Nirmal Chandra Chander and Sj. Jitendra Lall Banerjee agreed to that. As regards the Secretary they wanted to elect such a man who would be welcomed by all.

Srijukta Urmila Devi said that they tried their best not to change the Secretary and the President. After some discussion to make a fair compromise they proposed the name of Sj. Nirmal Chandra Chander as the President and Sj. B. N. Sasmal as the Secretary. That proposal was not accepted and therefore the compromise was not arrived at.

Hazi Abdul Rasid Khan said that they did not like to spoil the compromise. Let the Executive be re-elected and they would put their grievances before them. If their grievances were not redressed, they would retire in a body.

After some further discussion on the debate which took place regarding the compromise, the President put the "No confidence" resolution to the vote which was carried by a narrow margin of 4 votes. The President and Sj. Lalit Mohan Das then tendered their resignations in writing. The meeting then terminated.

Dispute between Rival Factions

The political atmosphere in the B. P. C. C. however took a peculiar turn following upon the decision of the Secretary, Mr. B. N. Sasmal to postpone the B. P. C. C. meeting fixed for March 2. Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and a number of other prominent Congressmen issued a statement pointing out that Mr. Sasmal had no power to postpone the meeting which would thus be held on the appointed day. This again was regarded by some as unconstitutional and while this was the position, certain prominent members of the Karmi Sangha and Swarajya Party entered the

B. P. C. C. office on the 1st March to take possession of it. Members of the opposite party also entered the premises and after some of the Karmis who were inside the office room had left the place, it was reported that the main entrance was closed to prevent further inrush of people. According to a statement issued over the signatures of Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Dr. B. C. Roy, Mr. S. C. Bose and others, some of the members of the B. P. C. C. who had gone to the Congress office in the evening were confined there by the gate being locked and men armed with lathis preventing further egress. Up to a late hour some of these were still confined, while others were being refused admission. It was alleged that forged telegrams had been sent to different parts of Bengal asking followers of Mr. Sen Gupta not to attend the meeting; allegations of removing Congress property and important papers from the office were also made against prominent followers of Messrs. Sasmal and J. L. Bannerji.

Next day, the 2nd March 1927, feeling was running high in consequence of the above incidents. The office of the B. P. C. C. was kept under lock and key in the morning. Members of the Opposition party held a meeting at the house of Mr. Nirmal Chundra Chunder in the evening. About 150 members were present. A new Executive was appointed with Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutta as President, Sreemati Sarala Devi and Mr. Lalitmohan Das as Vice-Presidents, Mr. J. M. Das Gupta as Secretary and Dr. B. C. Roy as Treasurer.

While these things were going on a telegram was received in the morning from Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar appealing to all Congress leaders and workers for an honourable settlement in the name of the Congress and political prisoners detained in jails.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta's Statement

According to the statement issued late at night on the 2nd March by Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, the meeting was held in pursuance of a notice issued by Mr. B. N. Sasmal on the 15th February. A large number of members of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee went to its office in Bowbazar Street at the appointed hour. As, however, they found the main gate shut against them and bolted and barred and in spite of their waiting till an hour later the Durwans refused them admittance, they came away in a body and held a meeting in Mr. Chunder's residence. Of the total number present, four left the meeting as they considered that it was unconstitutional. Mr. Sen Gupta pointed out in reply to a question that Mr. Sasmal's notice postponing the meeting was not valid and the reasons given by him for postponement were incorrect and *mala fide*. It was a revolt against the B. P. C. C. One of the members present enquired if every one there was a member of the B. P. C. C. Asked by the Chairman if they were, all of them, replied in the affirmative, none being challenged. The motion for adjournment having been declared lost, the meeting resolved that in view of the vote of no confidence in the present Executive the seats of members of the Council including office-bearers might be declared vacant and that all acts except routine work done by the Council since February 11 might be declared invalid. Dr. Das Gupta, the newly elected Secretary, was authorised to take steps for the purpose of obtaining possession of all records, letters, registers and properties of the B. P. C. C. from the outgoing office-bearers. The office of the B. P. C. C. was temporarily located in a room in College Street Market.

Mr. Sen Gupta read at the meeting a communication from Mr. J. L. Banerjee proposing an arbitration board with Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar as President to settle the differences in the Congress ranks, but the sense of the meeting was that the opening of the gate of the Congress office with free ingress and egress was a condition precedent to any talk of compromise.

Mr. B. N. Sasmal's Statement

Mr. B. N. Sasmal, in his turn, issued a statement explaining why the gate of the B. P. C. C. Office was kept closed on the 2nd March. One of the reasons according to the statement was that some people were determined to take forcible possession of the House. As a result of this, the Executive Council decided that properties of the B. P. C. C. should be removed to his house for safe custody. Most of them were, in fact, removed by him but the paid officer of the B. P. C. C. refused to hand over to his men the type-writer belonging to the Committee declaring that he could not part with it inasmuch as he was in charge of it on behalf of the Swarajya Party. Mr. Sasmal, however, took steps to remove the machine although he had to sign a formal receipt for the articles he had taken possession of. On the morning of 1st March when he went to the office, he was informed that the office room had been broken open and occupied by a number of men who were residents of Calcutta. Soon after, he was informed that the telephonic connection had been cut off and as a matter of future safety, the gate was locked up in the evening when certain strangers were noticed entering the office and refusing to vacate when demanded. Besides, although Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and others had announced that they would hold their meeting to-day at the B. P. C. C. Office, they did not send him any information officially in spite of his having postponed the meeting previously.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and several other Congress leaders alleged that some of their men were confined in the Congress Office by the main entrance being locked, while others were being refused admission. Mr. Sen Gupta also alleged that certain properties belonging to the Congress including important papers have been removed from the office of the Provincial Congress Committee.

Failure of Compromise Move

Subsequently, a meeting of the Executive Committee of the B. P. C. C. was held on the 4th May 1927. The Secretary, Mr. B. N. Sasmal, was authorised to issue the following statement and resolution :

"Mr. Srinivass Iyengar. President, Indian National Congress, during his stay in Calcutta proposed before us the following terms of compromise as proceeding from the other party to the Bengal Congress dispute, viz., (1) that a general meeting of the B. P. C. C. should be convened over the joint names of Messrs. B. N. Sasmal and J. M. Sen Gupta ; (2) that at this meeting a new Executive Committee will be appointed consisting of members taken from both parties as far a possible ; (3) that two members of our party, viz., Dr. Pratap Chandra Guha Roy and Mr. Anath Nath Mallick should in no case be included in the new Executive Committee; (4) that the office-bearers should be entirely recruited from the opposite party with the exception of one Vice-Presidentship which might be filled up by Mr. B. N. Sasmal or Mr. J. L. Bannerjee as our party might decide; (5) that even as regards the above conditions the other party could not give any assurance that they should be carried out.

Reference to the A. I. C. C.

"These terms, specially the forced exclusion by name and without any reason assigned of Messrs. Pratap Chandra Guha Roy and Anath Nath Mallick, were such that no self-respecting body of men could possibly accede to the same. Our representatives felt bound accordingly to reject them and, all chance of agreement by settlement being thus at an end, we have no alternative but to demand that the dispute be referred to the Election Dispute Panel of the A. I. C. C. Accordingly this meeting of the Executive Committee of the B. P. C. C. resolves: (1) that a representation be sent to the President, A. I. C. C. demanding that the Bengal Congress Committee dispute be referred to the Election Dispute Panel with a view to decide which of the two Executive Committees is the legally elected and constituted body ; (2) that this meeting hereby nominates Mr. Rajendra Prasad (of Patna, Behar) to act as their representative on the said Panel."

Arbitration Board's Award

Accordingly, on the 16th June 1927, the Arbitration Board appointed by the All-India Congress Committee to settle the disputes

gave the following award. The Board consisted of Messrs. N. C. Chunder, A. N. Ghose and Muhammad Akram Khan as members.

The matter of the disputes regarding the Executive Council and office-bearers of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was referred to us for final disposal by the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee made on the 17th of May 1927. We have held several sittings and have met and examined almost all the members of the different contending groups who took prominent parts in the fight except Mr. B. N. Sasmal who did not choose to appear before us. We have carefully discussed the points which arose for consideration or to which our attention was directed. Although our reasons are dissimilar on several points we have arrived at the same conclusions. We therefore do not propose to give reasons for our decision.

Our unanimous decision is that both the Executive Councils shall cease to exist and both the groups of officers must cease to function forthwith and a meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee shall be called as early as possible to elect a new Executive Council. We do not think that we should leave it to either group of office-bearers to call that meeting as we are not prepared to take the risk of another impasse.

We therefore propose to issue a notice calling a meeting on the 26th of June 1927 at 1 P. M. at No. 116, Bowbazar Street to be presided over by Sj. Lalit Mohan Das, failing him Maulvi Wahed Hossain. This meeting will elect the new Executive Council and take such measures as may be necessary to legalise the forthcoming election of the members of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

We are asked by one of the groups of disputants to form an Executive Council and to appoint office-bearers. We are of opinion that we cannot possibly do so in as much as the All-India Congress Committee whose delegated powers we are exercising have no jurisdiction to substitute nomination by themselves for election by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. What we propose to do is this. We are members of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and we venture to think that it will be conceded that each one of us has been very intimately connected with the Congress movement in Bengal during the last seven years. If, therefore, not in our capacity as Arbitrators but as comrades who alone have had advantage of having heard practically all the parties interested and of having shifted the evidence oral or documentary adduced on either side try to help the vast body of the members of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee who have no partisan spirit in the matter though they may be ranged on one side or the other by making our recommendations to them as to the persons who, in our opinion, should be elected, our action will not, we trust, be misunderstood. We have accordingly drawn up a list and we propose to hand it over in a select cover to the Chairman of the meeting of the 26th of June 1927 so that the members present may consider the list before proceeding to election.

We desire to make it clear that in making that list we have tried our best to steer clear of our personal likes and dislikes and we do hope that the fact that except in one instance the list represent our joint and unanimous opinion will be accepted as a guarantee of our good faith.

As a result of the above award both the Congress Committees were dissolved and a fresh election took place on the 26th June under the presidency of Mr. Lalit Mohan Das. Babu Akhil Chandra Dutt and Dr. J. M. Das Gupta, members of the Bengal Council, were elected President and Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee respectively. A new Executive Committee was also elected. A large number of members were present including Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta Mayor, and delegates from the mofussil.

Gandhi-Saklatvala Correspondence

Mt. Saklatvalas's open letter

The following is the text of the open letter addressed by Mr. S. Saklatvala to Mahatma Gandhi during his stay in India:—

Dear Comrade Gandhi: We are both erratic enough to permit each other to be rude in order to freely express oneself correctly, instead of getting lost in artificiality of phraseology.

I realise the khaddar movement as it stands is not entirely your virtue or vice, but your ardent and enthusiastic followers have added much to or substracted from your intended programme. However the world must guide itself by practical results.

The Charka Movement.

Several of your enthusiastic supporters have assisted me greatly by criticising me openly in the public press. Unfortunately my present nomadic life with a very heavy programme of work in every town I go prevents me from carrying on my correspondence or journalistic work. However these several critics have effectively replied to each other and each one has tried to prove a different case on your behalf. You may not be responsible for creating this confusion. But I consider you are in duty bound now to clear it. Let us understand openly whether the Charka movement is or is not an attack upon machinery, upon physical sciences, upon material progress. If it is so, then it is a most damaging disservice to our country and must be stopped. It it is not so, then your ardent followers ought not to be allowed to believe that it is so.

What Is Art ?

Is it or is it not a protest against artistic development on up-to date lines, irrespective of geographical or national considerations as to their source ? What is art but a free display of human taste, both instinctive as well as acquired ? One of your critics maintains that your movement was to drive away western fashions, etc, and when I discovered that the khaddar production was doing nothing of the kind, another critic blames me as if I was suggesting that it should try such an impossible as well as harmful procedure. In view of this confusion, you ought to give a clear lead that you would like in every modern article of life in all forms of designs eastern or western or mixed to be produced in Khaddar.

Khaddar—An Earning Power ?

As to the economic argument that Khaddar adds to the earning power of the agricultural worker, I consider that to be a feeble case altogether. It is pointed out to me by a newspaper correspondent that if I had seen the great ocean of khaddar in India in 1921 and 1922 and the tremendous enthusiasm of people at that time, I would not have ventured upon the criticisms that I am now doing. That is perfecly true, but this conclusively proves that my criticism now is fully justified, and that all that ocean of khaddar and all that enthusiasm has dwindled if not disappeared on their merit or demerit, long before I came here and offered my criticism. It is the duty of every sincere public man in India to find out how and why this tremendous enthusiasm was created, how and why it died out and how far the faults or the mistakes of your followers have been responsible for this state. The present condition of affairs demands a criticism and not condemnation of criticism. The methods adopted by other countries of organising labour and peasantry and guiding and leading the workers in factories or farms to obtain their rights have produced far more benevolent and efficient results in human life than the two annas-a-day charka movement will ever do. The Government schemes of canals, scientific manuring, carrying on agricultural work by machinery will add ten times more to the economic prosperity of the peasantry than the Charka, but you have

already described this Government to be Satanic. Let us have a clear idea as to your position in this matter. Is a person adding to the economic value of the poor peasantry a friend or an enemy of the poor ? I want you to put one question to your own conscience, irrespective of public articles—had you come out in this country after the general failure of your attempts to free Indians in South Africa from political and civic slavery, and after the mess you made with some young Indians in London in drawing them into some direct or indirect service of war, would India have given you any importance, would India have allowed you to take this political leadership, would India have poured in lakhs of rupees in response to your demands if you had said that you wanted all this only for the purpose of adding As. 2 a day to the income of barely three per cent. of Indian peasantry ? Were not all these great powers laid at your entire disposal because you made a definite political promise and allowed the people at least to believe that you had some plan or method which would quickly within a limited period of less than two years give to India political freedom from the British yoke ? Now where do we stand with regard to the primary object of the charka movement and its position today ? Are you shifting your limit of two years to four years or to twenty years or to two hundred years ? Do you suggest that a rise of As. 2 income, say of the whole population, is a process which is going to drive the British out of this country, or do you suggest that a still higher figure will have to be reached ? Did you believe this Government to be Statanic because it brought poverty upon the people, did you then believe that this poverty could never be cured before the Satanic Government was overthrown ? Do you now believe that you can improve the economic condition of the people without removing this Satanic Government or without any reference to politics, or, have you suddenly come to conclusion that the immediate poverty of the people has touched your heart so much that you launch out into that problem of life and have made up your mind to ignore the problem of existing political slavery of the country ?

Economic Virtue of Charka

Reverting to the economic value of charka, it is the admitted experience of the whole world that out of all handicrafts in competition against machinery, hand-spinning is of the least economic value, hand-weaving, embroidery, carpentry, shoe-making or making of any kind foot-wear, etc., have a much higher value. If you would look at the Parsee Girls' Industrial Home in Karachi or a still more splendid institution of the Hindu Orphanage at Surat, namely the Hardevram Vakil Hindu Orphanage, you will realise how the earning power of the helpless poverty-stricken people can be improved by Re. 1 to Rs 2 a day. I clearly see that such crafts cannot be taken up on a large scale by all villagers, whereas hand-spinning can. But why do you persevere in hand-spinning with superstitious adherence, and why not introduce alongside of it other more profitable handicrafts for a few persons in each village if economic salvation is your present object ?

"Robbing Peter To Pay Paul"

You are not teaching the people to wear more clothes than before, your own example would rather lead them to wear less. At the same time you are teaching more people to produce clothes, and how can you fail to realise that you are robbing Peter to pay Paul, and while you are improving the economic condition of some you are doing it at the expense of others. Sensible economists, socialists and Trade Union Organisers have, within a short period, increased the economic earning of their followers by more than a 100 per cent ; they have taught their followers to use more food, more furniture, more clothes ; they have thus created great demand, which has taken away the burden of man from the land, and have left the land workers more prosperous than before. You are afraid or unwilling to follow the natural and sensible course, which is of course very inconvenient to few rich manufacturers, merchants and zaminders who grow rich by starving millions of people. You are freely receiving gifts from these selfish rich in order to carry on work in the opposite direction of increasing the economic value of workers in industries or on land. The poverty of the population on land can easily be remedied, instead of being played about with, by bravely fighting the causes which directly produce such poverty such as, the unnatural and unjustifiable rights of the zeminders over God-created land and low wages of Agricultural labourers.

Thus I say that if you had not put forward political claims you would never have acquired the power and opportunities which you have, and if you had purely

economic aims, you are standing against the economic interests of the masses and in favour of the interest of the classes by deliberately non-co-operating with and indirectly obstructing the work of those who would bring about an ex-economic regeneration of the people along lines that have proved successful in all parts of the world.

"ENTIRELY WRONG THEORIES"

You have raised the objection against Western methods of organising Labour on your mistaken notion that such a process would introduce class war and that acute oppression of capitalists over labour does not exist in India. In both these theories you are entirely wrong. Those who organised labour had not created class war. Modern system of production, Commerce and Finance produces class war, the parties in which are the capitalists and the workers. Those who organised labour are doing nothing but the great moral work of helping and strengthening the weaker of the two parties in that class war. Those who organise labour always do so deliberately with a view to abolishing class distinction by making capital the common property of all, and by making manual or mental labour the common duty of all. This alone will stop class war, and you who would not assist in organising labour, help in the continuance of class war which is going on every day in all industrial countries of the world, among which India to-day occupies the fifth place and not an insignificant place.

"Class War So Acute in India"

The acuteness with which class war operates upon the wage-earners of India is more than in most of the advanced European countries where, thanks to the organisers of Labour, several of the cruelties of class war are being removed. Just look at the palatial houses of any mill-owners of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Nagpur or Calcutta and look at the disgraceful and diabolical one-room tenements of the poor workers devoid of all furniture, appointments or artistic embellishments. Such acute difference between dwelling conditions of the rich and poor does not exist in Great Britain, America or any part of Europe where labour is well organised. It is unjustifiable defence of the rich industrialists of India to describe them in the world as endowed with some special virtues, when all the facts of poor people's life proclaim loudly that these virtues are not existent. The personal obsequiousness of the poor workers towards their masters, the utter helplessness before arbitary dismissals and the ill-treatment as it actually exists in India everywhere is unthinkable in Europe or America, where labour is organised and your defence of the Indian master class is an unpardonable mockery of the poor suffering working class. The way in which Zemindars, Khotas and Mulguzaries claim by force the labour of their tenants at certain seasons for half an anna a day is a diabolical disgrace to humanity and does not exist in countries where modern Agricultural trade unions are existing. That is not all. The class war in India is literally murderous and more cruelly murderous because it is infanticidal. Best analyse the figures of death. The death rate of the adults and specially of the infants in large industrial towns is much more in excess of the normally bad death rate of India. Now kindly follow me in still closer analysis of these figures obtained from municipal health officers of infantile mortality of the well-to-do Parsees, Hindu and Mahommedan families in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Calcutta or other industrial towns. You will find that the mortality amongst infants under 12 months of age among the rich would be about 80 to 90 per thousand whereas the infantile mortality in the Municipal Wards where the factory workers live would be from 600 to even 800 per thousand. Such a damnable attack upon human life is unknown in those countries where the working classes are organised. To defend such a position is criminal but for anybody to go even further and to throw dust in the eyes of the world that class war is not operating acutely in India is inhuman and monstrous and I have always felt that through your misguided sentimentality, you have preferred to be one of them. Then take the other important elements of life—the dignity, the consciousness and the self-respect of man, and look at our unfortunate clerks, teachers, postmen and Railway Station staff, etc. The treatment which they are made to suffer and are almost habituated to is a disgrace to human society and the only salvation out of it is efficient labour organisation. Class war is there, will continue to be there till a successful scheme of communism abolishes it. But in the meantime not to organise the people and not to struggle against its evil effects from day to day is a doctrine which cannot appeal to any genuine humanitarian.

During my conversation with you at certain periods you did not seem to take a definite attitude with regard to the value of organisation of labour and peasants. You emphatically argued that the Charka movement was making organisation. I emphaticaly deny it. There must be conscious and deliberate work of organisation to be carried out for its own sake in a proper scientific manner and for the purpose of our national object with a straight-forward and unconcealed imparting of political consciousness. The same similarity of operation of the working of Charka with some vague idea, religious zeal or economic welfare on a great Gandhijee's command does not and cannot do any effective organising work and cannot create and has not created any political consciousness. For centuries together millions of men and women in India have been boiling rice, utilising similar quantities of rice and water and conducting cooking operations of similar nature, doing some industrial work when cooking it and producing food of economic value without buying ready-made food. All these operations surely have not produced any organisation and the work of spinning can never do so any more than the work of cooking.

Psychological Value Of The Movement

Then we come to the psychological value of the movement. This was great. It began well and it almost became wonderful at a certain stage. But why create a psychology if you do not intend to mobilise the spirit so created, and if you do not intend immediately to form men and women into an organisation for a definite material object while they are under a psychological influence and before that influence passes away? That is exactly my complaint and the bitter disappointment of your world critics against you. You missed an opportunity and you only opened the eyes of the political opponents of India, and by your inaction after a certain psychology was aroused, you only brought India under a tighter grip of her opponents and made her enslavement a little worse than before. Not only that, but the position of India worsened that of Egypt and for a time of China and at any rate became harmful in Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. All these people have a right to complain against us if we bungle our affairs in such a manner as to have an indirect harmful effect upon them. Whatever may be the feelings of some of your ardent admirers, I hope you and I are both agreed that we are both very common and ordinary persons. The political world that lives, works and struggles consciously, can analyse you or me with the same completeness as dissecting an ordinary insect. After the year 1900, the world changed from what it was immeditely before the year 1900. Before 1900 leaders who gave expression to submission and to legislative hypocrisy and worked to build up hopes of salvation on such instrument of legislation were popular leaders, as Gladstone was to the British, Bismark to the Germans, or Parnell to the Irish or Dadabhai or Pheroze Shah and Surendra Nath to the Indians. By the year 1900 the masses of men got tired and sick and their hearts began to burn with fire. The change came on very rapidly and universally and only such individuals as expressed the burning fire of the heart and the revolt of the suffering human beings were taken as leaders. The first task of these leaders was to express boldy and fearlessly the unexpressed voice of the people. The second task of these leaders was without waiting for the new to obstruct the old with such efficiency as to make it absolutely impossible for the old order to continue to function. The third task was to reconstruct and arduously and slowly to build up a new life. Ireland produced a De Valera. He did No. 1 and No 2 and his people are now bravely carrying on his task No 3. Russia has produced Lenin. He did No. 1 and 2 and, though his life was short, he led his people on the right path regarding No. 3. Turkey produced Kamal. He did No. 1 and No. 2 and is fortunate enough to be living and vigorous to carry on his task No. 3. China produced Sun Yat Sen. He completed No. 1 and No. 2 and after his death his well organised and well disciplined followers are carrying on task No. 3. In Italy, though in contrary direction, Mussolini plays the same individual part. India at that moment announced to the world her lead to be Gandhi. You performed No. I but you abandoned task No. 2 and so task No. 3 is out of the question and we are so overwhelmed with the disastrous defeat at the second stage of your struggle that our lot to-day is harder than before to attain success over the conditions of the past. Instead of making the past conditions inoperative, they have become more rigorously operative in India and now worse still, the hopes of a future struggle are being continually lessened even by the reversal of the psychological advantage that we had. Your own admission and that of your followers as well as the facts of life make it clear that the psychology and

the enthusiasm of the early days has vanished and the readiness of the people to work for the rightful heritage is turned into hestiancy and fear. It is from this point of view that we, who observe your mistakes and carefully study your further preseverance into them, that we make bold to demand from you in the name of the suffering humanity of india, as well as of other countries, that you give your services to humanity in consultation and co-operation with others so as to retrieve the lost position. Pray do not misunderstand me as "attacking" you or wishing for your disappearance from public life. The purpose of this letter is to show you the faults and defects of your policy and your acts, and therefore, this letter contains only your defects, but it by no means argues that you do not possess qualities that are estimable and that can be yet of great value. These qualities require no enumeration.

The great psychological wave having once died away the perseverance of yours and of your immediate disciples in the same direction automatically becomes a degenerate form of the original activities. Here again, you must permit me to speak as man to man.

You have created an influence over your countrymen in the lowest strata of society wider and deeper than anybody else. However, what is your real object ? If your object is metaphysical or religious, your policy should be to cultivate a psychology of obedience and reverence towards you and diffidence in themselves as compared to your great self. It your purpose is to give your share in the national and political work, your approach to the people should be on terms of absolute equality and your task must be to inspire confidence into them. From this point of view you must stop allowing people to address you as a Mahatma. I have heard from your many friends that you have never wished this word to be used, and no one really expects you to do otherwise, but that does not mean that you should not or that you cannot suppress it immediately. You can easily refuse to receive letters so addressed and you can easily refuse to attend functions where you are advertised with this appellation. You have only to declare your wish publicly instead of whispering about it to a few friends and the thing will be done. With some experience of political propaganda and mass mentality, I am speaking to you in earnest that our first approach to the people must be based on the fact that our powers are not greater than that of others. If you go into a bunch of villagers and start out by being called and known as a brother you create a sense of confidence and self-reliance in them. If you go to them with a long story first spread by your friends about 11 days fasting and then with a discovery of yourself as a Mahatma, even though the villagers may think about your charka with a superstitious awe, they acquire no confidence in themselves and they will only believe that what you say or do is the task of such superior persons and high souls like yourself and not of ordinary mortals. Such a mentality spread wholesale over the country becomes most injurious in the long run. You should rigorously stop crowds and processions of human beings specially poor women and little children passing you with folded hands and down-cast eyes. Once you create this phase of abject submission of man to man, no wonder that you should yourself despair of obtaining civil disobedience from your own followers. You now complain that the masses are not ready for any such self-assertion, but even if that were so, your whole procedure is certainly not making them more ready for it.

Removal of untouchability

Then there is one thing that I witnessed at Yeotmal which has hurt me greatly and I had slight evidence of it before. Your work regarding the removal of untouchability is grand in its aspiration, and is not bad in its success as it is generally carried on. However, I strongly object to your permitting my countrymen and countrywomen to touch your feet and put their fingers in their eyes. Such touchability appears to be more damnable than untouchability and I would sooner wish that two persons did not touch each other than anyone human being should be touched by another in the way in which you were touched. The depressed classes were subject to a sort of general disability, but this new phase of a man of the depressed class worshipping the feet of his deliverer is a more real individual depression and degradation of life and however much you may misunderstand me, I must call upon you to stop this nonsense. It is no use saying that you don't like it ; it is a matter of your not stopping it when nothing is easier in the world for you than to stop it. You are ruining the mentality and the psychology of these villagers for another generation or two. You

are preparing the country not for mass civil disobedience but for servile obedience and for a belief that these are superior persons on earth and Mahatmas in this life at a time when in this country the white man's prestige is already a dangerous obstacle in our way. Politically this career of your is ruinous and from a humanitarian point of view its degenerating influences appear to me to be a moral plague.

Industrial Labour

As regards the organisation of industrial labour, you are not ready to give your share, when we know that your co-operation would be of a higher value in inviting workers to the fold of Trade Union Congress. You don't realise that by such co-operation you would actually help in preventible deaths, specially of poor innocent babies. Then you go one step further and you use your influence by frequent declarations which discourage others from taking up this most necessary and urgent work. Then at times you go still further and you actually and deliberately fraternise and co-operate with the master class, so as to make the task of labour organisers not only difficult but almost unjustifiable in the eyes of poor workers. You may defend this process whichever way you like, but the experienced world can only say that the exploitations of the spirit of superstition and of ignorance amongst the poor workers at the cost of human lives and their familes and for the benefit of the bank accounts of the happy minority that rules the roost. I remember in London we all read the description of your royal reception at Jamshedpur and your acceptance of an address in steel casket with a purse, and in that Jam edhpur under-feeding, bad housing, underclothing does not go on, as if deaths which are preventible under modern scientific principles are not daily taking place, as if men were never driven to resort to strike, through unreasonable obstinacy of their employers, and as if even military operations against workers had never taken place. I have confessed above that I have looked at this picture of your performance with disappointment from a long distance. Comrade, you have to take the world as it is and you have to believe that all the labour-world have looked upon that picture with a similar disappointment. Even with all your personal power and success you will not be able to change the great law of wordly life that those who are not with us are against us, and in the name of the working classes, I want to call upon you to remember it.

"My Candid Thoughts"

I have put down my candid thoughts in the above paragraphs not with a view to disburden my soul, of personal grievance; I fully realise that I am courting great unpopularity in the eyes of my own fellow-countrymen whose good wishes and good opinion are as dear to me as to you. What I am really attempting to do is to disburden 'your mind' of a lot of confusion and contradiction and to demand from you in the name of all sufferers not merely that you stop adding to their sufferings but that you come forward and live with us as a brother with brothers and work with us in a manner and form in which we all consider you to be most fitted and your service to be most valuable. I have already read to you my notes in which I have mentioned what psychological, political and even revolutionary value can be attached to the khaddar movement. I have no prejudice against it and I would even persevere and build upon whatever value it may have for a nation's liberty and life. I attach full copy of these notes again which I am now submitting to the Working Committee of the Congress for a preliminary consideration.

What I want of you is that you be a good old Gandhi, put an ordinary pair of khaddar trousers and coat and come out and work with us in the ordinary way. Come and organise with us (as you alone by yourself have failed) our workers, our peasants, and our youths, not with a metaphysical sentimentality but with a set purpose, a clear-cut and well-defined object and methods such as by experiment are making success for all human beings.

I am not a believer in the slavishly obeying persons, prestige or organisations, but I always believe all past efforts, and actions have their elements of good on which we, can, if we will, build a stronger future. Instead of developing the vanity of making under-clothing or over-clothing a primary object of administration and starting some traditions of a sage of Sabarmati, as an ordinary rough and tumble man making your food and clothing secondary and unimportant items that should not require any special thought of you, you would still be able to undo

your great mistake of the past and to make for the damage done to India and other Asiatic countries and be one of the successful workers for India as other successful leaders have actually worked for their own countries. Yes, when I have cast my eyes on you, I am not going to take any point blank refusal from you. I know there will be usual popular cry against me that I ought not to have used such language or such words etc., etc., but I do believe that in an attempt to use artificial polishing in our language, we become as unfair to the addresses as to ourselves, and it is much better policy to say things as we think and as we talk among friends. Therefore, before I go, I should like you to get up one morning as from a dream and to say "Yes" and many of us can soon be put together in a good team and set about putting an end to so many deplorable canditions of life in India about which none of us has any doubt.

Mahatma Gandhi's Reply

In reply to the above Mahatma Gandhi wrote an article in "Young India" dated the 17th March under Caption "No and Yes." The following is the text of the article:—

"Comrade Saklatvala is dreadfully in earnest. His sincerity is transparent. His sacrifices are great. His passion for the poor is unquestioned. I have, therefore, given his fervent open appeal to me that close attention which that of a sincere patriot and a humanitarian must command. But inspite of all my desire to say "yes" to his appeal, I must say "no", if I am to return mere sincerity for sincerity, or if I am to act according to my faith. But I can say "yes" to his appeal after my own fashion, for underneath his intense desire that I should co-operate with him on his terms, there is an emphatic implied condition that I must say "yes" only if his argument satisfies my head and heart. A "no" uttered from the depth of conviction is better to please or what is worse, to avoid trouble.

AGAINST A BLIND WALL

Inspite of all desire to offer hearty congratulations I find myself against a blind wall. His facts and his deductions based upon fiction are necessarily baseless. And where these facts are true my whole energy is concentrated upon nullifying their (to me) poisonous result. I am sorry but we do stand at opposite poles. There is, however, one great thing in common between us. Both claim to have the good of the country and humanity as our only goal. Though, therefore, we may for the moment seem to be going in the opposite directions I expect we shall meet some day. I promise to make ample amends when I discover my error.

SATANIC CIVILISATION

Meanwhile, however, my error since I do not recognise it as such must be my shield and my solace for, unlike Comrade Saklatvala I do not believe that multiplication of wants and machinery contrived to supply them is taking the world a single step nearer its goal. Comrade Saklatvala swears by the modern rush. I wholeheartedly detest this mad desire to destroy distance and time to increase animal appetites and go to the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction. If modern civilisation stands for all this and I have understood it to do so, I call it Satanic and with it the present system of Government, its best exponent.

ITS BANEFUL EFFECTS

I distrust its schemes of amelioration of the lot of the poor. I distrust its Currency reform, I distrust its Army and Navy. In the name of civilisation and in its own safety, this Government has continuously bled the masses. It has enslaved, it has bribed the powerful with distinctions and riches and it has sought to crush under the weight of its despotic regulations liberty-loving patriots who wanted not to be won over either by flattery or riches. I would destroy that system to-day if I had the power. I would use most deadly weapons if I believed that they would destroy it. I refrain only because the use of such weapons would only perpetuate the system, though it may destroy its present administrators. Those who seek to destroy men rather than their manners adopt the latter and become worse than those whom they destroy under the mistaken belief that manners will die with men. They do not know the root of the evil.

MOVEMENT OF 1920

The movement of 1920 was designed to show that we could not reform a soulless system by violent means and without becoming soulless ourselves. But we could do so only by not becoming victims of the system by non-co-operation, by saying an emphatic "no" to every advance made to entrap us into the nets spread by Satan. The movement suffered a check but it is not dead. My promise was conditional. The conditions were simple and easy. But they proved to be difficult for those who took a leading part in the movement. What Comrade Saklatvala believes to be my error and failure, I regard to be expression of my strength and deep conviction. It may be an error but so long as my conviction that it is truth abides with me the very error must, as it does, sustain me. Retracing of my steps at Bardoli, I hold to be an act of wisdom and supreme service to the country. Government is weaker for that decision. It would have regained all lost position, if I had persisted after Chauri Chaura in carrying out the terms of what was regarded as an ultimatum to the Viceroy.

S. AFRICAN MOVEMENT—A FAILURE

My comrade is wrong in saying that the South African movement was a failure. If it was, my whole life must be written down as a failure and his invitation to me to enlist under his colours must be held to be meaningless. South Africa gave a start to my life's mission. Nor do I consider it to be wrong to have offered during the late war services of my companions and myself, under my then convictions, as ambulance men.

KHADI MOVEMENT NOT ON WANE

This great M. P. is in a hurry. He disdained to study facts. Let me inform him that the Khadi movement is not on the wane. It did last year at least 20 times as much work as during 1920. It is now serving not less than 50.000 spinners in 1500 villages besides weavers, washermen, printers, dyers and tailors. Mr. Saklatvala asks what khaddar stands for ? Well, it stands for simplicty not shabbiness. It sits well on the shoulders of the poor and it can be made, as it was made in the days of yore, to adorn the bodies of the richest and most artistic men and women. It is reviving ancient art and crafts. It does not seek to destroy all machinery but it does regulate its use and check its weedy growth. It uses machinery for the service of the poorest in their own cottage. The wheel is itself an exquisite piece of machinery.

The Poor And Khaddar

The Khaddar delivers the poor from the bonds of the rich and creates a moral and spiritual bond between the classes and the masses. It restores to the poor somewhat of what the rich have taken from them. Khaddar dose not displace a single cottage industry. On the contrary it is being daily recognised that it is becoming the centre of other village industies. Khaddar brings a ray of hope to the widows' broken-up home but it does not prevent her from earning more, if she can. It prevents no one from seeing a better occupation. Khaddar offers honourable employment to those in need of some. It utilises the idle hours of the nation. My esteemed comrade quotes with pride the work of those who offer more lucrative

employment. Let him know that Khaddar does that automotically. It cannot put annas into the pockets of the poor without putting rupees into the pockets of some whereas those who begin their work in the cities, though they are no doubt doing good work, touch but a fringe of the question. Khaddar touches the very centre and therefore necessarily includes the rest.

Indian Condition Ignored

But the whole of the impatient Communist's letter concentrates itself upon the cities and thus ignores India and Indian conditions which are to be found only in her 700.000 villages. The half a dozen modern cities are excrescence and serve at the persent moment the the evil purpose of draining the life-blood of villages. Khaddar is an attempt to revise and reverse the process and establish better relationship between the cities and the villages. The cities with their insolent torts are a constant menace to the life and liberty of the villagers. Khaddar has the greatest organising power in it, because it has itself to be organised and because it affects all-India. If Khaddar rained from Heaven it would be calamity but as it can only be manufactured by the willing co-operation of the starving millions and thousands of the middle class men and women, its success means the best organisation conceivable along peaceful lines. If cooking had to be revived and required the same organisation I should claim for it the same merit that I claim for Khaddar.

My Work Among Labourers.

My communist comrade finds fault with my work among the labourers in Jamshedpur because I accepted the address in Jamshedpur not from the Tatas but from the employees. His disapprobation is due, I expect, to the fact that the late Mr. Ratan Tata was in the chair—well I am not ashamed of the honour. Mr Tata appeared to me to be a humane and considerate employer. He readily granted, I think, all the prayers of the employees and I heard from the latter that the agreement was being honourably kept. I do ask and receive donations for my work from the rich as well as the poor. The former gladly give me their donations, This is no personal triumph. It is triumph of non-violence which I endeavour to represent, be it ever so inadequately.

A Triumph Of Non-Violence

It is to me a matter of perennial satisfaction that I retain generally the affection and trust of those principles and policies I oppose. The S. Africans gave me personally their confidence and extended their friendship. Inspite of my denunciation of British policy and system I enjoy the affection of thousands of Englishmen and women and inspite of the unqualified condemnation of modern materialistic civilisation the circle of European and American friends is ever widening. It is again a triumph of non-violence.

Labour in Cities.

Lastly, about labour in the cities, let there be no misunderstanding. I am not opposed to the organisation of labour, but as in everything else I want its organisation along Indian lines or if you will, my lines. I am doing it. The Indian labourer knows it instinctively that I do not regard capital to be the enemy of labour. I hold their co-ordination to be a perfectly possible organisation of labour that I undertook in South Africa, Champaran or Ahmedabad was in no spirit of hostility to the capitalists and the resistance in each case and to the extent it was thought necessary was wholly successful. My ideal is equal distribution but so far as I can see it is not to be realised. I work for equitable distribution. This I seek to attain through Khaddar—and since its attainment must sterilise the British exploitation at the centre—it is calculated to purify British connection. Hence in that sense Khaddar leads to Swaraj.

Charge of "Mahatma"

Referring to the charge of "Mahatma", Gandhi said :—"I must leave it to its fate. Though a non-co-operator I shall gladly subscribe to the bill to make it criminal for anybody to call me Mahatma and to touch my feet. Where I can impose the law myself i. e. at Ashram the practice is criminal.

The Bengal Detenus.

INTERPELLATIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On the 21ST FEBRUARY 1927 Mr. Thurtle asked the Under-Secretary of State for India if he is now in a position to indicate the result of the communications of his Department with the Government of India regarding the prisoners in India who have been detained for over two years without trial under the Bengal Criminal Ordinance Act?

Earl Winterton: The upshot of the very full examination which this matter has received in the last few months has been publicly announced recently in India by the Governor-General in his address to the Indian Legislature, on 24th January, and by the Home Member speaking on behalf of the Government of India and the Bengal Government in the Debate which took place in the Assembly a few days later. Put as shortly as possible, the policy agreed upon by the Government of India and the Government of Bengal is this: The sole object of the Government in using the special powers which this Act gives them is to prevent terrorist outrages, and they desire to keep no one under restraint a day longer than is necessary to secure that object. Their policy is accordingly to relax restrictions and where possible to release as and when this becomes feasible with safety to the public. But, since the conspiracy to commit these outrages has not been suppressed, before releases can be sanctioned the Government must be satisfied that those released would not employ their freedom to engage in terrorist outrages. This postulates an undertaking, which would not involve any humiliating admission as regards the past. Such an undertaking, if given, would be an important factor in the Government's decision, but could not of itself be accepted as automatically ensuring release.

Mr. Thurtle: Do I understand that the Noble Lord is now inviting these detenus to give an undertaking that they will not participate in any method of violence in future?

Earl Winterton: I think the hon. Gentleman can draw his own deductions from the answer.

Mr. Thurtle: Is the Noble Lord aware that at least one of these prisoners is in a very dangerous state of health—I refer to Mr. S. C. Bose—and is it the intention of the Government to murder that man?

Mr. Johnston: In the phrase used by the Noble Lord to the effect that he would not require from them any humiliating admission with regard to the past, does that mean that they are to make any statement of any kind that they have participated in terrorist agitation in the past?

Earl Winterton: No; what I intended to convey by those words was that the undertaking would be an undertaking with regard to the future.

Mr. Johnston: Does the phrase used by the Noble Lord mean that any detenu has to make any admission regarding participation in terrorist agitation in the past of any kind?

Earl Winterton: No; the exact opposite is what I intended to convey. What I intend to convey is that the undertaking which will be sought from the particular detenu will be an undertaking not to engage in terrorist organisation or activities in future.

Colonel Wedgwood: Is it not obvious that the Government, both in India and here, want to find a way out of the difficulty in which they are, and would it not be better for the Government to take the first step, rather than keep these people in prison simply because on a point of honour they will not say they will not do it in future?

Mr. Speaker: That is in the nature of a speech.

On the 7TH MARCH Sir Walter de Frece asked the Under-Secretary of State for India if he can make any statement as to the continuance of

terrorism in Bengal; whether it is entailing any special precautions on the part of the authorities; whether he will give the number of casualties in the recent communal riots in Bengal; and whether these disturbances are showing signs of increase?

Eart Winterton: I fear that no statement on the two quite distinct matters raised in the question could be brought within the usual limits of an answer. It is clear that terrorist activities continue in Bengal, and require constant vigilance; for example, a gang has recently been tried and convicted for the unlawful possession of bombs. As regards communal disturbances, which do not seem at present to be increasing, I cannot give complete figures, but the Hindu-Moslem riot in the Bakarganj district on the 2nd March resulted in 14 deaths and 8 cases of wounds.

Mr. Thurtle: Do I take it that the Noble Lord does not mean the House to understand that communal riots have anything at all to do with what is known as terrorism?

Earl Winterton: The answer was in exactly that sense, I think. I said it was difficult to discuss the two matters in one answer.

On the 14TH MARCH Mr. Lansbury asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was appointed chief executive officer of the Corporation of Calcutta in April, 1924, and that his appointment received the sanction of the Governor of Bengal; and whether, seeing that Mr. Bose was interned by order of the Government of Bengal within six months of his appointment and that he has been re-elected to that post, his re-election has received the sanction of the Governor of Bengal, in spite of his internment?

Earl Winterton: I am aware that Mr. Bose was appointed to hold the post in question; that this appointment, like several others made by the Corporation, is subject to the approval of the local Government, and that this approval was given. I understand that the Corporation have regarded Mr. Bose since his internment as being technically on leave with a substitute acting for him and that no question of his re-appointment or of re-approval by the local Government has arisen.

Mr. Lansbury: Is it not possible to expedite the release of this man, who apparently has the confidence of the Council still?

Earl Winterton: No, Sir. That does not arise out of this question, and I must point out to the hon. Member that if a person in prison has the confidence of this or that organisation it is not a reason for a remission of his sentence or for dealing with him in a different way from any other person.

Mr. Lansbury: will the Noble Lord not agree that perhaps the municipal authorities know as much about this man and his actions as the people who put him in prison and kept him there without trials.

On the 28TH MARCH Mr. Pethick-Lawrence asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the offer made by the Government of Bengal to allow Mr. Subhas Bose to go to Switzerland is subject to any and, if so, to what conditions; and whether such conditions have been accepted by Mr. Bose?

Earl Winterton: The offer of releasing Mr. Bose made by the Government of Bengal is subject to the conditions that he will give his word of honour to proceed from Rangoon to Europe by a ship which does not touch at any port in India, and that he will thereafter not attempt to enter India, Burma or Ceylon until the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act has expired. My Noble Friend, who is in communication with the Government of India on the subject, has not yet heard whether the offer has been accepted by Mr. Bose. This offer has been made consequent on medical advice that Mr. Bose should take a sea-voyage and make a prolonged stay in a sanatorium in Switzerland.

Mr. Pethick-Lawrence: By the phrase "until the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act has expired," does the Government of India mean until the date when it would normally expire, or until the time when it will be brought to an end if it should be extended?

Earl Winterton: I do not quite know what the hon. Member means by his

Supplementary Question. My answer was quite plain. This undertaking is not to enter India until the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act has expired, that is, has come to an end.

Mr. Pethick-Lawrence: Does that mean until the present law comes to an end, or until it finally comes to an end if it should be extended?

Earl Winterton: Obviously, it means when it comes to an end.

On the 2ND MAY Mr. Thurtle asked the Under-Secretary of State for India if he is yet in a position to state whether or not Mr. Subhas Bose has accepted the offer of the Government to allow him to take up residence in Switzerland?

Earl Winterton: I understand that he has not accepted.

Mr. Thurtle: Can the Noble Lord say whether the Government of India propose to make any other offer to Mr. Bose?

Earl Winterton: My Noble Friend is in communication with the Government of India, and I have no further statement to make at this moment.

Mr. Thurtle: Is the Noble Lord aware that the Indian correspondent of the "Times" said the other day that Mr. Bose was in a most dangerous state of health?

Earl Winterton: I have already said that my Noble Friend is in communication with the Government of India and I have no further statement to make on the matter.

On the 9TH MAY Mr. Lansbury asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he will give the House the latest information as to the condition of health of Mr. Bose, one of the prisoners detained under the Bombay Ordinance; what steps the Government is taking to preserve the health of Mr. Bose; and whether it is proposed to take any further steps to arrange for his liberation and for that of other prisoners who have been so long detained without trial?

Earl Winterton: I have no very recent detailed information, except that, since his examination in February by two doctors disclosed the possibility of early tubercle, Mr. Bose's health has unfortunately not improved. In consequence it has been decided to transfer him from Burma to Almora—the best climate in India for tubercular patients—and he was to leave Rangoon last Saturday. The Governor of Bengal is arranging for a special medical examination by his own surgeon and a physician of the medical college when Mr. Bose passes through Calcutta. I can make no statement about the possibility of releasing Mr. Bose or of any other of the persons detained in Bengal beyond saying that as was made clear by the announcement made by the Government of India on 21st March last, the text of which I circulated in the "Official Report" on 28th March, the question of each man's detention is continually being examined and re-examined.

Mr. Lansbury: In view of that answer, Mr. Speaker, I propose, with your leave, to raise this question to-morrow on the adjournment.

Mr. T. Williams: Can the Noble Lord say whether the prisoners in Bengal have been charged with any definite specific crime?

Earl Winterton: That does not arise out of the question.

On the 23RD MAY Mr. Lansbury asked the Under-Secretary of State for India if he will make an inquiry as to whether the medical examination by four doctors which led to the decision of the Governor-General to order Mr. Bose's release resulted in a formal report; and, if so, whether he will lay the report upon the Table of the House?

Earl Winterton: As I informed the hon. Member on Thursday last, I have not as yet any information on the first point. And even if a formal report has been made, it is obviously a confidential document, and I am not prepared to lay it on the Table of this House.

Mr. Lansbury: Does the Noble Lord not think that it would be in the interests of public order in India that the people of India should be officially acquainted with the condition of Mr. Bose's health at the time of his release?

Mr. Hannon: May I ask whether it would not be in the interests of public order if a great many of these questions were kept off the Order Paper.

Earl Winterton: I am afraid I do not follow the hon. Member for Bow and Bromley (Mr. Lansbury). As far as I know there is no precedent for publishing the report of a medical examination, the result of which has been to allow a person to be released. I do not think the public interest would be served in any way by publishing what is obviously a confidential report.

Mr. Lansbury: Is it not the fact that this man has been in prison for 13 months, and that very circumstantial reports have been published as to the dangerous condition of his health; and is not the public in India and in this country entitled to ask what this man's health was when the Government of India ordered his release?

Earl Winterton: No, Sir. I do not think they are entitled to inquire in the least. The Government of India, in the exercise of their executive duties, decided that the state of his health was such that he should be released. There, I think, the matter should rest.

Mr. Thurtle next asked the Under-Secretary of State for India the reasons which included the Government to change its policy in regard to the detention of Mr. Subhas Bose, one of the Bengal political prisoners recently released?

Earl Winterton: Mr. Bose was released on grounds of health.

Mr. Thurtle: Is the Noble Lord aware that some time ago he said it would be inexpedient in the interests of public safety to release Mr. Bose, and can he say what change of circumstances has resulted in it being expedient now?

Earl Winterton: His health.

Mr. Thurtle: Has his health been the only circumstance that has entered into the consideration of the matter?

Earl Winterton: Yes, Sir. The sole circumstance that caused the Government of India and my Noble Friend the Secretary of State to take the action they did was the state of Mr. Bose's health.

INTERPELLATIONS IN ASSEMBLY.

The following is the statement made in the Legislative Assembly on the 21st March 1927 by Sir Alexander Muddiman on behalf of the Government of India regarding the decisions which have been taken on the subject of the release of detenus:—

"The policy of the Government regarding those detained under Regulation III or the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in connection with Bengal revolutionary conspiracy has been and still is that the detention of no man should last longer than is essential in the interests of public safety. The Government are convinced that terrorist conspiracy is still in active existence and that consequently it is not possible to take steps in the direction of release of those about whom there is no reasonable doubt that they would utilise their liberty to resume their previous activities. They are, however, anxious to pursue as quickly as possible the gradual release of individuals whose conduct gives reason for hoping that they will not abuse their liberty. The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act provides for a considerable degree of elasticity in the treatment of those who are dealt with under it and enables the Government to transfer from jail to less strict forms of supervision persons whose past record and present conduct would not justify their unconditional release. Individuals of this class may be directed to reside in a particular village or in their homes. The practical results of transferring men in this manner to village or home domicile are fully watched, and the Government are enabled to observe whether action taken is justified by events and thus to determine the possibility of further extension of such action. In order to show what has been done in this direction of discriminating treatment of detenus, I may mention that out of 171 persons dealt with under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act from the beginning, 75 have been placed in village domicile and thirteen in home domicile, while 26 have been released. The number now remaining in jail is 54. Of those arrested under Regulation III, 31 were subsequently transferred to Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and are included in the figures given above. 16 at present remain in jail under Regulation III. In the last two and half months, the

Government of Bengal have issued orders for the transfer of 19 detenus from jail to village or home domicile under the Act and have released 7. The Government of India have also had under review the cases of those who are still detained under Regulation III. They are considering one of these State prisoners on medical grounds. In respect of 4 others, they are satisfied that detention in jail is no longer necessary and they are, therefore, cancelling warrants under Regulation III so that action may be taken to bring them under Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act with a view to their transfer to village domicile. It must be understood that practical result of this action as exhibited in the conduct of men thus placed in village or home domicile requires constant attention of the Government. If it is ascertained that such men are reverting to the Government will not hesitate to deal with them again under their powers".

Pt. Motilal's Reply.

Commenting on the above statement Pt. Motilal said:—"Sir Alexander Muddiman's statement is intended to be the last word on thesubject for sometime to come so far as the Government are concerned. Are we going to accept it? No, not for a moment. It comes to this, that there is not the least change of heart in the Government, that Lord Irwin has finally committed itself to the policy of Lord Lytton and has allowed his own better judgment to be dominated by considerations of false prestige and differences among Indians. They may for a moment afford to treat the resolution of the Assembly and unanimous public opinion on the question with scorn, but I confess I expected a more far-seeing statesmanship from Lord Irwin. However, we know where we are now and the suspense of the last two months is over. Not one man has been unconditionally released since the Assembly passed the resolution. Not a word has been said as to whether the offer made by Lord Lytton to the Bengal leaders summoned by him and repeated on behalf of the Government of India in the Assembly was ever put to any of the detenus and, if so, with what result? The offer itself did not come to much as it only amounted to a promise to take an assurance of a detenu that he would take no part in any violent activity against the Government in future as an element in the consideration of his case; but such as it was, it does not appear to have been put to any detenu and, if put, has not been acted upon. The net result is that the men are to continue to suffer imprisonment and internment alternatively, without being allowed an opportunity to prove their innocence. Our plain duty is to show to the Government in an unmistakable manner that we cannot and will not tolerate this atrocity. I am sure the whole country will most strongly condemn this action; but strong language alone can serve no useful purpose. What is required is action and there is no more effective action that we can take than sinking our differences and presenting a united front to the self-willed bureaucracy. Let us make this an occasion for a general rally. Let us be prepared to give more and take less than we have so far been insisting on. There is no other way to maintain our self-respect."

Supplementary Questions.

The following supplementary questions were then put:—

Pandit Motilal Nehru: May I ask Sir, if it is the considered decision of the Government not to release any more?

Sir Alexander Muddiman: My hope, Sir, is that if these gradual release are successful, we may pursue this policy as rapidly as is compatible with public safety.

Pandit Nehru: Have any releases been made since the resolution passed by the Assembly?

Sir Alexander Muddiman: Four men will be released.

Pandit Nehru: Unconditionally?

Sir Alexander Muddiman: No, not unconditionally.

Pandit Nehru: Are they Regulation men?

Sir Alexander Muddiman: Yes Sir.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: May I beg to inquire whether these releases are in consequence of the resolution passed by this Assembly or independent of it.

Sir Alexander Muddiman: The Government in considering these questions, considers public opinion as expressed in this House and in other places.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know, Sir, whether any prisoners have been specially released since the date the House passed the resolution on the release of prisoners?

Sir Alexander Muddiman: I have told the Hon. Member that there are 4 men who will be released; that is since the resolution was passed about 7 men have been released. I am not sure on what dates they were released, but they have been released in the last 2½ months. Probably some were released before and some after the resolution.

Sir Harisingh Gour: Can the Hon'ble the Home Member give the names of prisoners released?

Sir Alexander Muddiman: No it is not in the public interest that I should do so till the arrangements for their full release have been carried out.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Have these four been released unconditionally or conditionally?

Sir Alexander Muddiman: If the Hon'ble Member had heard my statement, he would have understood that they are released from jail and put into village domicile.

An Hon'ble Member: Is there any objection to giving the names of those who have already been released?

Sir Alexander Muddiman: I have not got the names, but I should think there will be no objection.

Maulvi Mahommed Shafee: May I know Sir, if the Member who has been elected to this House has been released?

Sir Alexander Muddiman: To the best of my knowledge he is not among the 7.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Sir, if my friend Mr. Mitra, who was elected to this Assembly as a member says "I shall be a good citizen and come here and become a good co-operator," will there be any objection on the part of the Government to allow Mr. Mitra to come here and take the oath?

Sir Alexander Muddiman: I should suggest to my honourable friend to advise Mr. Mitra to go in the first instance to the Bengal Government by whose orders he is held.

Mr. K. Ahmed: H. E. Lord Lytton said that his Government had no objection to Mr. Mitra coming here and taking the oath provided he conducts himself rightly and swears that he will be loyal to the King and the Royal Family and the Royal house. Will the Government of India interfere? (No answer was given.)

The Patuakhali Satyagraha.

The Government of Bengal issued the following communique under date 19th January:—

"Conflicting accounts of the situation at Patuakhali having appeared in the public press, the Governor in Council has decided to issue a statement of the facts of the case and the orders issued in connection therewith.

"Patuakhali is in a locality in which there is a preponderance of Muhammadans over the Hindus, the proportion being about 5 to 1 in the sub-division and the revenue thana, and about 4 to 1 in the headquarters police station. In Municipality, however, the communities are almost equal in numbers. In the past there are no records of any disputes on the subject of music before mosques and the Governor in Council is satisfied that in the area affected by the present dispute there was a long-standing and well-recognised practice under which Hindu processions out of regard for the feelings of the Muhammadans, when passing along the District Board road on the south side of which there is a mosque, stopped music for a distance of about 80 yards between the west end of the Civil Court compound and a culvert.

"Originally there was only one mosque in the locality, a building situated on

the south of the District Board road and some 7 yards from it. Subsequently, however, about the year 1911 the Muhammadans erected a new mosque on the north of the Municipal lane running from the District Board road along the edge of the Civil Court compound and about 30 yards from the junction of the lane and the District Board road. The new mosque is now used for congregational prayers and the old mosque for private prayer. After the erection of the new mosque the Muhammadans tried to get the area within which Hindu processions stopped all music extended 45 yards towards the east to the point where the main approach to the Civil Court takes off from the District Board road, and there seem to have been some negotiations between the two communities on the subject but there is no evidence that the practice of stopping music in this extended area was ever generally recognised.

"Latterly, as the result of the forces operating in the Indian Moslem world, the local Muhammadans began, among other things, to object to attending the festivities connected with certain Hindu festivals and to oppose the performance by Hindus of certain ceremonies in certain places of which the Swaraswati Puja in schools was probably the most prominent. This led to trouble at the Latif Seminary and elsewhere but no serious ebullition occurred until after the riots in Calcutta in April 1926. The excitement which these engendered increased the irritation which this attitude of the Muhammadans had caused among the Hindus and the prominence given in Calcutta to the question of music before mosque led the Hindus on the 13th of May 1926 deliberately to organise a procession with music along the District Board road near the mosques in defence of the recognised practise. There was no religious festival at the time and the object was merely to annoy the Muhammadans in which object they succeeded. The Sub-divisional Officer, however, formed a Conciliation Committee and further trouble was avoided.

"A month later at the time of the Bakr-Id fresh trouble occurred owing to the Muhammadans performing their sacrifice in the open without making any attempt to screen the ceremony from the Hindus in the neighbourhood. In retaliation and in defiance of the recognised practice the Hindus took a procession along the District Board road near the mosques at the time of evening prayer and a serious riot was only averted by the efforts of the local officials and certain Hindu leaders. The situation was so serious that the District Magistrate had to go to Patuakhali and issue an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, forbidding all public meetings and processions for fifteen days and to post an additional force of armed police in the locality. It was about this time that Babu Satindra Nath Sen arrived from Barisal with a party of Hindu volunteers to take charge of the Hindu activities. He and other Hindu leaders approached the District Magistrate to have the order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code withdrawn, and each side having after some discussion, agreed to refrain from any action that was likely to annoy the other for at least a fortnight the District Magistrate withdrew his order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, and removed the additional police.

"At this time it was not denied by the Hindus that there was a long standing and well recognised practice of stopping music on the District Board road near the mosques; the only point in dispute was the eastern limit of the area within which music was not played.

"For the next two months conferences were held between the two parties and the Muharram passed without trouble but no settlement was arrived at as Babu Satindra Nath Sen now raised the general question of right and would concede nothing further than that non-religious processions as marriage processions should stop music before the principal mosque. Ultimately this leader announced that if no agreement was reached by a certain date he would lead a procession over the disputed area. As such action, if allowed, would inevitably have had very serious consequences orders were issued unded section 30 (2) of the Police Act (V of 1861) requiring all persons directing or promoting processions in Patuakhali town to apply for a license. In addition extra police were sent down to Patuakhali and every effort was made by the local officers to procure an agreement.

"Finally on the 30th August 1926 Babu Satindra Nath Sen took out a procession under license but violated the terms of the license which provided 'inter alia' that following the lines of the previous arrangement between the two communities no music should be played between the Municipal lane at the west end of the Civil Court compound and the culvert. As result of this procession some arrests were made and some stone throwing took place whereupon the Assistant Superintendent of Police who was in charge extended the area, in which according to the terms of the license issued under section 30 (2) Police Act (V of 1861), music was prohibited, to the path leading to the Civil Court so as to remove the place of arrest from the proximity of the new mosque. This was done solely in the interests of public peace and not with the idea of supporting the Muhammadan claim over the additional area. Since then there have been daily processions under license, daily breaches of the conditions of the license and daily arrests and prosecutions under section 32, Police Act. In every case the sentence has been one of fine, imprisonment being ordered only in default of payment of the fine.

"From time to time there have been various attempts at a settlement. One proposal made by some Hindu leaders that order similar to those in force in Calcutta should be passed by Government for Patuakhali was rejected as being contrary to the declared policy of Government to maintain existing practice in the mufassil. Another by some of the moderate local Hindus which slightly modified the original understanding and would allow four religious processions and all funeral processions to pass the mosque with music save at prayer time only, all other processions being forbidden to play music at any time before the mosque, was rejected by the Hindu extremists. On the 19th November the District Magistrate persuaded both parties to refer the matter in dispute to a board of arbitration consisting of two Hindus from the Hindu Maha Sabha and two Muhammadans from the Jaiyat-e-Ulema with power to co-opt a fifth member as Chairman, but the same day Babu Satindra Nath Sen was himself arrested for taking part in a procession which broke the terms of the license. As the result of this, the District Magistrate was approached at Barisal by some Hindu leaders and asked, in the interest of the proposed settlement, to perform an "act of clemency" and withdraw the case against Babu Satindra Nath Sen, and those arrested with him, which he finally agreed to do. Now the District Magistrate awaits the outcome of the proposal to submit the matters in dispute to a board of arbitration.

"The Governor in Council again invites attention to the policy announced in his communique, dated the 5th June 1926, viz, "In the musassal Magistrates and Police officers will continue to regulate which prevails in the locality concerned." He is satisfied that there is a long established and well recognised practice in Patuakhali that music was stopped in deference to Muhammadan sentiments by all processions between the limits specified in paragraph 2 above and he has therefore issued instructions to the local officers to regulate processions under the Police Act in accordance with that practice. The Governor-in-Council would welcome any agreement freely and voluntarily arrived at between the leaders of the communities which would render unnecessary the present measures for maintaining the public peace. He regards with abhorrence the present state of affairs in which so many boys and youths under a mistaken sense of loyalty to their religion persist in breaking the law and in going to jail, and he has already issued orders for the release of all who are willing to apologise for their conduct and give their word of honour not to repeat it if released or whose parents or guardians are willing to give an undertaking on their behalf. Up to date 45 persons have been released under these orders. But he is not prepared as a concession to such misdirected loyalty and self-sacrifice to modify his policy already announced for dealing with such disputes in the mufassal and he trusts that the leaders of the Hindu community will recognise this and persuade their followers to cease from defying the law and if they desire to depart from the previous practice will have recourse to negotiation or arbitration or if all else fails to the Civil Courts".

The Hindu-Moslem Riots.

The Ponabalia Riot.

A disturbance between Hindus and Mahomedans occurred on the 2nd March 1927 at the Shivaratri Mela at the village of Ponabalia in Barisal. The Magistrate intervened. The situation becoming grave, he was forced to order firing resulting in twelve being killed and seven wounded. The Superintendent of Police was speared by a Mahomedan and as the Magistrate could not persuade the mob to disperse he was compelled to order firing.

The riot originated out of a Shiva temple where thousands of people meet annually at the Sivaratri festival and proceed along the thoroughfares with music. This year a mosque had been raised by the side of the road leading to the temple. Fearing the possibility of trouble, the District Magistrate of Backergunj, the District Superintendent of Police and a force of armed police were present near the mosque. The Mahomedans took exception to a party of Hindus passing the mosque, but the District Magistrate persuaded them to allow it to proceed and that the Mahomedans withdrew only to be sent back by a Moulvi who reproached them for being cowards. The Mahomedans returned and attacked the District Magistrate. The situation became desperate and the police were ordered to fire, first with blank cartridge and afterwards with ball. Twelve Mahomedans were killed and seven wounded. The crowd then dispersed. The following communique was issued by the Government of Bengal on the 5th March :—

The Official Version.

"The facts regarding the firing at Kulkati so far as at present ascertained are as follows :—A mela is held every year at Ponabalia, Police station Jhalakati on the occasion of the Shiva Ratri festival which attracts a considerable number of Hindu pilgrims, largely women, from all over the country. About a mile from the mela ground at Jagannathpur (Kulkathi) on the side of the road from Jalakati to Nalchiti by which pilgrims pass to the mela ground there is a small mosque which is said to have been erected not more than 7 years ago. Previously there was a mosque on the other side of the road but at some distance from it. As the Hindus were apprehending disturbances on the occasion of this festival the District Magistrate inspected the mela ground on the 17th February to ascertain what arrangements were required. As far as he was able to ascertain there had never been any opposition to processions with music or to the 'Uludhani' or similar religious exclamations which pilgrims are accustomed to make on such occasions ; but as a precaution against possible trouble this year he arranged with the Superintendent of Police to have a picket of 2 Jamadars and 10 armed Police at this point during the mela. A party of 1 Jamadar and 30 rifles of the Eastern Frontier Rifles was also sent to Ponabalia for emergencies. On the 1st March the Sub-divisional Officer was sent to be present at the mela and was warned that the mosque might be a danger spot. He was instructed to make further enquiries as to the local custom and to allow the parties to pass with music unless he was satisfied that there was any practice to the contrary. In the early morning of the 2nd March a Hindu Sankirtan procession formed up and started for the mela ground playing music along the road which pass the mosque. A crowd of armed Mahomedans began to collect at the mosque in preparation to oppose the procession. Seeing this the Subdivisional Officer who is an Indian Christian, stopped the procession at some distance from the mosque and endeavoured to persuade the Mahomedans to allow the procession to pass peacefully. They resolutely refused to do this and the crowd began to swell and to adopt a threatening attitude. 10 rifles of the Eastern Frontier Rifles and a few civil police were stationed near the Kulkati mosque, but seeing the situation

becoming more serious the Sub-divisional Officer sent for four more rifle men. This reinforcement arrived simultaneously with the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police who had come to supervise the arrangements. This was at about 2 A.M.

"Menwhile, the attitude of the Mahomedans had become more threatening under the excitement of one Mahammad Sahadaduddin and they were prepared violently to resist any attempt on the part of the Hindus to pass the mosque with music. The Sub-divisional Officer had satisfied himself after enquiry that Hindu processions had previously passed by the mosque without any protest from the Mahomedans. In these circumstances the District Magistrate decided that the existing custom should be maintained and with the assistance of the Superintendent of Police and the Sub-divisional Officer repeatedly requested the Mahomedans to disperse but they continued in their truculent attitude and brandished their weapons defiantly to emphasise their resolve to resist the procession.

"The District Magistrate then declared them to be an unlawful assembly and warned them that they should be dispersed by rifle fire unless they went away peacefully but despite these warnings Muhammad Shahadaduddin continued to incite the crowd saying that they would submit to being killed rather than give in. There were then about 500 armed Mahomedans in the open space round the mosque and they were only separated from the road by a ditch about 2 yards in width. Others estimated at another 500 were assembled in the jungle behind.

"As the crowd refused to disperse the District Magistrate ordered the Superintendent of Police to march up the contingent of the Eastern Frontier Rifles. This was done and the Magistrate again ordered the crowd to disperse but was again disobeyed, the Mahomedans waving their spears and thrusting them in the direction of the officers and the sepoys. The District Magistrate then ordered the arrest of Muhammad Shahadaduddin who was taken away in custody. Thereafter further attempts were made by all the officers present and two leading Mahomedans to induce the crowd to disperse but without avail. On the contrary some of the crowd began to cross the road at a little distance and collect in groups with spears on the other side of the road thus surrounding the police party. As the crowd became still more threatening and was then within three yards of the police and was armed with deadly weapons the District Magistrate then gave orders to fire and with his approval the Superintendent of Police ordered one round to be fired by each man. This order was communicated by the Havildar to his men and fire was opened by fourteen men. It seems, however, that in the tremendous din which the Mahomedans were making the order was not properly heard and that actually 37 rounds were fired before firing was stopped. The Mahomedans did not disperse when fire was first opened and the firing was stopped as soon as it was found to be effective. 14 Mahomedans were killed and 7 wounded. Necessary arrangements were made to attend the wounded and to send them to Jhalakati for medical treatment, the dead being sent to Barisal for post mortem examination".

Interpellation in Parliament.

On the 24th March in the House of Commons Mr. LANSBURY asked the Under Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that on the occasion of the disturbances which took place at Kulakati on 2nd March the Magistrate ordered firing to take place at six-feet range on an unarmed crowd, csusing 19 deaths and seriously injurnig many others, of whom 12 are not expected to recover; is he aware that no injury was inflicted by firearms on either Magistrate or police; when he will be in a position to put before the House the official report on these events; and is it proposed to hold a special inquiry into the matter?

Earl WINTERTON: I circulate the three telegrams received from the Government of India, which constitute all the information I have at present on this lamentable occurrence. It will be clear from the terms of these reports that I cannot accept as entirely accurate all the implications in the hon. Member's question. As the reports show, a special inquiry is being, or has been, conducted by the Commissioner of the Division, and I am taking steps to obtain the substance of his findings without delay.

Telegram from the Government of India dated 3rd March, 1927.

Following from Government of Bengal, 2nd March, is repeated for your information. *Begins.* District Magistrate, Bakarganj, wires that he was forced to order Frontier Rifles fire on large Mohammedan mob who violently opposed Hindu music by mosque at Kulkathi. Casualties number 12 killed and wounded 7. Further details will be telegraphed when received.

Telegram from the Government of India dated 5th March, 1927.

In continuation of our telegram dated March 3rd, 239. Following telegram has been received from the Government of Bengal and is repeated for your information. *Begins.* Following message was received yesterday from the District Magistrate, Barisal. *Begins.* On arrival at Mosque we found strong armed Mohammedan mob occupying the mosque precincts, and refusing to allow passage to small Hindu procession with music on District Board road adjoining the mosque. No reason why this procession should not pass, particularly as time not prayer hour. Mohammedans informed accordingly, but repeated persuasion proved useless, owing to incitement by Maulvi Shadaduddin. Mob proclaimed unlawful assembly and ordered to disperse, but vehemently refused, crying would kill and be killed. Attitude very threatening. Long spears brandished at us. Warning repeatedly would be fired on if did not disperse. Military Police brought up and Maulvi arrested, whilst further useless persuasion and even prayers by officers and two local Mohammedans (? were) being (? attempted), armed groups began gathering at opposite sides of the road enclosing the force. Seeing further parleying useless and situation growing momentarily more dangerous, I ordered the Superintendent of Police fire. Rounds fired 33; 14 killed, 8 wounded, all Mohammedans. *Ends.* Full report expected to-day, on receipt of which it will be telegraphed. Commissioner of Dacca Division has proceeded to Barisal for inquiry.

Telegram from the Government of India dated 6th March, 1927.

In continuation of our telegram dated 5th March, 850. Following telegram has been received from the Government of Bengal, and is repeated for your information. *Begins.* Facts regarding the firing at Kulkathi, so far as at present ascertained, are as follows: A *mela* is held every year Ponabalia, Police Station Jhalakati, on the occasion of the Shivaratri festival which attracts considerable numbers of Hindu pilgrims, largely women, from all over the country. About a mile from the *mela* ground at Jaganathpur (Kulkathi), on the side of the road from Jhalakati to Nalchiti by which the pilgrims pass to the *mela* ground, there is a small mosque which is said to have been erected not more than 7 years ago. Previously there was mosque on the other side of the road, but at some distance from it. As Hindus were apprehending disturbances on the occasion of this festival. Magistrate of the District inspected *mela* ground on 17th February to ascertain what arrangements were required. As far as he was able to ascertain, there had never been any opposition to the procession with music or to *Uludham* or such religious exclamations which pilgrims are accustomed to make on similar occasions; but as precaution against possible trouble this year, he arranged with the Superintendent of Police to have pickets of one Jemadar and ten armed police at this place during the *mela*. Party of one Jemadar and 30 rifles of Eastern Frontier Rifles was also sent to Ponabalia for emergency on 1st March. Sub-divisional Officer was sent to be present at the *mela*, and was warned that mosque might be danger spot. He was instructed to make further inquiries as to local custom, and to allow parties to pass with music unless he was satisfied that there was any practice to the contrary. In the early morning on 2nd March a Hindu *Sankirtan* procession formed up and started for the *mela* ground playing music along the road which passes the mosque. Crowds of armed Mohammedans began to collect at the mosque in preparation to oppose the procession. Seeing this, Sub-divisional Officer, who is an Indian Christian, stopped the procession at some distance from the mosque, and endeavoured to persuade the Mohammedans to allow the procession to pass peacefully. They resolutely refused to do this, and the crowd began to swell and to adopt threatening attitude. Sixteen rifles of the Eastern Frontier Rifles and a few civil police were stationed near Kulkathi mosque, but seeing the situation becoming more serious, Sub-divisional Officer sent for 4 more riflemen. This rearguard arrived simultaneously with District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police, who had come to supervise arrangements. This was at about 9 a.m. Meanwhile, attitude of Mohammedans had become more threatening under incitement of one Muhammad Shadaduddin, and they were prepared violently to resist any attempts on the part of Hindus to pass mosque with music.

Sub-divisional Officer had satisfied himself after inquiries that Hindu processions had previously passed by mosque without any protests from Mohammedans. In these circumstances, District Magistrate decided that existing custom should be maintained, and, with assistance of Superintendent of Police and Sub-divisional Officer, repeatedly requested Mohammedans to disperse, but they continued in their truculent attitude and brandished their weapons defiantly to emphasise their resolve to resist procession. District Magistrate then declared them to be an unlawful assembly, and warned them that they should be dispersed by rifle fire unless they went away peacefully; but despite these warnings, Muhammad Shadaduddin continued to incite the crowd saying that they would submit to being killed rather than give in. There were then about 500 armed Mohammedans in the open space round mosque, and they were only separated from the road by a ditch about 2 yards in width. Others estimated at another 500, were assembled in the jungle behind. As the crowd refused to disperse, the District Magistrate ordered the Superintendent of Police march up contingent Eastern Frontier Rifles. This was done, and the Magistrate again ordered the crowd disperse, but was again disobeyed, Mohammedans waving their spears and thrusting them in the direction of the officers and sepoys. District Magistrate then ordered the arrest of Muhammad Shadaduddin who was taken away in custody. Thereafter further attempts were made by all the officers present and 2 leading Mohammedans to induce the crowd to disperse, but without avail. On the contrary, some of the crowd began to cross the road at little distance and collected in groups with spears on the other side of the road, thus surrounding police party. As the crowd became stil more threatening and was then within 3 yards of the police, and was armed with deadly weapons, District Magistrate then gave orders to fire, and with his approval Superintendent of Police ordered one round to be fired by each man. This order was communicated by the Havildar to his men and fire opened by 14 men. It seems, however in the tremendous din which the Mohammedans were making, the order was not properly heard, and that actually 37 rounds fired before the firing was stopped. Mohammedans did not disperse when fire first opened, and firing stopped as soon as it was found to be effective. Fourteen Mohammedans killed and 7 wounded. Necessary arrangements were made to attend the wounded, and to send them to Jhalakati for medical treatment, dead being sent to Barisal *post mortem* examination. Full inquiry into the matter is now being made by the Commissioner, and in view of this inquiry the Government do not propose to make any comments at this stage—*Ends.*

The Larkana Riot.

A Hindu-Muslim fracas occurred at Larkana (Upper Sind) on the 29th March 1927 as the result of a dispute between Hindus and Mahomedans over the possession of a woman and three children. The District Magistrate visited the scene of disturbance at noon and by 2 o'clock the riot was supressed.

The following is the summary of a joint statement reviewing at length the cause of the disturbance, and the facts relating thereto issued under the signatures of Khan Bahadur Bhauto Noor Mahomed, Pleader, and GulamMahomed Isran, members of the Bombay Council, and Sirdar Wahid Bux and Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, members of the Assembly:—

The Moslem Version.

The signatories state that about twenty years ago a Hindu woman with three children, two sons and a daughter, embraced Islam. The woman married a Mussalman in the village of Garrelo in Larkana District. She got her son married to the niece of her Mussalman husband and also married her daughter in a Mussalman family. The woman lived a happy life with her Mussalman husband to whom she bore three more sons, at present aged 14, 11 and 9 year respectively. After a lapse of all this time, of a sudden an application was made to the District Magistrate, Larkana, for the release of the former daughter of this woman on the ground that she was wrongfully confined. Curiously enough all the members of the above family were brought to Larkana by Hindu Sabhawalas and Arya Samajists and lodged in a house, whence the chief member of the family was immediately driven away. This man applied to the Sub-divisional Magistrate for returning to him his three Mussalman children and his Mussalman niece wrongfully confined by Hindus. They were produced before the Magistrate on the evening of the 28th March. The children made pitious appeals to the

Magistrate to be handed over to their father, wept bitterly in the open Court in the presence of all assembled and recited verses from the Koran to convince the Magistrate of their being Mussalmans but the Magistrate ordered the police to give them back to the Hindus. Hearing this order the children, three sons and the girl, clinged round the neck of their father and when forcibly separated caught hold of chairs and tables and kept on crying and weeping all the time. In this condition they were handed over to the Hindus as ordered by the Court. This scene created a sensation throughout the town. To move the District Magistrate about 1,000 Mussalmans, including several hundred boys, assembled on the following morning in his bungalow and appealed for his intervention. The District Magistrate promised legal help and asked the crowd to repair to Khan Bahadur Amir Ali's garden where negotiations were in progress between the Hindu and Muslim leaders for the restoration of children to their father. Half of the gathering went away to their homes and the rest went to the garden where the District Magistrate also soon arrived. These negotiations were going on for the previous three or four days and the restoration of the children was being put off by the Hindus from morning to evening and evening to morning in order to gain time to win over the children to make a statement about their future custody in their favour. The leading Mussalmans then present and the District Magistrate persuaded the men to remain calm and await the restoration of the children. Meanwhile, in another part of the town, a Hindu started teasing and assaulting Mussalman passersby in the bazaar and severely injured one Mussalman whose injuries bled. This news reached the crowd at the garden with the exaggeration that the injured person was a Syed and was killed. Upon this the gathering got instantaneously out of control and though every effort was made to pacify them they rushed through the main bazaar hitting more Hindus who came across their path and damaged anything that caught their eye. The District Magistrate closely followed the crowd and the wave of disturbance subsided in about twenty minutes. The disturbance over, the crop of arrests began to be gathered. Mr. Ramnath. Sub Inspector, accompanied by Hindu Sangathanists, went about the town arresting any Mussalman they met till late in the evening and though it was understood that the Resident Magistrate would go to the police station and release those innocently arrested everyone was put in the lock-up.

News propagated that there was panic among Larkana Hindus is baseless. Even on the 31st March, the day on which a telegram was sent to the Commissioner and the Government about the prevalence of uneasiness among the Hindus, there was not the slightest panic or any kind of alarm among them and this has been admitted by several very responsible Hindu gentlemen. In fact there was no cause of alarm even immediately after the brief wave of disturbance had passed over the town. The continuation of hartal in a modified form, as it prevails now, is not now based any longer on any apprehension or fear of Mussalman aggression. It is rather said to be due to preachings of some men who make Hindus feel that the fullest pound of Muslim flesh would not be obtained without the use of hartal. If these persistent reports be true and if the shops that opened have been closed again owing to such instructions, we can only pity the province where the feelings of people can be worked up in this manner. We cannot close this without condemning unreservedly the spirit of lawlessness shown by our co-religionists at Larkana, after they got out of control. They have spoiled the fair name of our community and by their miserable action have brought discredit on it. They must realise once for all that it never pays to create any disturbance, whatever the nature or extent of provocation offered. We beg to extend our fullest sympathy to the injured persons and to the relations of the diseased Hindu who was a resident of quite a different taluk. We are glad that Mussalmans in the villages and other towns kept their heads cool and continued to show brotherly feelings to the Hindus in spite of the wildest rumours to the contrary. We may be excused if we appeal in the end to the patriotic and broad-minded leading men among the Hindus to take a note of the doings and preachings of the Arya Samajists and their Hindu helpers in Sind. Connivance at their actions as is unfortunately happening is not a happy

sign of the times and cannot absolve the leading Hindus still from communal bias and from the duty they owe to the province as a whole. We are compelled to say that there has been too much connivance at, and also help given by some of the Hindu leading men to, some of the most objectionable activities of the Arya Samajists in the towns and the villages of Sind which need to be checked. We hope our appeal will not go in vain."

The Hindu Version.

The Hindu version of the circumstances that led to the riots is given in a lengthy statement made by Messrs. Bhojsingh Pagalanaji, Jairamdas Doulatram, and Rijhumal K. Lahiri as a reply to the above statement. The Hindu version alleges that the riots were the result of premeditation on the part of the Muslims who, while negotiations were in progress over the question of the custody of three minor children of Lakhmibai, a Hindu woman, who had been living with a Muslim, held a mass meeting without lights and without admitting even C I D reporters at which highly exciting speeches were made. Subsequent closing of Muslim shops is also said to have been determined upon at that meeting. On the morning of the 29th March Muslims gathered in large numbers in different parts of the town. The District Magistrate, it is stated, in the course of his morning walk met one party of about three or four hundred excited Muslims and reprimanded them. Muslims from the outlying parts began to swell the crowd of whom about 2,000, armed with lathis, marched to the District Magistrate's bungalow and demanded the return of the three children who, by order of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, had been handed over to their mother whose shuddhi ceremony had been performed three days previously. The District Magistrate directed the mob to a place where conversations in the same connection were going on between Hindu and Muslim leaders. On the way and elsewhere the Muslim crowds began to raid Hindu shops. It was then about 11-30. Rioting continued till about 3 in the evening. The statement finally protests against attempts made by signatories to the Muslim statement to minimise the seriousness of the situation and denies that the riot was provoked by Hindus.

The Lahore Riot.

A Sikh-Muslim riot took place in Kablimulls Haveli in Dabbi Bazar, Lahore on the 3rd May 1927 in the night as a result of which two Mahomedans were killed and four Mahomedans were injured, of whom two received serious injuries. The riot originated in some muslims irritating and insulting a Sikh woman wereupon a number of Sikhs of the neighbourhood belaboured some Muslims. This eventually developed into a riot with the result above stated. As soon as the Police received the news of the riot, the Superintendent and Deputy Superintendent with a strong police force hastened to the spot and restored order and removed the dead and the wounded to the hospital.

Enquiries made on the 4th May showed that some days ago a Mahomedan had insulted a Sikh girl inside the city bazaar whereupon a case was filed against him by the Sikhs and he was chalianed yesterday. The case came up before the Court of the City Magistrate where a compromise was effected and the parties agreed to withdraw the case but the prosecuting Inspector declined. The case was then proceeded with. A large number of Hindus, Sikhs and Mussalmans crowded the court to watch the case. Towards the evening there was considerable excitement amongst the Sikhs who decided to hold a Dewan (Conference) at night to discuss the question of cases of insults to Hindu and Sikh ladies by certain Mahomedans, and a Sikh drum-beater went in different Mohalla announcing the Dewan. When the Dewan was in progress at about 9 p. m., a quarrel arose near Kablimulls Haveli in Dabbibazaar between a Sikh and a Muslim. News of this quarrel was at once brought to the notice of the Dewan from where it was alleged about 20 Sikhs with kirpans came to the scene of quarrel and a free fight ensued between the Sikhs and Muslims with the result above stated.

More Rioting.

On this day (4th March) another fracas took place in Anarkali bazaar where, it was stated, a crowd of Mussalmans, while they were passing through the bazaar shouting "Alla-o-Akbar" and asking Mahomedans to close their shops, attacked several passers-by including one Sikh, causing injuries to a number of persons. The police at once rushed to the scene from the Anarkali Thana and dispersed the crowd. There was panic in the bazaars and all shops in the Anarkali Street were closed and police pickets were posted in different quarters.

After the lull of a few hours serious riots broke out again in the evening and rioting continued in several parts of the city. A strong contingent of British and Indian troops had been requisitioned and they were guarding the danger spots. Several armoured cars with machine guns were patrolling the city. Detachments of Hodson's Horse were posted outside the city gates. A large number of British and Indian troops were kept in readiness in the city in Kotwali to meet emergencies. The evening's severe rioting started on the return of thousands of Musalmans who accompanied the funeral procession of three Mahomedans who were killed in the last night's fracas.

The evening riot continued till midnight in different parts of the city after which hour it began to abate and by 1 p. m. the situation was comparatively quieter although stray cases of assaults were continuing in the alleys and by-lanes of the city. Mr. Ogilvie, District Magistrate, who was on leave, was recalled by urgent wire and he arrived at about midnight and immediately proceeded to the various scenes of disturbances to control the situation. From the various reports it was gathered that about 10 died and more than 50 were more or less seriously injured. Brickbats and lathies were freely used during the riots in the evening by the rioters of all the three Communities; but most of the deaths were caused by lathi blows and other weapons. Reports of some cases of arson were received in the Kotwali but prompt measures were taken by the authorities and not many houses were burnt except one inside Moshi Gate. Mahomedans mercilessly assaulted the Hindus and the Sikhs severely dealt with the Mahomedans wherever they could get hold of them. The evening's riots produced terror in the minds of law-abiding and peaceful citizens.

Magisterial Orders.

On the 5th March two orders were promulgated by Mr. Emerson, Additional District Magistrate. The first order lays down that the victims killed during the rioting shall not be taken out in procession unless two hours' previous notice has been given to the officer in charge of Kotwali, Lahore. This order is to remain in force unless previously cancelled until the 20th May. The second order says: Whereas riots having occurred in Lahore city and damage to life and property has been occasioned and whereas there is every reason to believe that, if the public are allowed to frequent the streets till 8 p. m. there will be further damage to life and property, it is directed that every good person within the walls of the city of Lahore at 3 p. m. on the 5 May and on every subsequent date until further orders shall not leave his house between the hours of 8 p. m. and 5 a. m.

Effect of the Curfew Order.

The above curfew order had a most desirable effect. Everything was quiet the whole night and not a soul stirred out of the houses after 8 p. m. except officers on duty and those who had permits. Patrol parties continued to move about in different streets and lanes of the city while armed pickets guarded the city gates. On the 6th the situation continued to be quiet and no cases of assault were reported. The city and the principal thoroughfares were more or less deserted and the majority of shops were closed. Persons walking or passing with lathis were challenged by pickets on duty and their lathis and sticks were deposited in Kotwali.

Official Version of the Riot.

The following official communique was issued by the Punjab Government regarding the riots on the 5th May:—

"As exaggerated and mialeading accounts have been published of the recent rioting in Lahore, it is desirable to make known the actual facts so far as these have been ascertained by the Government. The first disorder occurred at about 9 p. m., on the evening of the 3rd May when some Sikhs are alleged to have attacked Mahomedans in the neighbourhood of Haveli Kabli Mal. The police were quickly on the spot in considerable strength and restored order. They found that eight persons had been injured, all of whom, with the exception of a Hindu boy, were Mahomedans. Of these three were dead and five, of whom one subsequently died, were wounded. Four Sikhs were arrested on the spot by the police. Investigation into this affray is being personally conducted by a European Superintendent of Police specially detailed for duty. On the forenoon of the 4th May, although great excitement prevailed in the city and a large number of shops were closed, only one instance of actual disorder took place. This occurred in Anarkali when a party of Muslims were endeavouring to persuade the shop-keepers to close their shops and a man, who is alleged to have had the appearance of a Muslim, suddenly attacked and stabbed five or six shop-keepers with a knife. This individual managed to evade arrest. In view of the grave state of tension in the city and possibility of the disorder occurring during or after funeral of victims, it was decided to take special precautions including sending of troops and armoured cars. The first detachment of troops reached the city soon after midday. On the afternoon of the 4th May a very large procession followed the funerals of the victims of rioting of the previous night. As the tail of the processions which was accompanied by the Magistrates and the Police passed a Hindu temple some stones were thrown at it but no serious fracas occurred and no one appears to have been seriously injured. Some arrests of persons alleged to have thrown stones were made. On conclusion of the fureral ceremonies which were very largely attended, at about 6 p. m. adequate arrangements were made by the troops and the Police to ensure that no disorder accompanied the return of the large crowds from the burial ground to the city. Special precautions taken with this object worked effectively and this stage regarding which some anxiety had been felt was not marked by any serious disorder. Crowds passed through the long Anarkali Bazaar without excitement or disturbance but after they had reached the city and dispersed to their Mohalla isolated cases of assaults on individuals were reported to the Police from different quarters of the city. Later in the evening two cases occurred on the crowds assembling. One of these was at Lohari Gate and one at the Mochi Gate. At both places Magistrates were present. A threatening crowd of the Lohari Gate was dispersed by a detachment of Hodson's Horse under the Magistrate's order. The other crowd was similarly dispersed on the arrival of a detachment of cavalry on the spot; but a few casualties had occurred before the cavalry arrived.

Police and Military Arrangements.

"Isolated attacks on individuals continued to be reported to the police from various parts of the city until about 11 p. m. on the 4th. Meanwhile a careful system of patrols had been organised in all the streets inside the walled city radiating from a common centre. This proved very effective and continued in operation throughout the night. The Colonel Commandant of the Lahore Brigade area personally supervised the disposition of the troops in consultation with the civil authorities. Orders were issued by the Additional Magistrate under Section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure prohibiting a Muslim meeting which was announced to be held on the return of the funeral party from the burial ground. No meeting actually took place. Orders were subsequently issued prohibiting the carrying of lathis or the assembling of persons in bodies of more than four. Owing to rumours that arson on a large scale was contemplated during the night, the Municipal and the railway fire brigades were mobilised and special orders were issued to the Magistrates, troops and the police making it clear that they were to open fire on any one attempting incendiarism or indulging in rioting, such firing being, of course kept within the limits necessary to ensure control of the immediate situation. Seven incendiary fires actually occurred during the fight but all were extinguished by the fire brigade within a few

minutes except one in which a Hindu temple outside the Bhati Gate was gutted in spite of the strenuous work by the fire brigade. The troops who had a hard day on the 4th May were reinforced by fresh troops early on the morning of the 5th May and an adequate force of cavalry, infantry, and armoured cars is now in the city capable of dealing with any contingencies. In addition to the regular staff of Magistrates four special European Magistrates have been placed on duty in the city. Police reserves are being called in from other centres.

Assaults on Individuals.

"On the morning of the 5th May one case of assault on individuals was reported from the neighbourhood of Tavali Gate. A marked feature of the disturbance up to the present moment (mid-day of the 5th May) has been that there have been no clashes of large bodies of men but numerous assaults on individuals by single persons or small bodies. Such assaults have been scattered over a very wide area. They constitute a form of lawlessness, the most difficult to deal with, and may necessitate the continuance for some days to come of a system of intensive patrols over the net work of streets inside the city walls. A curfew order is to be promulgated to-day directing all persons residing within the city to be indoors by 1 p. m. The number according to the hospitals' returns hitherto ascertained is 14 killed and 103 wounded. The number is fairly equally distributed among Mahomedans, Hindus and Sikhs.

"The funerals of victims took place during the afternoon of the day. Processions to the burial ground were limited in numbers and were accompanied by strong escorts of police and troops which prevented any disorder. A few isolated attacks on individuals were reported during the early part of the afternoon, but none after 3 p. m. In these attacks two men were killed and twenty wounded. Both men killed were Hindus. A fracas on a slightly larger scale in range was quickly suppressed by troops without firing or casulties. The night was absolutely quiet owing to the effective enforcement of the Curfew Order at 8 p. m., the streets being wholly deserted except for patrols of troops and police. Up till 3 p. m. on the 6th only two isolated assaults on individuals have been reported. A Sikh was stabbed near Sheranwala gate at about 11-30 a. m and a Hindu was very severely wounded in Changar Mohalla about 1-25. The congregations that assembled in the various mosques for Jumma prayers about the mid-day dispersed quietly, the authorities having taken full precautions to prevent disorder. The casualties roll has now been carefully verified. The total number of deaths is 18, of whom 8 are Hindus 6 Muslims, 4 Sikhs, wounded 178 of whom 95 are Hindus, 41 Muslims, 41 Sikhs and 1 Christian.

Canards.

"A rumour to which currency has been given in certain newspapers that the Sikhs are pouring into the city in large numbers from the surrounding area is false. One small band of seventeen Sikhs was stopped by the Magistrate on the 6th of May inside the Bhati gate. Eleven of the seventeen were arrested and the other six ran away. This is the only incident of the kind that has occurred. Another wholly false rumour is to the effect that women have been insulted and injured by badmashes of both communities. This is untrue. No women are among those killed or wounded. No disturbance or disorder has been reported form any neighbouring district."

The Rangila Rasul Case.

On the 4th May 1927 at the Lahore High Court Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh pronounced judgment in the 'Rangila Rasul' case accepting the revision and acquitting the accused Rajpal, the publisher of the pamphlet of that name. The accused-petitioner had been convicted by Mr. Phailbus, magistrate, under section 153-A, I. P, C., and sentenced to 10 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000. The conviction was maintained by Col. Nicolas, sessions judge, on appeal but the sentence was reduced to six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000.

Mr. Justice Dalip Singh held that the intention to create ill-feeling between classes could not be necessarily inferred though such a feeling might be the result of such a publication. The learned judge found section 153-A not applicable to the case and added that the Government Advocate could not suggest any other section that could apply. His lordship, therefore, acquitted the accused. The following is a short history of the case as contributed by Pundit A. S. Sharma in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika":—

History of the Case.

"Rangila Rasul case which has apparently reached its final stage in the Punjab High Court deserves more than a passing notice. The case was instituted by the Government under Section 153-A I.P.C. some three years ago and the accused Mahashe Rajpal, who is a well-known publisher of religious books, was hauled up for exciting hatred between the Hindus and the Mahomedans. The book "Rangila Rasul" which is the subject of the case is a small brochure written by some anonymous but well-informed author, who has tried to draw instances from the life of the Prophet, against the evils of of polygamy etc. Those who have read the book know that there is no attempt at ridiculing and the facts put forth in simple and innocent language are entirely based on the writings of standard authors on Islam, both European and Mohammadan. There is nothing in the book which has not some authority behind it. Such was the simple and logical basis of the book; but the Government saw great excitement to hatred among the two communities and drew up proceedings. It is interesting to point out that the action against the publisher was taken long after the actual publication of the book and the Government did not think it necessary to do anything in the matter until a clue was got from a section of the Mohammadans who held a meeting of protest and a note was published by Mahatma Gandhi in "Young India" condemning the literature of this nature.

"The book in question was written at a time when literature of this type was being published from both the sides and the Mohammadans had made a beginning by publishing a very objectionable book entitled "Uneesveen Sadi ka Maharishi" (Maharishi of the nineteenth century) against the venerable founder of the Arya Samaj. Mahatma Gandhi had penned down a note against the tone and nature of this book also; but look to the discretion of the Punjab Government that it decided to prosecute the publisher of Rangila Rasul alone and not the publisher of the latter publication.

"The Punjab Government made a serious mistake in sanctioning the prosecution in "Rangila Rasul" case and a still greater mistake in continuing the case even when the accused had expressed regret and had of his own accord offered not to sell and publish the book any more. The delays of law are well known and in this particular instance the case was dragged through three weary years. In any other province such a minor case would have ended in a couple of months, but the Punjab Government went on with it for not one or two but three years. During this time one or two Magistrates changed hands and on points of law the case was referred to the High Court not less than three times. The Magistrate in the lower court who convicted the accused, raised an interesting point that the witnesses called by the accused in his defence should be only those persons who have a personal knowledge about the life of Mohammad. This point of exceptional genius had not occurred to his predecessor and the result was that the accused was not

able to produce defence in his favour. The accused was not "Omni-potent" to infuse life into the dead bodies of Mohammad's time and to call them from their graves as his witnesses and the court would not allow such persons to appear before it who had an indirect knowledge of the times!

"Notwithstanding the hollow nature of the case and inability of the accused to produce defence witnesses on account of the curious plea of the court, it is strange that the punishment given in this case was very severe i. e., 18 months' rigorous imprisonment with a fine of rupees one thousand. The maximum imprisonment allowable under the Section is two years and the Magistrate was kind enough to allot three-fourth of the maximum to Mahashe Rajpal. As regards fine "full measure" was used and no consideration was shown for the fact that the accused had not earned even one-tenth of the amount of fine imposed from his unlucky book and then he had to spend a good deal in course of these three years on his case. Such a harsh punishment under Section 153-A is absolutely unknown in any other province except the unfortunate province of the Punjab which is a next door neighbour to N. W. F. famous for harsh sentences. If I remember aright, in Bengal such a harsh sentence was never pronounced under Section 153-A in these years, although Calcutta passed through terrible communal riots. It was pleasing however to find that the Sessions Judge of Lahore on appeal has reduced the sentence of imprisonment to six months although he did not see his way to make any reduction in the huge amount of fine.

"On a further appeal in the Punjab High Court, the structure of the whole case came to the ground with a crash and Justice Kanwar Dalip Singh who is by the way an Indian Christian, acquitted Mahashe Rajpal and held that Section 153-A is not applicable in the case and remarked that the Government Advocate could not suggest any other section that could be applied. A case which went through three long years and involved a great expense on both sides has at last ended in such a dramatic way that one can easily understand how recklessly the provincial Governments often institute cases under Section 153-A—a section the use of which has become so very common in all provinces."

The A. B. Patrika's Comments.

"The reply of His Excellency Governor of the Punjab to a deputation of leading Mahammadans which waited on him at Lahore to present their views on the judgment of the above case is likely to raise misgivings in the minds of all who have the cause of freedom in literary and journalistic criticism at heart. But what is likely to cause the greatest surprise in the minds of the public is the way in which His Excellency dealt with the judgment of the High Court in the "Rangila Rasul" case. We quite agree with His Excellency that "it is always necessary for the Executive Government to exhibit a due reserve in dealing with judicial pronouncements especially when they proceed from the highest courts" but we confess we did not quite follow how the head of the Executive in the same breath could publicly hold that the judgment seemed "to break new ground as regards the interpretation of the law." It is not for us to suggest whether the Executive should resort to a process by which it could obtain either from the High Court itself or from the Privy Council "a reconsideration of the point of law taken in the judgment, in the hope that the final decision might be more in accord with the view we had taken when we initiated and supported the prosecution" but we consider it to be our duty to point out that His Excellency should have been more reserved in referring to the matter of the *Resala Vartman* which is "now coming before the courts." We consider it to be our duty to protest emphatically against a declaration from the head of the Executive at this stage that the matter of the *Resala Vartman* represents "for us an opportunity for testing the interpretation which is to be placed on the law" and that "the decision in this case will decide whether we can rest content with the legislature for some modification of its terms." It would have been well for all concerned it His Excellency had seen his way to avoid any reference to a matter which has yet to be placed before a court for decision.

"But the main subject of interest in the reply of His Excellency is the extent of liberty to be allowed in criticism of any religion or religious leader. His lordship of the Punjab High Court in dealing with the *Rangila Rasul* case found that it did not fall within the purview of section 153A of the I. P. C. as many strong criticisms had been made before about the Prophet by other writers of whom many were English without attracting any notice or inciting hatred between the classes and communities amongst His Majesty's subjects. His Excellency himself remarks "one must be clear that the legislature can never be expected to place an entire embargo on such attacks; it will not seek to prevent a serious treatment of questions of religious history though stated in critical

terms. If we have obligations for the preservation of public tranquility, we are also bound to respect the claim for that freedom of discussion which is necessary for the ascertainment of truth, historical or religious. A serious and critical treatment does not entirely exclude the use of satire; but it would certainly stop short at deliberate ridicule." But to seek to tighten the law, or to influence the interpretation in a manner to suit the convenience of the executive or to put such a wide interpretation as to bring within its purview all writings which may be considered to be objectionable by some members of any particular community are to fetter that very "freedom of discussion" for which His Excellency expressed so much solicitude.

"It is not necessary to prove our point to deny that the present communal tension has given impetus to much hack-writing on both sides much of which makes up by venom the absence of any intrinsic literary quality. But what the leaders of both the communities should seriously consider is that whether by approaching the Government to take measures against these literary mushrooms we shall not only be supplying the bureaucracy with a pretext to impose fresh fetters on the little freedom of opinion that we have and whether by advocating strong measures against these otherwise obscure writers we do not give them a notoriety which always will make it easy for them to earn a cheap martyrdom. These writings do the least injury if they are taken little notice of and treated with the contempt they deserve."

Moulana Mahomed Ali's Views.

On the 28th June 1927 Maulana Mahomed Ali published two leading articles in his Urdu daily newspaper "Hamdard" on the Rangila Rasul case in the first of which he answers the question whether the fault is that of "Kadi" or of canon law and comes to the latter conclusion. In the next article he analyses the offence and states that it is a synthesis of six different offences but Mr. Kanwar Dalip Singh is the first Judge of the High Court who has brought it home to Mussalmans that not one of these serious offences is an offence according to Indian legal code. He enumerates these offences as (1) insulting the founder of Islam, (2) insulting the religion of Mussalmans, (3) attempting to bring the founder of Islam into hatred, (4) attempting to bring the religion of Mussalmans into hatred, (5) wounding the feeling of Mussalmans and (6) attempting to bring Mussalmans into contempt.

Defective Law.

He states that under Section 153-A only promoting or attempting to promote hatred against Mussalmans is punishable and not attempting to bring them into contempt. Also that, allthough promoting or attempting to promote hatred against Mussalmans is punishable, promoting or attempting to promote hatred against that august and exalted personality which every Mussalman values for more than his own life and far more than all Mussalmans put together is not punishable. Nevertheless, the Maulana points out that Mr. Kanwar Dalip Singh, who holds that the law is defective and desires that it should be so amended as to cover offences of insulting the religion of any person or wounding his religious feelings, has condemned the pamphlet as malicious in tone and likely to wound the religious feelings of the Mussalman community and only reluctantly accepted the revision and acquitted the petitioner.

It may be that his interpretation of the existing law is wrong but the Maulana has come to the conclusion that neither "The Muslim Outlook" nor any other newspaper has shown that Mr. Kanwar Dalip Singh intentionally misinterpreted the law and acquitted the accused through bigotry or dishonesty. Unless the Judge intentionally misinterprets law and is bigoted or dishonest he cannot be asked to resign. If this was not the customary procedure the Maulana thinks that nowhere in the world would a second judge have been found after the first had been made to resign for an error of judgment. The Maulana, while declaring the law to be extremely defective, clearly states that it was not intentionally left defective by the Government either, for it is equally helpless to-day in dealing with those who insult the religion of British officials and wound their religious feelings. Had Government known that the law was defective it would not have knocked at the doors of the District Magistrate, the Sessions Judge and the High Court itself in this case.

No Case Against Judge.

The Maulana explains that he was the first Mussalman to point out in the course of his weekly speech in Juma Masjid on the 6th of May that very serious consequences were

likely to follow the acquittal of Rajpal. This judgment had opened the floodgates of mischief, much greater than Hindu-Muslim quarrels over cow-slaughter and music before mosques. He was surprised that nobody else had dealt with or reviewed the judgment before. "The Muslim Outlook," and other Muslim papers had done so no less than three weeks after it had been delivered. When he returned to Delhi after a month's absence he found that some leading Punjab Mussalmans had already done what was needed by going in a deputation to the Governor of the Punjab and so he remained silent. The Maulana gives full meed of praise to the reply of Sir Malcolm Hailey to the deputation. After this there was nothing left for Mussalmans but to wait and see.

However, "The Muslim Outlook" which had been dealing with the matter since the 25th May all of sudden asked the Judge who had delivered the judgment to resign. The Maulana cannot understand this curious and belated demand. He says that he for many years never had any respect for British law courts in India but he fears the law of God and that law required that before we condemn a person we must investigate and establish his guilt. "The Muslim Outlook" had not published any proofs of Mr. Kanwar Dalip Singh's bigotry or dishonesty and it was contended on its behalf that the expressions it had used did not unequivocally express contempt of court.

Wanted an Ordinance.

The Maulana demands from the Government the promulgation of an ordinance making the offence of insulting a person's religion by insulting prophets, saints and other persons held sacred by those following that religion and of wounding their religious feelings severely punishable and points out that newspapers like "Pratap" of Lahore are taking advantage of the interregnum created by Mr. Kanwar Dalip Singh's judgment.

The Maulana concludes that the demand of the Lahore meeting that the Secretary of State should compel the judge to resign is not justified. "Lord Birkenhead demanding resignation from Mr. Kanwar Dalip Singh is the best illustration of Punjab humour." If Mr. Kanwar Dalip Singh deserved dismissal then "The Muslim Outlook" and other Muslim papers and meetings of Punjab Mussalmans should have asked more emphatically for the resignation of Justice Zafar Ali. The Maulana hopes that Government would release the prisoners and remit the fine. If they have erred they have done so through terrible excitement which is only natural when the Prophet is so foully reviled and the law declares itself helpless to punish the guilty. That Rajpal should be at large and Messrs. Bukhari and Narul Haq should rot in a prison is a most painful practical paradox of British justice.

The Delhi Muslim's Protest Meeting.

On the 30th June Delhi presented a gloomy appearance when Muslim shop-keepers observed a complete hartal and a monster meeting of Muslims was held in the maidan opposite Juma Masjid to protest against the "Rangila Rasul" judgment. Mufti Kifayatullah presided, who in opening the proceedings, said that the meeting had been convened to protect the honour of their Prophet. No Muslim could rest in peace if dirty reflections were cast on the Founder of Islam whom the Muslims loved more than their parents, children or even their own life. Muslims could stand all bodily tortures but to them their Prophet was above criticism. According to Islamic law death was the only punishment for one who reviled their Prophet but unfortunately the Government and the law of the country were not in Muslim hands. They, therefore, were patiently waiting to see what the Government of the land, which professed to safeguard the honour of all religious saints, would do. It was true that Government did proceed against the author of "Rangila Rasul" but the final judgment of Justice Dulip Singh had given them a rude shock. Justice Dulip Singh had decided that it was no crime to revile the life of the founder of a religion. They, therefore, had gathered there to tell the Government what they proposed to do next. This will be done by a resolution which the speaker expected they would pass unanimously.

Maulana Mahomed ALI, in moving the resolution, said that during and after the Great War the Muslim activity was directed to protecting the Khilafat but to-day they assembled there to safeguard the honour and fair name of the Founder of Islam himself. The Hindus should know that all worldly relations between Muslims, on the one hand and Khilafat Committee, Congress, Mahatma Gandhi and even the Government on the other hand terminated when the life and soul of Islam was reviled. For Mussalmans all their earthly activities and relations depend on their faith in Mahomed. If what Justice Dulip Singh

said was true there was no law left in the land for Mussalmans. The proper thing would have been to give a terrible shaking to Rajpal, author of "Rangila Rasul." He advocated the addition of a new clause to section 153A.—I. P. C making insulting a prophet penal. Pending this amendment of the criminal law of the land, the Viceroy should use his extraordinary powers and promulgate an ordinance, thereby meeting the urgent need of the hour. This will prevent further mischief being done. The speaker concluded with an appeal to Government to release the editor and printer and publisher of "The Muslim Outlook" who acted under a great provocation. A Muslim ceased to be rational if his Prophet was insulted or his life reviled and he (Muslim) therefore, was not responsible for his actions. The same was the case of the editor and printer and publisher of "Muslim Outlook."

The IMAM of Juma Masjid, seconding the resolution, said that Justice Dulip Singh was either dishonest or a lunatic when he passed the orders in the "Rangila Rasul" case. The speaker knew that Justice Dulip Singh was not dishonest and a lunatic should not occupy the chair in a High Court. He should either resign at once or the Secretary of State should ask for his resignation forthwith.

Khwaja Hassan Nizami felt it strange that no sections of the criminal law could be found to convict the reviler of the Prophet's life while a section could be traced to sentence the insulter of Justice Dulip Singh.

The resolution was further supported by Maulana Said Pirzada Mahomed Hussain, S. M. Abdullah Hafiz Mahomed Sadique and several others and adopted unanimously.

The President, in conclusion, advised the audience to be non-violent and should do nothing to excite themselves or others. The following is the text of the resolution that was moved by Moulana Mahomed Ali and passed :—"

RESOLUTION.

"The meeting expresses its deep resentment over the judgments which had outraged Muslim feelings throughout the country and requests the Government to issue a communique explaining their future policy in matters like the one under discussion but, in the opinion of the organisers of the meeting, Government should either file a revision in the Privy Council against the judgment of Mr. Justice Dalip Singh or show intention of amending the criminal law of the country with a view to bring offenders like the author of the "Rangila Rasul" to book. In the meanwhile the Government should issue an ordinance thereby remedying the defects like the one in issue in the Indian penal Code. Failing all these alternatives, the meeting warns the Government that the Mussalmans would be compelled, though very reluctantly, to take the law into their own hands."

"Risala Vartman" Case.

On the 1st July the Punjab Government applied to the Lahore High Court through the Government Advocate for an order transferring the "Risala Vartman" case from the court of the District Magistrate, Amritsar, to the file of the High Court.

The "Risala Vartman" was prosecuted for an article alleged to contain abuse of the Prophet Muhammad and the Punjab Government announced its intention to treat this prosecution as a test case on the interpretation of section 153-A, of the Indian Penal Code. The application was successful and the writer was convicted.

The Kakori Conspiracy Case.

On the 6th April 1927 Judgment was delivered in the Kakori Conspiracy case by Mr. A. H. De B. Hamilton, Special Judge, Lucknow. Of the 22 accused before the Court three were sentenced to be hanged, one was transported for life, one got 14 years' R. I., five got 10 years each, two 7 years each, six sentenced to 5 years' R. I. two were acquitted and two, who had turned approvers, were pardoned. This case was one of the biggest conspiracy cases in India. Over 250 witnesses were produced on behalf of the prosecution before the Court of the Sessions, and the exhibits both material and documentary numbered nearly eleven hundred.

History of the Case.

It may be recalled that on the 9th August 1925 a passenger train was stopped by some persons and looted within ten miles of Lucknow Junction. Enquiry into this daring dacoity revealed to the police the existence of a wide-spread revolutionary organisation in the United Provinces with an off-shoot in the Central Provinces and working in concert with the main organisation in Bengal. Armed with this knowledge the C. I. D. kept strict watch on the movements of the revolutionary suspects in the United Provinces and also intercepted their correspondence. Eventually on the 25th September 1925 Mr. R. A. Hortor of the C. I. D. issued a number of warrants for the arrests and house-searches in different cities of the province. The warrants were executed the next day and over 30 persons were apprehended. Searches also led to the recovery of several firearms and a mass of documents and revolutionary literature. The documents seized threw more light on the affairs of the organization, some more arrests were made and there was further recovery of arms and ammunition. Some of the persons wanted by the police evaded arrest. Of them one, namely, Rajendra Kumar Lahiri, was arrested on November 1925 in Dakshineswar in what was called a bomb factory. Towards the end of the year 1925 the police dropped the case against some of the arrested persons but sent up before Mr. Syed Ainuddin, Special Magistrate, 26 persons on a charge of conspiracy to wage war against the King-Emperor, a conspiracy to commit dacoity with murder. Of these 26 persons, three remained absconding and two turned approvers. The Special Magistrate committed all the remaining 21 persons to the Sessions. During the trial in the Sessions Court one accused, Damodar Swarup Seth, became seriously ill and his trial has been postponed.

The Judgment.

The Judge found that there was widespread conspiracy in the United Provinces the object of which was to effect armed revolution for the overthrow of the present Government. The headquarters of the conspiracy was in Bengal from where the accused Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee came as an emissary to organise the U. P. branch. Jogesh was assisted by the accused G. C. Kar but ideas emanated principally from the accused Sachindranath Sanyal. The first seeds were planted in this province in 1923; but the plant was well nourished by the accused Ramprasad and R. N. Lahiri, Ram Prasad was the chief of the staff in the United Provinces; but Lahiri, too, was a very important member and was the go-between for the headquarters in Bengal and U. P. branch. Dakhineswar and Shorabazaar were part and parcel of this conspiracy, the duty of the Bengal section being to keep the Upper India organisation supplied with arms and ammunition. The Judge further found that the members of the conspiracy committed the following dacoities to collect funds for the organisation :—(1) Bamrauli dacoity committed on the 25th December, 1924. (2) Bichpuri dacoity committed on the 9th March, 1923 (3) Dwarkapur dacoity on the 24th May, 1925. (4) The train dacoity on the 9th August, 1925. The Judge further found that in the first two dacoities common criminals were enrolled to swell the number of dacoits.

In awarding sentences to the different accused the Judge remarked :—" I have been asked by the Public Prosecutor himself to temper justice with mercy in the case of those who are young and who have played but a secondary part in this conspiracy. In certain cases the Counsel has asked for mercy to be shown to a particular client and at the end the accused Sachindra Nath Sanyal made a similar request in general. I therefore think it right to say something on the subject.

" I do believe myself that the great majority of the accused did join this conspiracy for no personal gain or advantage and that what they did as members of this conspiracy they did not do for the above purpose. Banwari Lal has made certain accusations of dishonesty against Ram Prasad and the absconder Azad and Banarsi also had a suspicion

against Ram Prasad. Whether they are justified or not I cannot tell. On the other hand it was the object of this conspiracy to effect armed revolution. The members of the conspiracy had arms and made bombs and this means murder. A revolution as realized by the writer of the white leaflet himself means chaos. Chaos is an opportunity which professional criminals always take advantage of as local riots show and I do not for a moment believe that the members of this conspiracy could have stopped this. The property and life of the persons who either have nothing to do with the Government or politics or who work for India in a manner which they consider better for the country than that chosen by the members of this conspiracy must be safeguarded. Then there are the dacoities from the evidence for the prosecution. It appears that persons joined this conspiracy knowing full well that dacoities would be committed. In two of these dacoities the conspirators joined forces with professional criminals. In each of the four dacoities a man was murdered. In Bamrauli, Baldeo Pershad received a bullet in the neck and Chandika one through the face and it is a mercy that they were not killed. In Bichpuri, Toti was tortured by a burning cloth being put between his legs. In Dwarkapur, four persons received bullet wounds which caused grievous injuries. Their blood lies not only on the heads of those who shot them, but on every member of this conspiracy. I can only hope that as the commission of these dacoities was usually not disclosed to the conspirators who did not take part in them what was done was unknown to most of the members of this conspiracy and that now it has awakened in their hearts a feeling of repugnance as in the heart of Banarsi. In considering the Bichpuri dacoity I take note of the fact that only men on the roof shot at persons. In considering the train dacoity, I take note of the fact that it is improbable that Ahmad Ali, who was shot, was deliberately aimed at. But nevertheless the shooting along the sides of the train showed a disregard of human life. I must also consider the fact that this conspiracy was a very important one extending beyond the U. P. When an appeal is made for mercy it is usual to attempt to satisfy the court that the person who has committed the offence has repented and will not offend again and therefore a lighter sentence will be a sufficient deterrent. The only accused from whose action I can infer such a sense of repentance is Banwari who has confessed. Whether there be others who have repented but who have said nothing either through fear of their companions or not wishing to say anything against their companions I am unable to say. I hope that there are and, if so, I recommend that the Government may consider that as I have done in the case of Banwari. Not knowing myself whether the accused on whose behalf application for mercy has been made do really repent, I cannot presume that they do."

The Judge finds Ram Prasad (aged 28, of Shahjehanpur) the most important member of the conspiracy and guilty of participation in the Bichpur dacoity and also the train dacoity and sentences him to be hanged. Rajen Lahiri (aged 24, of Benares) is also found to be a leading member of the conspiracy and guilty of participation in the train dacoity. He is also sentenced to be hanged. The Judge finds the case proved against Raushan Singh (33 years, of Shahjehanpur) in regard to the conspiracy and the Ramrauli dacoity. He too is sentenced to be hanged. Sachindranath Sanyal is proved not only to be a member of the conspiracy, but an important member not merely in U. P., but at the headquarters which were in Bengal. Manmatha Nath Gupta of Benares is found guilty of the conspiracy of the Bichpuri dacoity and the train dacoity. He is sentenced to 14 years' rigorous. Govindcharan Kar of Dacca, Mukandilal of Etawah and Rajkumar Sinha of Cawnpore are all found guilty of conspiracy and the train dacoity and are sentenced to ten years' rigorous. Ramkishen Khattri of Chanda (C. P.) is found guilty of conspiracy and the Bichpur dacoity and is sentenced to ten years' rigorous. Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee of Dacca is found to be the prime factor in the establishment of the revolutionary society in U. P. and is sentenced to ten years' rigorous. Visnusaran Dublis of Meerut and Sureshchandra Bhattacharya of Cawnpore are found guilty of conspiracy and are sentenced to seven years' rigorous. Bhupen Sanyal of Allahabad, Pranabesh Kumar Chatterjee of Jubbulpore, Premkishen Khanna of Shahranpur, Ramdularey of Cawnpore and Ramnath Pandey of Benares are all found to be members of the conspiracy and are sentenced to five years' R. I. Banwarilal is found guilty of conspiracy and of the train dacoity but because he has confessed his guilt he is sentenced to only five years' rigorous. Sachindranath Biswas of Lucknow and Hargovind of Shahjehanpur are found not guilty and are acquitted. The approvers, Banarsilal and Indubhushan Mittra, both of Shahjehanpur, are pardoned. In concluding his judgment, the Judge pays a tribute to the skill with which Mr. Horton and his subordinates carried out the investigation and prepared the case. The honesty of Mr. Horton, the Judge remarks, was generally recognised by the defence.

The European Associations.

The Calcutta Europeans on the Reforms.

The following is the full text of the amazing speech which Mr. Langford James, President of the Calcutta European Association, delivered on the occasion of the dinner given by the Association to the Viceroy on Tuesday, the 14th December 1926 :—

"I have always admired the technique of those speakers who are able to make with an apparent wealth of feeling speeches touched in irreproachable language which in fact means nothing, but may subsequently be construed to mean anything. I admire, I say, their technique : their mentality always reminds me of the member of this Club who signed a chit for one half peg and over his signature wrote those magic letters E. & O. E. No one could ever discover against which eventuality he was protecting himself. Possessing neither the technique nor the mentality necessary for such oratorical efforts you will forgive me if my remarks to-night are cast in a more homely mould.

There is one of the representations which the European Association found its duty to make this year which has excited a certain amount of comment and, as I think that our action has been imperfectly understood, I propose to say a few words with regard to it. I refer to our representation with regard to the case of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Spence. As you will remember, Mr. Wilson was tried in Sylhet by a jury for culpable homicide and assult, and he was acquitted on the first charge but fined Rs. 200 for assault. Against the acquittal for manslaughter the Government of Assam appealed. In Mr. Spence's case he was accused before a Magistrate of culpable homicide but after a lengthy hearing he was discharged. The District Magistrate saw fit to have him rearrested and called upon him to show cause why the charge should not proceed against him.

Now, in India, unlike England, the Government is entitled to appeal against an acquittal by limiting the right of appeals against acquittals to the local Government. The law obviously intended that such interference should take place only in cases where there had been a miscarriage of justice so grave as would induce the Local Government to move in the matter. It is no good reason for taking that very serious step that there has been an irregularity in the trial. The Government must be convinced that there has been a grave miscarriage of justice. In the case of the Magistrate exactly analogous considerations apply and it is no good reason to state that in taking such a step he has examined the record and is following the ordinary procedure directed by the Code. It was represented to your Council that in both these cases it looked as though other considerations than those I have mentioned had weighed with the authorities concerned, and after due deliberation and a most careful consideration of all the facts, your Council made representations to the Governments concerned and to the Government of India.

Government Assurances

Whatever can be said as to the particular merits of the case I read the reply of the Government of India as containing an express assurance that it is its intention that in such cases the test I have mentioned shall be rigidly and impartially applied and I think the same assurance can be implied from answers of the other two Governments, and we do, as we must accept that assurance unreservedly. But I desire to say that if in the future, at any time, we should be of opinion that our rights as citizens in this country are being endangered we shall consider it our plain duty to make similar representations to that which we have made on this occasion.

I wish to add one word with regard to the answer given us by the Assam

Government. They have seen fit to accuse us of ignorance and callousness. With regard to the charge of ignorance, I can only say that we were as fully acquainted with all the facts as the Government of Assam were or, shall I say as the Government of Assam ought to have been. And with regard to the charge of callousness the fact that an unfortunate coolie had died was in no way relevent to the point which we were raising. Had it been so, it would have been equally relevant to raise the point of the refined cruelty to living. I mean the subjecting of a man to a double trial. It is needless to say that our community does not in any way countenance assaults on Indians.

Europeans and Politics

Now, I have stated that the advent of the Reforms Scheme enlarged the scope of the activities of this Association. It had another effect. It encouraged the growth of various political organisations in this country who change their names with disconcerting rapidity. A very intimate friend of mine once suggested to me that it might be possible to stereotype these parties under names terse simple and easily understood. He suggested non-Sycophantic non-Responsivists and Pro-anti-automatic anti-Tergiversationists: such homely appellations he thought would cover a multitude of principles—even fluctuating principles. Be that as it may, these gentlemen show a growing tendency to challenge the right of the unofficial Europeans to be in India at all, or to suggest that we are here merely on sufferance.

I confess that I for one discount the ebullitions of the politico in this country as I do in most, but this assertion gives us food for thought. This would appear to be a simple answer to this challenge. But apart from these truisms, I think we have a right to be in India on moral, but equally strong, grounds. The British people have very largely made India. Their continuance in the country is in my opinion necessary to the future welfare of the country, and I venture to think that most thinking Indians realise that truth. Our forefathers when they came to India brought with them a particular stock-in-trade which may perhaps be summarised in the three words Stamina, Honesty and Initiative, and I believe that those are still the qualities which are needed, and valued, in India.

A Viceroy's Qualities

In this connection it is pleasant to reflect that our principal guest this evening embodies these qualities, which are in truth the qualities of an English gentleman, to a remarkable extent. It will surprise nobody to hear that in his undergraduate days at Oxford His Excellency was one of the most popular and most respected man at the House. I can speak to that fact of my own knowledge. From hearsay I can speak to the fact that the same is true of that other House at Westminster. I shall be surprised if a similar fate does no await His Excellency in India. But if these are the qualities upon which in moments of auto-analysis we pride ourselves, we must be careful to put them into practice in dealing with the problems which confront us. The stamina and initiative which we claim as our birthright must be pinced at the disposal of the body politic to the fullest extent.

In the past when the indigenous populations have got into a tight corner the first thing they have cried for is the Sahib. The need is still there and we must continue to respond to it. Perhaps the most important of all we must make up our minds to say quite honestly and sincerely what we think to be the truth. There is no need to be offensive but there is every need to be frank.

Lord Lytton's Record

We have amongst us to-night another distinguished guest. I venture to think that when time passes its verdict upon Lord Lytton's term of office in Bengal, the point upon which most stress will be laid is His Excellency's consistent, transparent and, I would say, courageous sincerity in thought, word and deed. That is a verdict which I for one should very much prize. The true value of a living example of sincerity is difficult to appraise.

Communal Troubles

I now propose to say a few words upon some problems which, in my opinion, confront us. First and foremost, is the communal question. This divides itself into two branches: the question of whether representation throughout India, whatever form it may take, should proceed upon a communal basis. In my opinion there is no other reasonable or practical alternative, and that for one simple reason. In a continent socially so backward as India, and where political sense, if born, is not yet weaned from communal sense, it is the only method of ensuring audience for the views of the different communities.

There is the other side of this question, viz., the unfortunate communal disturbances which have rent this country in the past and may do so in the future. In this matter we as a community are intensely anxious to render any assistance which we can, but it would be unwise for us to give even the appearance of interference. During the recent disturbances in Calcutta we were freely accused of backing the Mahomedan community against the Hindu community. This Association was accused of advancing the Mahomedan community the sum of Rs. 50,000 (a sum which it did not possess in cash). I personally was accused of advancing a sum of Rs. 10,000 (a sum which I have never in my life had to spare), and the wildest possible rumours were circulated. The truth is that we did not help either community with one anna nor were we able, unfortunately, to help either community with any advice.

The next question is, I feel, hardly a new one but none-the-less of vital importance. I mean the question of the Services. It is absolutely essential, as I see it, not only that the British connection should be maintained in the Services, but that the very best men which Britain can produce should be attracted to them. This cannot be done on sentiment. It is only possible to attain this object if you can put before a young man a definite and attractive proposition. How in practice this is to be done in the case of the Civil Service it is not for me to dictate, but I think it might possibly be accomplished by the creation of a British Imperial Service with definite provincial posts reserved for it, and the creation of provincial services recruited in India.

Lastly I come to the question of our attitude before the Royal Commission. Time does not permit of my dealing with this at any great length, but it is well to bear in mind what are the functions of this Committee. Those functions are imposed upon them by the statute. Shortly put they are bound to examine the whole position and report whether, in their opinion, responsible government is possible in this country, and if so, to what extent. It does not follow that they are bound to make the same recommendations for every part of India.

Secondly, it is well to remember that responsible government is not synonymous with Democracy. The British Empire was not built upon Democracy. That is a system of Government which has grown gradually after political education, and is now on its trial in Great Britain. This system is, as far as I know, repugnant to the ideas of most of the peoples of India and they are in no wise ripe for it. If in another 100 years they have reached politically the position which England had reached 100 years ago, they will have made very good going.

Fundamental Fallacies

I think it is particularly necessary to bear this latter fact in mind in considering this problem, because in my opinion one of the fundamental fallacies underlying the Reforms Scheme was the fact that it promulgated a system of Government for which an electorate was essential, and then went out to look for the electorate. That is a political 'husteron proteron' which it is difficult to justify and no one can say that the practical results are encouraging.

The second fundamental fallacy underlying the Reforms Scheme, in my opinion, is the method, no doubt well-intentioned, by which it was proposed to engender a sense of responsibility in the Legislative bodies. It seems to me, as at present advised, that if you wish to engender political responsibility in the Councils it is necessary materially to extend their responsibilities. At the same time you must realise the vital importance of ensuring that men of the right stamp are elected or nominated to these Councils.

Only Practical Basis

I personally have a feeling that the only practical basis to proceed upon as a start is that of mutual self-interest, using nominations to protect the right of the uneducated classes. This is a problem which I should essentially desire to approach neither from a defeatist point of view nor from the point of view of sentimental optimism. I confess that the instances which present themselves to us of the efforts of Indians to manage their own affairs do not inspire one with an immense amount of confidence. In Calcutta we always have in front of our eyes the Corporation, which claims to be a national body and certainly is dominated by the Swarajists. Passing over their distressing failure to function or try to do so at the time of the recent riots and the childish irrelevancy of their debates, (at any rate as reported in the newspapers) I think they have firmly imbued everybody with a sense of their inefficiency.

Reasons Against Delaying the Commission

I have spoken as though this question of our attitude before the Statutory Commission is an immediate one, and you tell me that this Association has consistently held that the Commission should not be appointed till 1929 and that the experiment should be given the full lease of life prescribed. That is no doubt true, but on that point, speaking for myself, I have largely changed my view. It seems to me that there is little, if anything, to be gained by delay.

We have had three elections. As a result of the last election the Swarajist Party has been returned in various places as the party which commands the largest number of votes. In Madras they have already refused to make the attempt to work the Reforms Scheme. If they are consistent—and they sometimes are—they will refuse everywhere else. Now, if you have a state of affairs where the most important Indian political party wholeheartedly condemns the system, the British community from the start, while entirely willing to work it, has condemned it,—the other political parties have been, shall I say, lukewarm and the people who really matter are either ignorant or indifferent—I cannot altogether see the argument for delay.

Commission's Personnel

As to the personnel of this Committee, when it is appointed, in my studied opinion—and it is also the opinion of the Delegates at the recent Conference at Cawnpore—the best form of Commission would be a small body appointed by, and possibly from, those who have ultimately to decide this matter. I mean the Houses of Parliament at Westminster. The desideratum is an impartial and unanimous report and I think it can best be achieved by such a body. But if it is proposed to appoint a body comprising any shades of opinion in this country we shall press, as I think it is our right, to be represented on the Committee.

Gentlemen, I have kept you too long, and I must apologise for once more referring to the Calcutta Corporation who I am glad to say represent nobody except themselves. There may be something to be said for not welcoming your guest on his arrival. It may be wise to postpone this function until he has left. You then have the advantage of knowing that he has not stolen the cigars and that he has subscribed to the local charities. That is not the view of this Association. It took the earliest opportunity of welcoming His Excellency on arrival in India, and we have been fortunate enough to secure his personal presence amongst us to-night. I desire to repeat the welcome.

We take the view that His Excellency's term of office will be among the most crucial that we, at any rate, will witness in India, and I desire to assure him that during that term not only will he have our sincere good wishes for himself, personally, but that in all his efforts towards stable, even-handed and efficient government in this country and in all attacks on such efforts, he will have the staunch and consistent support of the European Association.

Mr. James' Speech Criticised.

MR. RANGACHARIAR'S VIEW.

"Irritant speeches like that of Mr. Langford James at the European Association Dinner should not obscure our judgment. We have to face the practicalities of the situation in a manly way, and I earnestly hope that under the guidance of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, the Gauhati Congress will lay down no hard and fast rules for adoption by popular representatives in the Legislatures." In this strain Dewan Bahadur Rangachariar, who was Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly, made a statement to the Associated Press, while discussing the present political situation.

Mr. Langford James's speech, said Mr. Rangachariar, did not represent the views of the Association or of the community to which he belonged. In fact, Mr. Rangachariar had heard from reliable sources that many of the Europeans, present at the dinner, felt uncomfortable over his speech. But if those views did represent the views of the Association or the European community, then it was time that those Indians who had hitherto extended their hand of co-operation to the European community should reconsider their position.

He had been particularly gratified during the last six years of his experience in the Assembly at the way in which the European representatives from Bengal, in the Central Legislature, gave the lead to other non-official Europeans in taking a resonable view of the demand of Indians for their advancement. He could not forget the part played by Sir Alexander Murray, Sir Campbell Rhodes, Sir Walter Wilson and Sir Darcy Lindsay in easing the situation whenever acute controversial topics arose in the legislature. During his tours as Secretary of the European Association, Colonel Crawford often asked for a fair understanding with the European Community and they on their part were always inclined to appreciate their points of view. Nobody desired that the European community should have had a large stake in India and there was no question, as he had often stated in the Assembly of their being turned out or dealt with unjustly, or unfairly. But if those interests were to be used to deter early realisation of the goal of responsible Government by India then those who took the view of Mr. Langford James would have to thank themselves if the indigenous population took a definitely hostile attitude.

He hoped there would be an early repudiation by responsible Europeans and the European Press in India of the sentiments contained in his speech, but so far he had not noticed any such disapproval. It was speeches like this which gave accession of strength to the Swarajists in their obstructive programme and produced bitterness of feeling throughout the country.

Referring to the position resulting from the elections and prospects of deliberations of the Gauhati Congress, Mr. Rangachariar said that under the presidency of his able and distinguished friend, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, he hoped the door would be opened for a union of all the nationalist forces. Continuing, he said that Madras had in a large measure declared itself Swarajist, chiefly because the people there had to get rid of a purely communal ministry.

The first opportunity should be taken by the Congress to revise its programme so as to give provincial autonomy in such vital matters as acceptance of office, or resort to obstruction because conditions varied from province to province. In Bengal, for instance, so long as the Ordinance was there and the detention without trial of prisoners continued one could understand a resort to the policy of obstruction in that presidency, futile though obstruction was. But the opportunities of doing considerable good to the country through working the Reforms was possible in Madras and if the Reforms had not been a thorough success in this province it was because the communal ministry was enthroned in power. The new ministry had the moral support of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and his Party, but it could not effectually work to the good of the province or, in a bold and independent manner, proceed with its objective without the active support of the Congress Party.

Mr. Rangachariar regarded the next three years as an important state in

the political development of India, because the period came just before the enquiry by the Statutory Commission, and he deplored the divisions in the Nationalist forces. Continuing, he said that the policy of obstruction was not an end in itselt. No politician would hesitate to resort to obstruction if circumstances demanded it, but what he objected to was the determination of the policy of obstruction beforehand. His opinion was that the representatives in the Legislatures should be given full freedom to decide for themselves what course of action was best suited as occasion demanded and if they erred there were always the electorate and public opinion to correct them. He applied to all Congressmen attending the Gauhati Session to seize the opportunities for united action.

The experience of the last six years in the Legislatures in which they had to often change their programme and policy of action was sufficient to show the lack of wisdom in laying down any hard and fast rules by the Congress for adoption by the popular representatives in the Legislatures. It was somewhat disappointing for him to read Pandit Motilal's statement in which he spoke of the maxima and minima of their demand. If Mr. Gandhi was going to be a "silent spectator" as he threatened to be, and if Pandit Motilal Nehru was going to take an unflinching attitude then the prospects of union, for which efforts were being made by Mrs. Naidu and others, appeared to be gloomy.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta's Threat.

In an interview to a Press representative Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, leader of the Congress Party in the Bengal Council, said that it was his opinion that having regard to the strength of his own party and the return of a number of members who did not belong to his party but were opposed to the revival of Dyarchy it would be most difficult in Bengal to form a ministry when the Council met. Asked whether there was any likelihood of a change of policy at Gauhati, Mr. Sen Gupta said: "We are bound by the pledge on which we sought election and until the Congress at Gauhati alters in any respect the resolution adopted at Cawnpore last year will bind us and will be strictly followed by us in Bengal. Personally, to me, it seems impossible to even entertain the proposal of the acceptance of ministry and the consequent revival of Dyarchy in Bengal, having regard to the continued detention for over two years without trial a large number of public men. Moreover, there has been no response of any kind on the part of the Government in the direction of a change of the constitution. Not only has there been no indication of any relaxation of policy pursued by the Government with reference to the two matters mentioned, but on the contrary we have the European Association through its president expressing their views which clearly make it impossible for any honourable Indian to think of any change of policy.

The people of India do not differentiate, and in my opinion quite rightly, between official and non-official Europeans in India. Lord Lytton pleaded, only the other night, for mutual trust between the people of India and England. The answer, flat No, has now been given by the President of the European Association in the presence and without any protest of Their Excellencies the Governor of Bengal and the Viceroy of India. The European Association desires a free fight to the finish. Is it any wonder that the Indian regards all this talk of co-operation as a huge farce? I would have taken no notice of Mr. Langford James's speech or the sentiment underlying it, but for the fact that he spoke as the President of the European Association in Bengal. I feel, it is my duty as a member of the Indian National Congress, as leader of the Swaraj Party in Bengal and also as the Mayor of the City of Calcutta to sound a note of warning.

I say with all the emphasis that I can command and with a full sense of responsibility that if Mr. Langford James or his compatriots continue making speeches of the style of which we had a specimen last Tuesday night, it would not be long before the challenge of the European community was taken np by the people of India. The elementary fact which should not be overlooked by the Europeans in India is that they total at the outside two and a half or three lakhs. Half a million men, sufficiently desperate, would be more than enough to give them such trouble as to make them realise their singularly precarious

position in this country. The Congress is pledged to non-violence and its members are sincerely anxious that the struggle for Swaraj should be carried on, on non-violent lines. It pains me to think that our efforts should be frustrated by gentlemen of the ilk of Mr. Langford James. Once more, I warn Mr. Langford James and his friends against such outbursts as we have witnessed lately. The mills of Providence grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small. The events in China ought to be an eye-opener to the more sanguinary section of the European Community.

The European Association and the Y. M. C. A.

The adoption of a new constitution for the Council of the Association and a heated debate on the resolution on Y M C A and politics were the features of the annual meeting of the European Association in Calcutta on the 19th February 1927.

Mr. C. B. Chartres, incoming-President, in moving thanks of the Association to the branches for their work during the past year eulogised the record amount of work done by the branches and said that the one special feature has been that all branches held successful dinners at which Governors of their respective provinces were guests and took the opportunity of making public utterances.

Sir Hubert Carr then moved the adoption of alterations in rules and branch regulations and said that the proposed alterations were aimed at giving the council an all-India character. Election to the council must not be by a small meeting but by referendum. It was hoped by securing members of the Council fron different provinces to secure the very best experience that the community could offer. Members of the Council being in different provinces could not be any handicap as most of the important business transacted by the Council was done by circulation and that there was plenty of time for consulting all member of the council. The meeting then adopted the new constitution.

Y. M. C. A. And Politics

Mr. Hobbs then moved his resolution :—"That the European Association in India view with gravest disapproval the increasingly active part taken in politics in India by the secretaries employed by Y M C A and urge English National Council immediately to take steps to recall British Secretaries who persist in taking active part in political work and in future to ensure that any men sent from England shall be pledged to religious, physical, educational and recreational work, also that they shall be pledged not to engage in political work of any kind nor permit political propaganda to be carried on in their halls or to assist those who tour India with political missions." The resolution, after a heated debate in which speeches were made both for and against the motion was adopted after omitting the words "increasingly active" in the first sentence of the motion. Mr. Hobbs said :—

"To-night it is my object to rouse sufficient interest to see what can be done to check paid servants of the Y M C A from selling their time to promoters of anti-British political movements, to let the public know that to-day the Y M C A in India is as far from religion as modern science has left Moses. In 1917 or 1918 the European control of the Y M C A in India came to an end. Dr. Dutta and Mr. K. T. Paul assumed charge and incidents in regard to literature distributed among British troops in Mesopotamia came to my ears. With many friends in the Army I soon heard what was going on in the United States where I spent some time in 1919. I found they spoke badly of the Y M C A and being slightly interested I collected notes. In 1920, the Indian press commented on 13 resolutions passed by the Convention dealing with the Y M C A, one of which was certainly the declaration of an intention to take up politics. Then

its organ, "The Young Men of India" attracted notice. Articles violently anti-British and some in eulogistic terms about Russian revolutionaries began to appear. Criticism forced the editor and others to point out that 'writers of contributed articles were alone responsible for opinions they expressed unless it is otherwise stated.' The result of deviation from religion to politics was soon noticeable. In Calcutta in 1921, when the Prince of Wales came to India, the Branch in the College Street was reported by the Police to be the nest of stone-throwers. Then at the Rotary Club, the Y M C A and at other meeting places in Calcutta disturbers appeared evidently trained in one school who spoke in such a way that when they left off, it was easy to see their mission was to create uneasiness, arouse suspicion and gradually work up the finale of bitter hatred of everything English."

After referring to the visit to Calcutta of one Dr. Sherwood Eddy, Professor K. L. Saunders and Prof. H. E. Ward who, he said, made anti-British propogandist speeches, Mr. Hobbs asked: "Why did Eddy and Saunders conceal the fact that they were on the staff of the Y M C A?" My next question would be "Was Ward one of their men also?"

Proceeding, Mr. Hobbs said: "On page 13 of the Y M C A Calcutta Branch Report for 1925, I read that educational work maintained its standard, for among those who lectured to the boys was Mahatma Gandhi. They evidently had not the nerve to try him on the older members, but on boys. No doubt these youngsters had an opportunity such as nauseated some of us at the European Association and the Rotary Club when the Chairman and others fawned over and smirked the man who told the millions to insult that messenger of peace and goodwill, the Prince of Wales, and whose political career has been marked by unspeakable horrors and milestones of murdered people.

"Perhaps from that you will begin to understand that the Y M C A has nothing at all to do with politics. As Mr. D. F. Maclelland, Secretary of the Burma Y M C A, recently informed his members that the country possessed a real leader and servant in Mr. Gandhi and rea ers were able to gather that in Mr. Maclelland they had a man who talked disloyal tosh. Even Mr. F. E. James in his Chapter on the life of Mahatma Gandhi, where he says that weak-minded illusionist and legal mediocrity is second Jesus Christ, would probably deny that he indulged in politics although on the 9th February 1926, when Mr. J A Spender was lecturing to the Rotary Club, Mr. F E James in the passage-at-arms proudly asserted that Turks had asked the Y M C A to run Turkey. Of course, the Y M C A could not have been meddling with international politics for that proposal to be made or a fable to be invented. All one can say is, "God save Turkey." I believe there are men on the staff of the Y M C A, who agree with me, who resent deviation into the dangerous paths and corruption of Indian politics and who in secret welcome my attack on a decadent institution. The fact that they have not come out into the light of day speaks for itself. All are not political agitators. Many among them live up to the principles of the founder of the Association. The Red Triangle stands for soul, mind and body. The colour of the triangle is not the tint of their political creed."

Opposing Mr Hobbs' motion, Mr. F E Wilmill denied that their work had anything whatever to do with the Y M C A. As regards Mr F E James he was too well known to them for the speaker to defend him. Mr James had done valuable work on the Council of the Association as also as a member of the Legislative council. Mr. Wilmill asserted that there was no ground whatever for the association to act on the lines indicated in the resolution.

Sir Hubert Carr, an ex-President, suggested that now that they had drawn the attention to the state of affairs they should drop the motion. Eventually the motion was put to vote and declared carried amidst cheers.

General Secretary's Spirited Reply.

Dr. S. K. Datta, the General Secretary of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, India, Burma and Ceylon, addressed to the General Secretary of the European Association, Central Administration,

Calcutta, a reply to the resolution passed at the annual general meeting of the European Association held on the 18th February. In the course of the letter Dr. Datta states :—

"I note that you have failed to forward the evidence on which this resolution was based, but.....I take it that the materials on which the resolution was passed are to be found in the reports of the two speeches which were delivered on that occasion".

"A Baseless Charge"

The letter refers to Mr. Hobbs having moved the resolution in a speech lasting forty minutes and goes on :—

Mr. Hobbs opened his attack by stating that in the recent history of the Y M C A "there had been a dangerous and mischievous perversion of a movement". He further added that in England it had become closely associated with the Labour Party and that it was a tragedy "that so admirable a movement should take the broad road which leads to anarchy." Such a charge is, I believe, absolutely baseless, and can easily be refuted by anyone who will consult the list of members of the English National Council of Y M C A's. He spoke of the Y M C A being essentially "British in principle". I regret I am unable to follow the speaker in this, for while it was true that the founder of the Y M C A was British, its principles have been Christian, and Christianity is greater than nationalism. The speaker then stated that the Y M C A (apparently in England) had been severely handled by an English journal for ventures in trade. I may point out that the English National Council appointed a Committee of Enquiry consisting of Lord Askwith, Sir R. V. Vassr-Smith and Mr. F. Gore-Browne, K. C. The conclusions of this Committee stated that "there is no ground for the suggestion that the Y M C A has been guilty of unfair or unjustified competition".

European Control

The next charge affirms that in 1917-18, European control of the Y M C A came to an end! . . . The control of the Indian Federation of Y M C A's is vested in a National Council consisting of 30 members. Turning to the list I find that 15 of these are British, two Anglo Indians, one American and 12 Indians. I would also take the opportunity to refer to the fact that the Presidents of almost every important local Association in India, Burma and Ceylon are Englishmen, and I pay a tribute to their devotion and to the serious interest they take in their work. Not one of them has even raised the objection that the movement is becoming more Indian. Indeed they rejoice in the fact that this is the case.

"Unpleasant Literture"

Another reckless statement made by Mr. Hobbs (and apparently accepted by your Association) was the one which suggested "unpleasant literature" was distributed by the Y M C A to the troops in Mesopotamia. I presume that this is supposed to have occurred during the War as our connection with Mesopotamia ceased almost immediately after. Again we are prepared emphatically to deny this charge and I would point out that the head of our work in Mesopotamia, the Rev. L. A. Dixon, was mentioned in Sir Percy Lake's despatch and also in General Marshall's final despatch on Mesopotamian operations.

Among those who publicly recorded their appreciation of the work done by the Y M C A in War areas were the Secretary of State for India and General Bingley. Again we have two letters, written to Mr. Paul by Sir Charles Munro, then Commander-in-Chief in India. In one of these letters he says, "I desire to convey to the Indian National Council of the Y M C A and its personnel my grateful appreciation, as well as that of the Army in India, of the magnificent service rendered by them, for the comfort and welfare of the British and Indian Army."

Alleged Change of Policy

The next series of charges refers to the alleged change of policy in the activities of the Y M C A Convention in 1920.....Now this resolution as it stands

was drafted by a Committee, a prominent member of which was Mr. W. R. Gourlay, Private Secretary to the Governor. He realised that if India was to be prepared for self-government, as determined upon by Parliament, it was necessary for us to give young men this help for them to become good citizens.

.....We have resolutely refused to become the agents of any kind of political propaganda; but we are convinced that the discussion and study of matters of public importance is a necessary outlet for young men in order that they may form opinions that are not one-sided.....

We repudiate any suggestion that we have ever permitted our Associations to be used for purposes of political propaganda or by political parties. In 1923 we felt that our resolution might be misunderstood, and so we presented to the Convention a resolution, which is possibly clearer in its wording and was not open to misconception.

"Young Men of India"

Reference was made by Mr. Hobbs to the Journal of the National Council of Y M C A's called the "Young Men of India"; and we are informed that "articles violently anti-British, some in eulogistic terms of Russian revolutionaries, began to appear."....On the whole it was held that these (four) articles might have the effect of causing mistrust and bad feeling; and the Executive took certain practical steps including the appointment of a committee, to scrutinise articles contributed to the "Young Men of India," in case they were controversial in tone. Since then no complaint has come to us regarding our magazine. I may add further that the statement regarding the publication in the "Young Men of India" of articles eulogising "Russian revolutionaries" has no foundation whatsoever.

Alleged Stone-Throwing

During this period of stress (1921-22) Mr. Hobbs tells us that the College Street Branch in Calcutta was reported by the Police to be a "nest of stone-throwers." This is the first time that I have heard the charge mentioned, and I naturally investigated the matter. I have before me a statement made by Mr. C. S. Paterson, who has lived in the building for many years and still a resident there. He says that during the Prince of Wales's visit to Calcutta the building was decorated with flags, and was the only one so decorated in the immediate vicinity. As far as Mr. Paterson knows, no stones were ever thrown from the building. As a matter of fact the Police were given the courtesies of the building and made free use of our telephone for their business. I may add that the Prince of Wales never passed by 86 College Street during any time of his visit.

Speeches at the Rotary Club

I pass now to the statements made regarding the speeches of Dr. Eddy and Dr. Saunders at the Calcutta Rotary Club, an institution with which I may say the Y M C A is not even remotely connected. Dr. Eddy was a member for nearly twenty years of the staff of the Indian Y M C A. He left India in 1911. He is most certainly not a revolutionary he has been represented to be, but in any case he is not on the Y M C A strength in India.

Next comes the case of Prof. K. J. Saunders. If Mr. Hobbs will only turn up the proceedings of the Rotary Club, he will see that the statement made by him that Dr. Saunders had described himself as a Canadian educated in California, was a mis-statement.

As a matter of fact, Dr. Saunders was educated at Clifton and Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He holds the degree of "Doctor of Literature" conferred on him by his University. At present he is Professor in the "Pacific School of Religions," Berkley, California. Dr. Saunders came to India under the Church Missionary Society on the staff of Trinity College, Kandy. Before the War he was appointed to the staff of the Indian National Council as the Literary Secretary. He was sent by the Y M C A to France with the first contingent to the Indian Army in 1914.

The reason he resigned his position in 1921 was the fact that two of his brothers, one an officer in the British Army and the other an officer in the Navy, had emerged from the War with their constitutions shattered. Dr. Saunders

wrote to me definitely saying that he felt it was necessary for him to obtain a more lucrative appointment in order to help these two brothers. Was it decent of Mr. Hobbs to refer to Mr. Saunders as a "funk hole Christian of the Y M C A"?.....

"A Barefaced Lie"

Rev. E. C. Dewick, a member of our staff, also an Englishman, was also bitterly assailed by Mr. Hobbs.....

There is one statement to which I feel a special rejoinder is necessary. Apparently the European Association accepted as proved Mr. Hobbs's statement that the Y M C A Boy Scouts are prevented from singing "God Save the King." The Y M C A is connected with the Boy Scout Movement in the following provinces:—The Punjab, the C. P., Madras Presidency and Burma. We have made enquiries at the official head-quarters of the Boy Scouts Organisations. The replies indignantly repudiate Mr. Hobbs's statement, the Provincial Secretary of the Boy Scouts Association, telegraphing from Nagpur that it was a "barefaced lie" so far as Central Provinces are concerned.

Both Mr. Hobbs and his seconder Mr. J. N. Becker spoke of Bolshevik influence in the Y M C A in China. Unfortunately we are not in a position to make a statement regarding China as the Y M C A of India has no organic connection with the Y M C A of China.....

On the other hand, we have in our records statements made by a prominent Russian revolutionary, and by the anti-Christian Society in China, regarding the Y M C A. The leader of the Russian "Picneers." (The Russian Youth Movement) says definitely: "The Boy Scouts and the Y M C A develop loyalties to God, country and the King. That is why we consider them our enemies." Indeed, before the World Conference of the Y M C A's recently held at Helsingfors, a determined and virulent campaign was carried on by the anti-religious organs of the Russian Press, and within the last few months the Y M C A movement, which was seeking to relieve the needs of students in Russian Universities, was expelled by the Bolshevik Government. In China a similar situation has arisen.

The resolution, as it stands, is a direct censure on one of our British Secretaries, Mr. F. E. James. Let there be no quibbling about this. If Mr. James has been a member of the Legislative Council, it was at the invitation of the leaders of the European community in Calcutta. To say the least, it was ungracious of the European Association to pass this vote of censure, which involved Mr. James.

Annual Meeting of the Calcutta Y. M. C. A.

An important pronouncement on the question raised by the European Association regarding the alleged political activities by the Y M C A was made by the Bishop of Calcutta speaking at the annual meeting of the Calcutta Y M C A. on the 9th March 1927. He said he did not want to say anything about the particular charges which had been brought against the Y. M C A for the sufficient reason that he did not think things could stay where they were at present. Specific charges had been made by a responsible body against another highly responsible body, and either on one side the evidence must be adduced which would substantiate the charges or else the charges should be withdrawn. He felt that the European Association was every whit as much upon its trial as the Y M C A. Its reputation was at stake no less than that of the Y M C A, because a highly responsible body, representative of much of the business ability, intellect and influence of the European population, not only in Calcutta, but all over India, had sent up a resolution which embodied certain principles, and that resolution was formulated because of certain charges made against the Y M C A. The European Association must substantiate those charges or else it would lose its reputation in the eyes of fair-thinking and right minded men and women.

Proceeding, the Bishop said he would not say anything about the specific charges, because they ought to be investigated, and one ought not to speak on things under investigation and upon which judgment had not yet been passed. In the first place, it had been held that no secretary of the Y M C A should take

an active part in politics. If it were in England he would agree, because there, to take part in the counsels of the nation, a man was required to devote practically the whole of his time to the work, and he was also a paid servant of the Crown. In India the position was entirely different. Here, the Legislative Councils met for short periods two or three times a year. In India, too, there was communal representation. They had, for instance, the representation of the European community. There were no Europeans of leisure in India and, therefore. they had to obtain somebody who was employed by others to represent them in the Bengal Council and in the Legislative Assembly.

The Indian Christian community needed representation at Simla. Were they going to say that they would not employ any man who was employed by others? Surely they could not say that in the case of the Indian Christian community. It was perhaps possible to obtain a more leisured man, but they wanted the best man in such an influential and representative body as the Assembly, and if he happened to be a Y M C A Secretary, it should not be impossible for him to give so much of his time as attendance in Assembly demanded. He had hoped that this year they would have seen Dr. Dutta again representing the Indian Christian community in the Assembly. Dr. Dutta was a man of ability and independent judgment, and after all, if a man was to represent a community, he should be able to think and speak what was in his mind, and not necessarily merely endorse whatever those in authority might say.

In the next place they were told that the concerns of the Association should be religion, education and recreation. He had always been brought up to believe that religion covered all life and meant a particular attitude towards life in its several departments. In the same way he was led to believe that education was not limited to any particular subject, but covered the whole range of subjects that men had to deal with. So, though he believed and wholly endorsed the opinion that the Association had to deal with religion, education and recreation he certainly did not hold that this should rule out any department of life in which men needed education and the Christian point of view. The Y M C A was out to help young men to take a Christian point of view on every subject.

Annual Meeting of the Bombay Y. M. C. A.

A spirited refutation of the European Association's charges against the Y M C A was made in the speeches delivered at the annual meeting of the Bombay branch of the Y M C A on the 31st March 1927. Mr. H. W. Nelson, who presided, entirely endorsed the able statement made by Dr. Dutta. He added the Association had nothing to fear from criticism. He must say it came as a surprise to him that such a bitter attack should be made apparently without foundation by a political body on a Christian organisation. The position, he declared, could not be left as it was and unless the resolution passed by the European Association was withdrawn a full enquiry into the charges should be made and he was confident a full refutation would ensure, thereby leaving the Y M C A in a stronger position to carry on the work which it had so ably done for so many years.

The Governor's Speech.

H. E. the Governor of Bombay, Sir Leslie Wilson, Patron of the Association, made a vigorous defence of the Y M C A. He entirely agreed with the Chairman that the position could not be left as it was. "It would be fatal if on the one hand the impression is strengthened that the European Association of Calcutta is needlessly prosecuting an organisation which does so much work in India or on the other hand that the Y M C A is an institution in active sympathy with the enemies of the State. Now I can only speak so far as India is concerned with a knowledge of Bombay and I say without any hesitation whatever that I know of no instance here where the Y M C A has taken any part in politics. It is undoubtedly true that members do discuss politics and it is only right they should." His Excellency quoted the resolution passed by the Y M C A convention in 1920 that the Association should ally itself in no sense with party politics and proceeded, "Let us remember first of all that it would be as impossible as it would

in my opinion be undesirable for members of the Y M C A to refrain from taking an intelligent interest in political questions of the day, more particularly so for as they affect the country in which they live, although it is really equally important that they should take a lively interest in these days in international politics as well. To say that they should not do so would be exactly the same as suggesting that the unions at Oxford and Cambridge and other universities should be suppressed and as is well-known there is always very free discussion on political matters in these unions. Such discussions among the members of the Y M C A are to my mind most useful and any attempt to suppress them would not only be useless, but would do much harm. It appears also that it is thought by some that the Association was becoming too much indianised. Again I can only speak with knowledge of Bombay, but I should regret very much if it were not a fact that Indians took a keen interest in the work of the Association, and held positions of trust and responsibility in it. The Y M C A is a Christian movement and even as there is at the moment a Bill before the Imperial Parliament known as the Indian Church measure which has for its object giving to India and those who reside in India a greater control of Church matters in India, so we ought to be glad if in a movement such as the Y M C A there are many Indians coming forward, proud and willing to help in the many activities of the Association." Proceeding, His Excellency deprecated "these discussions and differences of opinion with regard to a movement which is a christian movement and which has for its sole object the prosperity of the younger generation of all nationalities." He then paid a warm tribute to the Association's work in war, in many theatres of operations whether in peace or in war. He said: "I know of no other institution which has so unselfishly and so whole-heartedly worked for the benefit of young men of whatever nation they may be. No one can deny these facts and while it is true that memories are short and that war memories are getting distant I frankly confess I find it difficult myself to believe that a movement such as yours, based as it is on the experience of years of trial and anxiety, with a record of proved utility to hundreds of thousands of young men, can think of taking an active part in politics, more particularly as that part, whtch it is suggested it may play, is one which might prove detrimental to the best interests of the Empire. Personally, so far as Bombay branch of the Y M C A is concerned, I can only ask you to go on as you are doing, helping by your religious work, by your physical education, by your enthusiasm in promoting sport, by your educational and social activities and give to young men of Bombay and the Presidency that help which I believe you and you above all others can give.

Annual Meeting of the Karachi Y. M. C. A.

The twenty-second annual general meeting of the Karachi Young Men's Christian Association was held on the 30th May 1927, Mr. W. F. Hudson, Commissioner in Sind, presiding. The President of the Association, Mr. F. Clayton, in the course of a lengthy address said:—"A question on which I desire to make some comment is the vexed one of the Y M C A and politics. In this there appear to be two issues, firstly, the development of a political atmosphere within the Assosiation and, secondly, the advisability of its salaried leaders entering the Assembly, or the councils. My main reason for dealing with the question is that my position as the President of the Karachi Association may be made quite clear to our citizens, without whose generous support given ungrudgingly in either money, time or work, this branch could not continue to exist. When soliciting assistance, we have met with searching enquiries on this question; but fortunately have been able to reply with complete satisfaction. It was during my absence from Karachi in the latter part of 1923 that the tendency to develop a political atmosphere within the Y M C A in India first attracted my attention. After my return to Karachi the question continued to give me deep concern until early in 1924. I felt it my duty to discuss the subject with the Board of Directors. The carefully considered decision of those discussions was that there should not be any politics whatever within this Association. Wherever a religious, charitable or social

organisation has become dominated by politics, disaster has followed. Karachi saw the trend of events. Some other associations realised the danger ahead as also did a number of individuals interested in upholding the real functions of Y M C A work, amongst whom was H. E. the Commander-in-Chief of the Army in this country.

In this connection I would draw your attention to a resolution which H. E. the Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India submitted to the National Convention of Secretaries of the Y M C A in India which read :—

"The Convention agree that the Association should ally itself in no sense with party politics and discussion on political questions or on questions which are likely to assume a political aspect should be rigidly excluded. It believes that the Association should exert its influence in every Christian way possible towards the complete application of the teaching of Jesus Christ to commercial, industrial and social questions and should stand for justice and fair play in both public and private life."

At this stage may I mention that in March this year a conference of the General Secretary of the Chief branches in India and Ceylon was held in Calcutta but while Karachi distinctly comes within the category of a chief branch our General Secretary was not invited to be present. The views of this Association are well-known in the Indian National Council and I can only assume it was desired to eliminate opposition. If our General Secretary had gone to express the opinion of this Association the views put forward would undoubtedly have been different from those approved.

I must, however, pass on to the other issue, that of the advisability of salaried officials of the Association in India entering the Legislative Assembly or the Legislative Councils. The persons to whom I refer either come to India or are selected in this country for filling positions in the Association because they are men trained to develop the ideals for which the Y M C A stands the world over. Instead of this part of their time and the money subscribed to pay for their services are being alienated to a political object. Perhaps I had better make quite clear what I mean by alienation of time and funds. The salaries of such men, whether paid by subscriptions raised in England, America or India are provided from money given to Association work and its objects and I should doubt if any one of such subscribers would be satisfied to know that a part of the time of some officials is or has been spent in work other than for the Association. To the extent that time is given to the legislatures, so far are the funds provided for Association work being alienated to other objectives. In proof that the diversion of Y M C A officials' attention to politics does affect their Association I may here mention that no senior official of the National Council has been able to find time during several years past to visit Karachi. Unless this political work is stopped friends of the Y M C A will undoubtedly withdraw their support and the work of the Association will suffer accordingly. I know of one definite instance not in Karachi, where a very valuable contribution was withheld for some time and the Association would have felt the loss seriously if the subscriber's general feelings had not guided the final decision. The English National Council has expressed its disapproval of any member of their staff entering the Legislature.

In conclusion I desire to make it clear (1) that not a pie of the money subscribed by our generous supporters in Karachi is used for any other than legitimate Association work (2) that there is no political atmosphere in our work here and the sustained success of our literary section is ample proof that without politics increasing audiences can be interested and (3) that no subscriber in Karachi has so far withheld support to us on account of this vexed question and none need do so, for we will not have any politics in this branch.

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OFFICIAL REPORT.

Jan.-June 1927.

The Indian Sandhurst Committee.

The Indian Sandhurst Committee, or otherwise as the Skeen Committee, was appointed in June, 1925. The official communique announcing its constitution was as follows :—

"In the Legislative Assembly on the 14th March last, in the course of the general discussion on the budget the Hon'ble Sir Alexander Muddiman gave an undertaking that the Government of India would consider the appointment of a Committee to examine the means of attracting the best qualified Indian youths to a military career and of giving them a suitable military education. With the concurrence of the Secretary of State, the Government of India have now definitely decided to appoint such a Committee. The Chairman will be Lieutenant-General Sir Andrew Skeen, K.C.B., K.C.I.E., C.M.G., Chief of the General Staff in India. The Government of India are not yet in a position to announce further details, but the Committee will include non-official members representing both the military classes of the population and Indian political opinion."

2. *Terms of Reference.*—The terms of reference to the Committee, as finally framed by the Government of India, are as follows :—

"To enquire and report :—(a) By what means it may be possible to improve upon the present supply of Indian candidates for the King's Commission both in regard to number and quality. (b) Whether it is desirable and practicable to establish a Military College in India to train Indians for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. (c) If the answer to (b) is in the affirmative, how soon should the scheme be initiated and what steps should be taken to carry it out. (d) Whether, if a Military College is established in India, it should supersede or be supplemented by Sandhurst and Woolwich so far as the training of Indians for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army is concerned."

3. *Composition of the Committee.*—The Committee, as finally constituted, was composed as follows :—

CHAIRMAN :—Lieut.-General Sir Andrew Skeen.

MEMBERS :—Pandit Motilal Nehru ; Mr. M. A. Jinnah ; The Honble Sardar Jogendra Singh ; The Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna, Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao ; Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum ; Honoray Captain Hira Singh ; Dr. Ziaud-din Ahmad ; Captain J. N. Banerjee ; Major Thakur Zorawar Singh ; (representing the Indian States) ; Honorary Captain Haji Gul Mawaz Khan ; Major Bala Sahib Dafle ; Mr. E. Burden.

Pandit Motilal Nehru tendered his resignation as a member of the Committee on March 11th, 1926.

Summary of Recommendations.

Far-reaching and fundamental changes were recommended by the Committee, their central feature being the abondonment of the 8-Unit Scheme and its replacement by a scheme proposing that half of the total cadre of King's Commissioned Officers in the Indian Army be Indians in 1952, the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst in 1933, and the opening of all wings of the Army to Indians. The Committee recognised the need

for the highest efficiency, for the maintenance of the proportion of British recruitment and the possibility that the scheme might require to be modified in the light of experience. The report is practically unanimous. The following are the main recommendations :—

(i) The scope of the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the Army in India should be greatly extended, and facilities should be provided in India to train them for King's Commissioned rank. A substantial and progressive scheme of Indianisation should be adopted, and, subject to the present standard of efficiency being maintained, should be faithfully carried out.

Such a scheme should provide for the following measures :—

(a) In 1928, the number of vacancies, at present ten, allotted to Indians at Sandhurst should be doubled, and thereafter should be increased progressively until a military college on the lines of Sandhurst is established in India.

(b) Indians should be made eligible to be employed as King's Commissioned officers in the Artillery, Engineer, Signal, Tank and Air arms of the Army in India. For this purpose they should be admitted to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and the Royal Air Force College, Cranwell, provided they qualify by the same tests as British boys, until the occasion arises to create corresponding facilities for their training in India. From 1928 eight vacancies should be allotted to Indians at Woolwich and two at Cranwell, and these numbers should be increased progressively, in due proportion.

(c) In 1933, i.e., as soon as the improvements recommended in matters of subsidiary importance, connected with the securing of suitable candidates for the Army, have had time to take effect, a military college, with an establishment at the start of 100 cadets doing a three years' course, should be created in India on the model of Sandhurst. The establishment of the college should be increased progressively.

Successful cadets from the college should be granted the King's Commission in His Majesty's Land Forces.

(d) In order to secure the maintenance of the Imperial connection in military matters, 20 vacancies should continue to be reserved for Indians at Sandhurst after the opening of the Indian military college.

Under the scheme proposed half the total cadre of officers in the Indian Army would be Indians in 1952.

(ii) Steps should be taken to maintain the proportion of British recruitment required.

(ii) Indian King's Commissioned officers trained at the Indian military college should complete their initial in England.

(iv) Within reason questions of finance should not be allowed to stand in the way of giving effect to these proposals.

(v) The Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College, Dehra Dun, should be gradually expanded up to the limit most suitable for an educational institution of this character. The control of the college should remain in the hands of the military authorities, and its main object should continue to be the production of boys for the Army and Navy. Its curriculum and standard of teaching should, however, be carefully adjusted with a view to securing also that the course of education at it confers a qualification recognised by the University authorities.

When the expansion of the existing college is complete, a second college on the same lines should, if circumstances demand it, be opened in some other part of India.

(vi) The Government of India should impress upon educational authorities the paramount national importance of reforming the system of education in India with a view to developing in the pupils of the ordinary schools and colleges those characteristics, so essential in an Army officer, to which little or no attention is at present paid by them, and should appeal to them to reorganise the institutions under their control to this end.

(vii) The upper age limit for entrance to the Army should for the present remain unchanged. The ultimate aim should be to reduce it so that Indian boys shall enter the Army on an equality as regards age with British boys.

(viii) The existing methods of publicity should be continued, but should be supplemented by enlisting the aid of the University authorities and Provincial information bureaux.

(ix) Entrance to the Indian military college in the case of candidates from the Dehra Dun College and the ordinary schools and colleges should be by open competitive examination.

(x) The basis of selection should be wide, and the method of applying to sit for the entrance examination as simple as possible. No preference should be given to any particular class or community.

(xi) The Army entrance examination should be conducted by a single central authority at the headquarters of the Government of India, to which any bay, provided he possesses certain prescribed qualifications, should be eligible to apply direct for permision to attend it.

This authority alone should have the power after due enquiry as to his qualifications and antecedents to refuse a candidate permission to sit at the examination. All candidates whose applications are approved by this authority and who satisfy a military medical board as to their physical fitness, should be allowed to attend the central entrance examination.

(xii) Advisory boards should be constituted in convenient centres for the purpose of advising candidates as to their chances of success in the entrance examination. Such boards should have no power to reject a candidate, and a candidate should not be bound to abide by their verdict.

(xiii) Candidates should be required to pay all expenses incurred by them in proceeding either to attend the medical board or to sit at the entrance examination.

(xiv) To be eligible to sit for the competitive entrance examination a boy educated at one of the ordinary schools should be required to be between the ages of 16½ and 18½ and to have passed the Matriculation or equivalent standard.

(xv) Boys from the Dehra Dun College should enter the military college at approximately the same age as boys from the ordinary schools. As it is desirable that boys should spend at least six years at the Dehra Dun College in order to get the maximum benefit from it, the age limits for admission to the College should be reduced from the present 11½ years to 12 years to 10 to 11½ years.

(xvi) Indian boys educated in England who wish to receive their military training at the Indian military college should be required to qualify by the same tests as are applied to boys educated in India.

(xvii) British boys who wish to enter the Indian Army should, if they are willing, be permitted to receive their military training at the Indian military college on the same conditions as Indian boys.

(xviii) The entrance examination should consist of a written examination and an interview test. The final nomination should be made by H. E. the Viceroy on the combined results of these two tests. The majority should be chosen from among those who stand highest in the order of merit, but H. E. the Commander-in-Chief should have the power to recommend the nomination of a certain percentage of candidates from among those who qualify, but do not stand sufficiently high to obtain nomination in the ordinary course.

(xix) Indian boys, whether educated in England or in India, who desire to enter Sandhurst should be required to qualify for admission by the same test as British boys. Arrangements should be made to allow them to compete for entrance either in England or in India. Urdu should be included as an optional subject in the entrance examination.

Boys studying at the Dehra Dun College who wish to enter Sandhurst should be permitted to remain at the college for an extra year in order to complete their preparation for the entrance examination.

(xx) No pains should be spared to place the machinery of the Indian Military College on the highest plane of efficiency which India can attain. The instructors should be mainly British officers and should be picked men. If necessary, specially attractive terms of remuneration should be offered in order to secure teachers of the highest capacity and reputation.

(xxi) The course at the Indian Military College should, in addition to military subjects, include a period of academic study as well. It should last for three years, of which the first should be mainly devoted to academic study and the last two mainly to military training.—The academic standard attainable at the end of the course should be so framed as to secure specific recognition from the educational authorities. The scope of the military training should be the same as that of the present Sandhurst course, but it may be desirable later to convert the college into a combined institution providing also the facilities of Woolwich.

(xxii) The establishment of the college at the start should be 100 cadets. It should be inaugurated with an intake of 33 cadets a year for the first three years, so that it may reach its full initial establishment in the year in which the first batch of entrants commence the last year of their training. In the fourth year of its existence, and subsequently at intervals of three years, the annual intake should be increased by 12.

(xxiii) The expenses of maintaining the Indian Military College should be reduced to the lowest level compatible with efficiency, and, in order to bring the college within the reach of Indian parents of the classes which will provide the majority of cadets, the fees charged should be fixed at an amount which can be paid without hardship by parents of these classes.

(xxiv) Scholarships should be provided by the Government of India for 20 per cent of the boys who pass into the college annually, both to encourage talent and to assist the sons of soldiers who would otherwise be unable for financial reasons to enter the college.

Some of these scholarships should be fixed at an amount which will cover part of the expenditure on the boy's education at Dehra Dun, if he has been educated there. Apart from this there should be no modification

of the existing official arrangements regulating the incidence of the cos of the education at the Dehra Dun College.

In addition the endowment of scholarships through private generosity for boys of particular Provinces, communities and Indian States at Dehra Dun and the Indian military college would be welcomed.

(xxv) Boys who elect to receive their education at Sandhurst after the military college has been established in India should received no greater pecuniary assistance than that which is given at present to Indian boys proceeding to Sandhurst.

(xxvi) The arrangements for the guardianship of the Indian cadets at Sandhurst should be placed on a satisfactory footing. Parents who are in a position to do so should be encouraged to select their own guardians for their boys. For those boys whose parents are unable to secure the services of a personal guardian an official guardian should be appointed. He should be very carefully chosen and his duties should be precisely defined. In view of the heavy responsibilities which will devolve upon him he should be granted some substantial remuneration.

(xxvii) Viceroy's Commissioned officers who satisfy certain conditions should be admitted to the Indian military college in limited numbers for the purpose of qualifying for the King's Commission. Candidates should be selected by a board similar to that which interviews candidates for Sandhurst. Those admitted to the college should only be required to undergo the last two years, or the military portion, of the course.

(xxviii) Special educational facilities should be afforded to the children of the classes from which Viceroy's Commissioned officers are drawn, so that the best of them may have a practical chance in future of rising through Viceroy's to King's Commissioned rank.

(xxix) Suitable Indian students of British Universities should be granted direct commissions in the Army. To make this proposal effectual, the Officers' Training Crops at British Universities should again be thrown open to Indians, any expense incurred in such a step being borne, if necessary, by the Government of India.

(xxx) The time is not ripe at present for the grant of direct commissions on similar lines to students of Indian Universities.

(xxxi) Indian cadets who are commissioned from the Indian military college should be attached to a cavalry or infantry unit in the United Kingdom for a period of one year.

(xxxii) Indian cadets who qualify at Woolwich, and, later, those who qualify in India by the course corresponding to that of Woolwich, should complete their initial training in exactly the same way as the British cadet does at present, *i.e.*, by attending courses at Chatham and Cambridge in the case of Engineer officers and at Larkhill in the case of Artillery officers.

(xxxiii) The "eight units scheme" should be abandoned, and Indian King's Commissioned officers should be eligible to be posted to any Indian unit of the Indian Army.

(xxxiv) There should be no change in the present rates of pay and allowances, including marriage allowances. Incidentally, married students should not be allowed at the Dehra Dun College, or married cadets at Sandhurst or the Indian military college.

(xxxv) A certain number of vacancies at the Indian military college over and above the number of vacancies available for candidates seeking

commissions in the regular Indian Army should be reserved for Indian States which wish to avail themselves of the benefits of the training available at the college for the purpose of giving higher training to some of the officers of their State Forces.

The details of the suggested scheme of Indianisation of the Indian Army are shown in tabular form in the statement appended. The following notes are explanatory of the statement.

1. The normal strength of the cadre of officers of the Indian Army (Cavalry and Infantry units) has been taken as 3,200. The annual wastage in that cadre has, it is understood, never been actuarially calculated, and it has been assumed to be 160, the only figure of authority supplied to the Committee.

2. It is proposed that an increase of 10 vacancies at Sandhurst should be sanctioned immediately. An interval must be allowed in which to advertise the extra vacancies, etc. To permit of an increase in May, 1928 the additional cadets would have to be ready to pass the examination held in September, 1927, and would have to commence their special preparation for the examination at least six months before that. It is therefore postulated that there wowld be no increase of actual entrants until the September term of 1928, when 10 cadets instead of 5 should be admitted to Sandhurst, the examination for admission having been held in May, 1928.

3. In 1929 and in successive years, up to and including the year in which the proposed Indian military college is opened (*vide* note 4 following) it is proposed that there should be an increase of 4 each year, as a temporary measure, in the number of vacancies allotted to Indians at Sandhurst.

4. In 1933, a millitary college on the lines of Sandhurst should be opened in India. The capacity of the college should in the first instance be 100 cadets, and the course of training three years. A batch of 33 cadets should join the college in 1933 and in each of the two succeeding years.

5. After the opening of the Indian Military College, the number of vacancies allotted annually to Indians at Sandhurst can be reduced to the former figure of 20. Any vacancies at Sandhurst not actually taken up by Indians should be added to the establishment of the Indian Military College.

6. In 1936, the first cadets trained at the Indian Military College receive their commissions.

7. In 1936, the annual intake at the Indian Military College is increased by 12, this making a total of 45 Indian cadets sent for training, exclusive of the 20 Indian cadets sent to Sandhurst.

8. In 1939 and at intervals of 3 years thereafter, the annual intake at the Indian Military College is further increased, on each occasion by 12. In 1942, the intake rises to 69, giving, with the 20 Indian cadets sent for training at Sandhurst, a total of 89 Indian cadets to be commissioned.

9. In 1944, the senior Indian King's Commissioned officers now in the Army will be due to be considered for command of regiments. After this stage is passed and, it is assumed, passed successfully, the number of commissions granted to Indians rises above 50 per cent. of the total annual recruitment to the Indian Army.

10. In 1952, more than 50 per cent. of the total officer cadre of the Indian Army consists of Indians.

11. The above figures are subject to a percentage correction on account of inevitable wastage and failure. This cannot be calculated precisely and for the present purpose it is not necessary to attempt to do so.

Government of India's Communique.

The Government of India in issuing the report say in a Press communique :—The Government of India consider it necessary to emphasise that neither they nor His Majesty's Government have yet formed their conclusions on it, and that those conclusions must necessarily take account of certain factors, of which it was not within the province of the Committee to undertake a complete survey. For example, although the Committee's recommendations in themselves are designed primarily with a view to Indian conditions, the problems of recruitment and training of King's Commissioned officers for whatever service are essentially an Imperial concern, and any proposals re-acting on them will require close scrutiny by His Majesty's Government and their military advisors. Again, the Government when called upon to deal with any scheme of increasing Indianisation, extending over a number of years, must leave themselves free to consider whether the basis of that scheme offers a sure, stable line of advance towards the creation of a Dominion Army or whether alternative methods, which did not fall within the Committee's terms of reference, might not more profitably be explored. The Committee's report will thus be used as a starting point for discussions with His Majesty's Government to whom the Government of India will in due course forward their considered views on it.

The Committee hold that the present system of recruitment of Indians to King's Commissioned ranks has failed and quote the opinion of Sir Malcolm Hailey and Sir Prabashanker Pattani that from a national as well as a wider point of view, both Imperial and Asiatic, it is imperative to secure the best possible material for the Indian officers of the army. Hitherto no acceleration in Indianisation had taken place and various causes contributed to the paucity of candidates. These causes are examined and remedies are suggested. The 8-unit scheme is held not only to conflict with the principle of co-operation between Indians and British in every other sphere of administration, but the test formulated is considered to be unfair and too severe upon the first generation of Indian officers, who had already other disadvantages to overcome. Both for psychological and practical reasons the continuance of the scheme can, in the Committee's opinion, only conduce to failure and its abandonment is recommended. The scope of employment of Indians in higher ranks in the army in India should be greatly extended and facilities provided in India to train them for King's Commissioned ranks. A substantial and progressive scheme of Indianisation should be adopted and, subject to the present standard of efficiency being maintained, should be faithfully carried out.

Such a scheme should provide for the following measures :—In 1928 the number of vacancies, at present ten, allotted to Indians be doubled and thereafter increased progressively by four a year until a military college on the lines of Sandhurst is established in India in 1933, the interval being used for raising the necessary buildings and arranging staff, etc. The Committee has adopted Sandhurst as their model in preference to the Canadian or American system, for the reason that India being in need of a large standing army must follow the standard of military efficiency at Sandhurst, but in order to make up for academic deficiency, it is laid down that there be a three years course, of which the first year be devoted mainly to academic study and the last two mainly to military training through instruc-

tors who should be mainly British. The Indian Sandhurst should at the start have an establishment of 100 cadets doing a three years course, the establishment of the college to be increased progressively.

The Committee recommend, that in order to maintion the Imperial connection in military matters, 20 vacancies should continue to be reserved for Indians at Sandhurst. After the opening of the Military College in India, the advantages of this course are held to outweigh the fear that those Indians trained at the British college might look down on those trained in India. It is pointed out, in this connection, that British military institutions did not concede admission above 5 per cent of their recruitment to Indians. This meant that India must have her own institutions. The Committee recommend that successful cadets from the Indian Sandhurst be granted King's Commissions in His Majesty's land forces. They attach great importance to this and mention the instance of the Canadian Dominion Commission being recently admitted as equivalent to the King's Commission.

As regards the other wings of the Army, the Committee urge that Indians be made eligible for employment as King's Commissioned officers in the Artillery, Engineer, Signal, Tank and Air arms, provided they qualify by the same tests as British boys. From 1923 eight vacancies be allotted to Indians at Woolwich and two at Cranwell, to be increased progressively in due proportion. It may be desirable later to provide the facilities of Woolwich at the Indian Sandhurst. The Committee however to ensure the best efficiency recommend that cadets commissioned from the Indian Sandhurst be attached to a Cavalry or Infantry unit in the United Kingdom for a year and in the case of the establishment of a Woolwich in India Indian cadets would attend the courses at Chatham and Cambridge and at Larkill reciprocally.

It is recommended that the door of Indian institutions should be open to Britishers who might like to enter them under the proposed scheme of Indianisation. The Committee compute that half the total cadre of officers in the Indian Army would be Indian in 1952. Opinion on this point was not unanimous as Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Ramachandra Rao and Major Zorawar Singh wanted this 60 per cent Indianisation to be attained in 15 years and Sir Pheroze Sethna and Major Dafle wanted it to be reached in 20 years. The Committee however make no recommendation as to what the ratio of Indian and British recruitment should be after the 50 percentage is reached. The Committee assume generally employment in India of a quota of British troops and acknowledge that the progress of the scheme must be contingent upon success being secured at every stage, and upon military efficiency being maintained throughout. The phenomena of falling off in British recruitment as a result of Indianisation were liable to occur and the Committee, recognising the value to India for the success of the Indianisation policy itself of a continued supply of British officers of the same high quality as have served India in the past, regard it as specially important to maintain the proportion of British recruitment required.

The Committee accept the view of Sir Malcolm Hailey that within reason questions of finance should not be allowed to stand in the way of giving effect to their proposals. They make a large number of subsidiary recommendations. The Dehra Dun College should continue to expand up to about 300 cadets, with the object of producing boys for the Army, and Navy. When its expansion is complete, another college on the same lines

may be opened in some other place. The Government of India should impress on the educational authorities the paramount national importance of reforming the system of education to develop the essential characteristics of an army officer. The present age limit is not to be changed, the ultimate aim being to reduce it to the British standard. Publicity should be pushed with the aid of the University authorities and the Provincial information bureaus. The method of selection should be through competitive tests, conducted by a single central authority at the Headquarters of the Government of India. No preference should be given to any particular class or community, but the Commander-in-Chief should have the same powers as the Army Council has of nominating candidates not exceeding 20 per cent from among those who qualify but do not stand sufficiently high in order of merit. Viceroy's Commissioned Officers, satisfying certain conditions, shall be admitted to the Sandhurst in limited numbers for two years. Military training and special educational facilities shall be provided to the children of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers to have practical chance through the Viceroy's Commissions of rising to King's Commissions. The Committee do not think that the time is ripe for grant of direct commissions to students of Indian universities; but officers' training corps at British universities and suitable students among them shall be granted direct commissions in the Army. The fees to be charged at Sandhurst should be within the means of upper and middle class parents. Twenty per cent Government scholarships and endowment of scholarships by private generosity are recommended. The Committee further propose that there should be no change in the present rates of pay and allowances, including marriage allowances, and that married students and cadets be barred from entering Dehra Dun College or either of the two Sandhursts.

Dealing with the case of Indian States the Committee recommend that a certain number of vacancies at the Indian Sandhurst should be reserved for Indian States wishing at their own expense to send for higher training officers of their State forces. This would be to the advantage of India as a whole, tending to increase the efficiency of the Indian State Force.

The Committee lay particular emphasis on the qualification of guardians of Indian cadets at British Sandhurst.

Of four appendices to the report one embodies the scheme of Indianisation in a tabular form and the other reproduces extracts from a lecture at Sandhurst, which the Committee are definitely of opinion contains certain passages open to the interpretation that the eight-unit scheme was devised so that no British boy would be liable to serve under the command of an Indian. The Committee do not believe this to be the intention of the Government. The Committee finally refer to the personal knowledge and practical experience of most of its members, which have been of great and special value, and express special, cordial and respectful appreciation of the service of General Skeen, whose ripe experience, breadth of mind, sympathetic outlook and patience, courtesy and skill in conducting the proceedings made their task pleasant and facilitated its accomplishment. Tribute is also paid to the work of Mr. Burdon, the only other officicial member of the Committee and of their Secretary, Major Lumby.

Currency Commission's Recommendations

The Three Government Bills.

On the 16th January the Government of India published in a "Gazette Extraordinary" the text of the three important bills embodying the Currency Commission's recommendations. These are (1) a bill to establish a gold standard currency for British India and constitute a Reserve Bank of India, (2) a bill further to amend the Imperial Bank Act 1920 for certain purposes and (3) a bill to amend the Coinage Act 1906 and the Paper Currency Act 1925 for certain purposes and to lay upon the Government certain obligations in regard to the purchase of gold and the sale of gold exchange.

The Currency and Coinage Act Amendment.—The last bill aims at the immediate stabilisation of the rupee in relation to gold purposes at the rate of 1s. 6d. that is the rate of one rupee for 8.47512 grains gold, and at the same time removes the legal tender quality of the sovereign and half-sovereign in accordance with the Commission's recommendations for their demonetisation in order to enable a real gold bullion standard to be established. In order, however, to enable small holders of these coins to convert them into legal tender money, it is proposed to provide for receipt of these coins in any quantities at their bullion value at the proposed rate the Commission recommended. The Reserve Bank takes over the note issue and there should be a statutory obligation on the Government to buy and sell gold on gold exchange at its option at the gold points of accepted gold parity of the rupee; but as during the transitory period the Government would be engaged in building up gold holding in reserve they would not exercise the option to give gold. Clauses 4 and 5 of this bill are designed to give effect to the recommendation as modified above. In other respects the bill is substantially the same in its purposes as the bill introduced in August last.

The Reserve Bank.—The bill to establish a gold standard currency and to constitute a Reserve Bank occupies 15 pages of printed foolscap. It is proposed to give the Reserve Bank the sole right of note issue for 25 years in the first instance subject to renewal. The capital of the Bank should be five crores fully paid-up and Imperial Bank's shareholders would be given the first opportunity of subscribing therefor, but as it is undesirable to give shareholders of the Imperial Bank, a preponderating voice in deciding the currency policy of the Reserve Bank, it is proposed by Clause 4 to give the Imperial Bank as an institution, and not to its individual shareholders, the option of subscribing 30 per cent of the capital. The Central Board of the Imperial Bank has expressed willingness in principle in view of the other terms proposed to be given to the Bank, to recommend this proposal for the acceptance of shareholders. The Head Office of the Reserve Bank will be in Bombay. The proposal of its having local boards in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta in order to send representatives who would constitute the Central Board is held undesirable and so shareholders as a body would elect 9

Directors who are not appointed by the Government. Others who will compose the Board will be a Governor and a Deputy Governor appointed by the Government for 5 years and three Directors nominated by the Government to represent Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, besides an Officer appointed by the Government. The Bill empowers the Reserve Bank to receive deposit from private persons provided no interest is paid. It also authorises the Bank for 5 years to advance money against Promissory notes of scheduled Banks and thereby help in financing industry and movement of crops. The Bank is allowed to issue notes of Government for a year from the date on which it takes over the control of currency and freedom is retained to postpone the issue of one rupee notes for a time, if such postponement appears desirable.

With reference to the size of holding of silver rupees in reserve, the bill provides for transfer to the Bank of assets of such a nature as to enable the Bank to constitute a reserve in accordance with the requirements of the Act, and in order to give the new Bank necessary margin over the minimum requirements, it is proposed to include in assets transferred gold, and gold securities equal to one half of the liabilities of the issue department. Clause 35 of the Bill gives effect to the recommendation regarding the sale of gold by the Bank and this obligation will take effect from such date not later than 1st January 1931 as Government may appoint. The Bank shall not be placed in voluntary or compulsory liquidation without the sanction of the Government and in such manner as the Government might direct. In such an event the Reserve Fund and surplus asset, if any, of the Bank will be divided between the Government and shareholders in the proportion of 60 and 40 per cent respectively. The obligations imposed on the Government by the Currency Bill to receive sovereigns and half-sovereigns from public at their bullion value, will be taken over by the Reserve Bank simultaneously with the transfer of conduct of note issue to it.

Clear cut division of functions between the Reserve Bank and the Imperial Bank is the essence of the proposal creating the Reserve Bank. The bill embodies several other recommendations of the Commission in this respect. The Imperial Bank would be the sole Agent of the Reserve Bank at all places where there is a branch of the Imperial Bank and no Branch of the Reserve Bank. The proposed terms between the two Banks will involve no fresh charge on the taxpayer. They are designed to remunerate the Imperial Bank for agency work done for the Reserve Bank and loss in respect of non-paying branches and to encourage further extension of banking in India.

Imperial Bank Act Amendment.—The Bill amending the Imperial Bank Act 1920 is brief. It is rendered necessary by the transfer to the Reserve Bank to face the Imperial Bank from restrictions which on account of its hybrid nature are at present imposed on it. The Imperial Bank is authorised by the bill to enter into agreement with the Reserve Bank to conduct Government business as the agent of the Reserve Bank. It is proposed to remove the limitation now imposed on business which the Imperial Bank may transact at its London Office and to give specific power to the Bank to open branches outside India in London and elsewhere. It is also proposed to give the Bank extended powers in regard to its internal business and to remove restrictions on foreign exchange business which the Bank may transact. Several minor consequential amendments are also notified

Statement of Objects and Reasons.

1.—The Reserve Bank.

The following is the statement of the objects and reasons for the bill to establish gold standard currency for British India and constitute a Reserve Bank of India. The statement runs: The object of this Bill is to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance for the establishment of a gold standard for India and for constituting a Reserve Bank of India to control the working of that standard.

The various clauses of the Bill are briefly explained below:—

Clause 1:—It is proposed to give the bank sole right of note issue for a period of twenty-five years in the first instance subject to renewal as recommended in paragraph 141 of the Commission's report. The provision that the Act shall come into force not later than 1st January 1929 is based upon time table recommended by the Commission in. 165 of the report.

Clause 3:—The name "The Reserve Bank of India' is that suggested in paragraph 92 of the report.

Clause 4:—The Commission recommended that the capital of the Bank should be rupees five crores fully paid up and that the Imperial Bank shareholders should be given the first opportunity of subscribing for capital stock of the bank as consideration for foregoing important privileges which the Imperial Bank now enjoys. A clear-cut division of functions between the Reserve Bank of India and the Imperial Bank of India is the essence of the proposal creating a Reserve Bank and, if avoidable, it is undesirable to give the shareholders of the Imperial Bank of India a preponderant voice in deciding the currency policy of the Reserve Bank. It is, therefore, proposed in this clause to give the Imperial Bank of India as an institution and not to its individual shareholders, the option of subscribing thirty per cent. of the capital. It will be open to the Imperial Bank of India to distribute the allotment among its shareholders if it so desires. The Central Board of Imperial Bank of India has expressed its willingness in principle in view of the other terms proposed to be given to the Imperial Bank to recommend this proposal for the acceptance of shareholders. It is necessary that the Government should be prepared to take up any unallotted shares, but it is not desirable that these should continue to be held permanently by them. It is, therefore, proposed that the Governor-General in Council should dispose of any unallotted shares taken up by him within three years.

Clause 5:—This is based on paragraph 101 of the Commission's report. It is necessary to make provision for the contingency of a reduction of the share capital in regard to which the Commission have made no recommendation. Clause 6:—The head office of the bank will be located in Bombay as recommended by the Commission in para 97 of the report. Clause 8:—This gives effect to the recommendations in paragraph 95 and 96 of the report. Clause 9:—This is based on paragraph 94 of the Commission's report. The Commission recommended therein that the Reserve Bank should have local board in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta and that representatives from these boards should constitute a majority on the Central Board. It is considered undesirable for various reasons to base the constitution of the Central Board on a system of local boards. If local boards are dispensed

with, it is necessary that share-holders as a body should elect those directors who are not appointed by the Government. As regards nominated directors, it is considered desirable in order that all interests may be represented, that the three directors nominated by the Government should represent Commerce, Industry and Agriculture respectively. The term of office of nominated directors is proposed by the Commission to be fixed at one year which is too short to conduce to efficient work. It is, therefore, proposed to extend it to three years.

Clause 10 :—It is provided in this clause that the Governor, Deputy Governor or any nominated director may be removed by Governor-General in Council if a resolution to that effect is passed by a majority of the board consisting of not less than nine directors, that is by a substantial majority of the Board. Provision for the removal of elected directors follows the lines of a similar provision in the Imperial Bank of India Act. It seems undesirable that elected directors should be removable by a bare majority at a general meeting. Clause 11 :— As there may be no local board at Calcutta, it is desirable to provide that the Central Board shall meet in Calcutta at least once in every four months. Clause 12 :—This gives effect to the recommendations in paragraph 98 of the Commission's Report. Clause 13 :—This is based upon a similar provision in section 30 of the Imperial Bank of India Act. It is necessary to make special provision for the formation of the first board.

Clause 14 and 16 :—These embody proposal in schedule 2 to the report defining the functions and capacities of the bank. The Commission have not provided for the Reserve Bank receiving non-interest bearing deposits from private persons. It is considered that like most other central banks in the world, the Reserve Bank of India should also be allowed to receive deposits from private persons provided no interest is paid. Financing of industry and movement of crops in India is carried on by cash credits and as the provision recommended by the Commission stands, it will be difficult for the Reserve Bank to assist other banks in providing the necessary credit without some considerable changes in banking methods. It is, therefore, proposed in sub-clause 4 (e) that for a period of five years, the bank should be authorised to advance money against promissory notes of scheduled banks under certain conditions. It is considered undesirable to limit the amount of securities held at any time in the banking department to so low a figure as 25 per cent of the liabilities as recommended by the Commission in clause 3 (d) of schedule 2 of their report as in view of the very fluctuating nature of deposits, limitation might force the sale of securities merely to bring the bank with the provisions of its character for a few days. The Commission recommended in clause 7 (a) of schedule 2 of the report that the paid-up capital and reserve may be securities of the Government of India having not more than five years to run in view of the fact that the Government of the India are now finding their short term loans into long long term loans. The limitation of maturity to five years might unduly restrict the power of the bank to invest in such securities after a few years. It is therefore proposed to modify the provision so as to permit of investment in Government of India securities of any maturity.

Clause 15.—This gives effect to the recommendations in paragraph 102 of the report regarding operations in the open market.

Clause 17 and 18.—These give effect to the recommendations in paragraph 140 of the report regarding the relations of the bank with the Govt.

Clause 19 :- This gives effect to the recommendations in paragraph 141 of the report. The Commission recommend that the right of note issue should be transferred to the bank as soon as the bank was in a position to issue its own notes. It is not desirable to postpone early functioning of the bank till it is able to arrange for manufacture and issue of its own notes and it is, therefore, proposed to allow the bank to issue notes of the Government of India for a year from the date on which the bank takes over the control of the currency.

Clause 20.—This gives effect to recommendations in. 143 of the report regarding the separation of the banking and issue departments of the bank.

Clause 21.—This gives effect to the recommendations in paragraph 142 of the report. Freedom is retained to postpone the issue of one-rupee notes for a time if such postponement appears desirable with reference to size of the holding of silver rupees in the reserve.

Clause 22.—This gives effect to the recommendations in paragraph 155 of the report regarding the form and material of bank notes.

Clause 23.—This is based upon the recommendations is paragraph 149 of the report. The notes of the bank shall be legal tender for payment of any amount and shall be guaranteed by the Government of India. The Commission recommend in paragraph 141 of the report that not later than 5 years from the date of the bank charter becoming operative the Government of India notes still outstanding should cease to be legal tender except at Government Treasuries. By the end of 5 years very few Government of India notes will remain outstanding and it is undesirable to take away the legal tender character of the note in the absence of any very definite advantage to be gained by so doing. It is however, proposed to take power from the Governor-General in Council and the bank to call in notes of particular series if necessity arises.

Clause 24.— This is based on paragraph 155 of the Commission's report regarding re-issue of bank notes. Clause 25.—This is based upon a similar provision in the Indian Paper Currency Act and is necessary to protect the Bank against civil action in respect of notes lost, stolen, mutilated or imperfect. Clause 26 and 27.—These are based upon a similar provision in the Indian Paper Currency Act.

Clause 28.—This gives effect to the recommendations in para 145 of the Commission's report regarding the constitution of reserve.

Clause 29.—This gives effect to the recommendations in para 146 of the Commission's report defining liabilities of the issue department. Provision in sub-clause (2) of this clause is similar to that in proviso to sub-section (6) of section 18 of the Indian Paper Currency Act although it differs in detail. Under the Indian Paper Currency Act notes of denominational value exceeding rupees one hundred cannot be deemed to be not in circulation until 100 years after the date of issue, whereas notes of lower denominations are so deemed after 40 years. This distinction between the higher and lower denominations of notes is undesirable. In practice notes of higher denominations are much less likely to be outstanding for a very long period than notes of lower denomination and the practice at the Bank of England is to treat all notes as not in circulation after 40 years. It is considered that the Reserve Bank might with advantage follow the practice of the Bank of England.

Clause 30.—This is based upon para 144 of the report. The Commission recommend that coin and bullion and securities to be transferred to the issue department should be specified in a schedule. The amount of notes in circulation at the time of the inauguration of the bank will not be known. When the Bill is introduced and passed and also between the dates of the introduction of the Bill and its passing into law and the inauguration of the bank, there will be changes in the constitution of the reserve held against note issue. It is, therefore, proposed to provide for transfer to the bank of assets of such a nature as to enable the bank to constitute the reserve in accordance with the requirements laid down in the Act. In order to give the new bank the necessary margin over minimum requirements, it is proposed to include in the assets transferred gold and gold securities equal to one-half of the liabilities of the issue department as suggested in clause 3 (a) of schedule 3 to the report.

Clause 31.—This gives effect to the recommendations in para 147 of the report regarding the disposal of surplus rupees by the bank.

Clause 32.—This gives effect to the recommendations in paragraph 147 of the report. As it would be uneconomical to coin new rupees until the stock of silver rupees in the reserve is reduced to the minimum of 25 crores or one-tenth of the total amount of the reserve whichever is greater. it is proposed to limit the right of the bank to demand delivery of rupee coin from the Government.

Clause 33.—This gives effect to the recommendations in paragraph 148 of the report regarding mutual obligations of the Government and the bank in regard to rupee coin.

Clause 34.—This gives effect to recommendations in. 152of the report.

Clause 35.—This gives effect to the recommendations in paragraph 150 of the report regarding the sale of gold by the bank.

Clause 36.—Provision in sub-clause (1) regarding the latest date on which obligation to sell gold should come into force is based upon the recommendation of the Commission in paragraph 165 of the report.

Clause 36.—This gives effect to the recommendation in. 166 of the report. The Commission recommend that during the transition period, the Reserve Bank shall be under an obligation to sell gold or gold exchange at its option as the Bank will be engaged in building up its gold holding in order to be in a position to undertake the definite obligation to sell gold later. It is proposed to omit option to sell gold during the interim period.

Clause 37.—This gives effect to the recommendations in paragraph 151 and 166 of the Commission's report. Clause 36.—This gives effect to the recommendations in paragraph 153 of the report regarding the suspension of reserve requirements. Clause 39.—This gives effect to the recommendations in paragraph 154 of the report regarding the exemption of the bank from the payment of any tax or duty upon its note issue.

Clause 40.—Provisions in this clause are in accordance with the recommendations in para 149 of the report. The Commission recommend that the Governor-General in Council should have the right to take over the assets of the issue department so far as they are required to meet the liability of note or of rupee redemption. It is proposed to give the Governor-General in Council the right to take over asset not only of the issue department but of the banking department as well, as in theory such a necessity might arise if the bank failed to keep sufficient assets in the

issue department. A provision is also made for carrying on of note issue in such circumstances by some other agency determined by the Governor-General in Council.

Clause 41.—This gives effect to the recommendations in para 161 of the Commission's report with slight modifications. The percentages for minimum reserve balances recommended by the Commission appear somewhat high now in India. It is, therefore, proposed to reduce these percentages to 7 and a half and 2 and a half per cent of demand and time liabilities respectively. The definition of bank or banker suggested in para 167 of the Commission's report is imperfect but it is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory definition. It is thereupon proposed to exhibit in a schedule attached to the Bill the banks to which the provisions in this clause should apply in the first instance and to give the Governor-General in Council the power to make alterations in the schedule later. As the monthly return will show only the position at the close of the month to which it relates, it is necessary to provide for the receipt of the information mentioned in sub-clause (3) of the clause. It is also necessary that the provision should be made to enable the Government to take action not only on the monthly return submitted by the Bank but also on any report received from the Board of Reserve Bank.

Clause 42 :—This follows the intention of para 87 of the report. Clause 43 :—This is based upon the recommendations in para 100 of the Commission's report. It is considered unnecessary to build up the reserved fund as quickly as the Commission suggest and a lower rate of accumulation has, therefore, been proposed. Clause 44 :—This gives effect to the recommendations in para 158 of the Commission's report. Clause 45 to 47 :—These give effect to the recommendation in para 157 of the report. Clause 49 :—It is necessary to make provision for the contingency of the liquidation of the bank and the distribution of the reserve fund and surplus assets, if any, of the bank.

Clause 50 :—This is based upon the recommendations in para 164 of the report. The Commission proposed that the Governor-General in Council should be given absolute power to make regulations. It is thought preferable that the regulations should be made by the Board with the previous approval of the Governor-General in Council, local boards are not to be constituted on the creation of the Reserve Bank. It is proposed in sub-clause (2) (E) to give power to the Reserve Bank to establish such local boards, if considered necessary, later on and to delegate to them such powers and functions as may be desirable.

Clause 51 :—The obligations proposed to be imposed on the Government by the Currency Bill to receive sovereigns and half sovereigns from the public their bullion value will be taken over by the Bank simultaneously with the transfer of the conduct of the note issue to it.

The second schedule.—The provisions contained in this schedule have been accepted by the Central Board of the Imperial Bank of India and will be placed before the shareholders of the Imperial Bank. The proposed terms will involve no fresh charge on the tax-payer. They are designed to remunerate the Imperial Bank of India for the agency work done for the Reserve Bank and the loss in respect of non-paying branches and to encourage the further extension of Banking in India.

2. Amendment to the Imperial Bank Act.

The following is the statement of objects and reasons for the bill to amend the Imperial Bank Act. The statement runs : The Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance have recommended that with the transfer to the Reserve Bank of India of the purely central banking functions which are at present performed by the Imperial Bank of India the latter should be freed from the restrictions which, on account of its hybrid nature, are at present imposed upon that bank. This Bill intended to remove some of those restrictions and to modify the control of Government over the operations of the bank. The amendments to Imperial Bank of India Act proposed in this Bill have been accepted by the Central Board of the Bank subject to any further modifications deemed necessary later on in the light of further consideration. The more important provisions of the Bill are as follows :

It is proposed to replace section 10 of the Imperial Bank of India Act by another authorising the bank to enter into an agreement with Reserve Bank of India to conduct Government business as the agent of the Reserve Bank. It is proposed to remove the limitation imposed by section 9 on the business which the Bank may transact at its London office and to give specific powers to the Bank to open branches outside India in London and elsewhere. It is also proposed to give the bank extended powers in regard to its internal business and to remove the restrictions on foreign exchange business which the Bank may transact. At present the Controller of Currency is an ex-officio member of the Central Board of the Bank and the Governor-General in-Council nominates 4 other members to the Board under section 28 of the Imperial Bank of India Act. Although the Imperial Bank of India will transact Government business as the agent of the Reserve Bank, it will have no direct connection with the Government and it seems unnecessary for the Government to retain any measure of control over the operations of the Bank by the appointment of members to the Board. It is, therefore, proposed to remove the right of the Governor-General in Council to appoint such members. The Governor-General-in-Council is now entitled under regulation 54 of Imperial Bank of India Act to require of the Central Board of the Bank any information touching the affairs of the Bank and the production of any documents of the Bank and he may also require the publication of such statements of its assets and liabilities in such form and at such intervals as he thinks fit. It is proposed to remove this power from the Governor-General-in-Council but in order that he may be in a position to examine the affairs of the Bank in case of necessity, the provision by which he may appoint auditors under regulation 59 to examine and report upon the accounts of the Bank is proposed to be retained.

A number of minor amendments incidental to the above are also made and opportunity has been taken to introduce some small changes in the Act in sections which have been found difficult to work in practice.

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3. Amendment of Currency and Coinage Acts.

The following is the text of the statement of objects and reasons for the Bill to amend the Currency and Coinage Acts. The object of this

Bill is to give effect to those recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance which relate to the immediate stabilisation of the Rupee in relation to gold and to interm measures required during the transition period pending the bringing into operation of their proposals for the transfer to a Reserve Bank of India of control of note issue and other functions at present performed by the Secretary of State and by the Government of India. The Commission recommend in paragraph 175 of their report that the rupee should be stabilised in relation to gold at a rate corresponding to an exchange rate of 1s. 6d. gold for the rupee, that is, at the rate of one rupee of 8.47512 grains of gold. Clause 2 and all but the last portion of sub-clause (e) (1) of clause 3 are designed to give effect to this recommendation and at the same time to remove legal tender quality of the sovereign and the half-sovereign which are at the present legal tender at the rate of 2s. for the rupee in accordance with the Commission's recommendation in paragraph 66 of their report that these gold coins must be demonetised in order to enable a real gold bullion standard to be established. In order, however, to enable the small holders of these coins to convert them into legal tender money, it is proposed to provide for receipt of these coins in any quantities at their bullion value at the rate of 8.47512 grains of gold per rupee. The Commission recommend in paragraph 166 of their report that until the Reserve Bank of India takes over the control of note issue, the Government of India must be under a statutory obligation to buy gold and to sell gold or gold exchange at its option at gold points of accepted gold parity of the rupee during the transitory period, the Government of India would be engaged in building up gold holding in the reserve and would not, therefore, exercise its option to give gold. Clauses 4 and 5 are designed to give effect to this recommendation as modified above.

Opportunity has been taken to amplify the explanation to sub-section (3) of section 19 of the Indian Paper Currency Act 1923, which contains the temporary provisions so as to provide for the valuation of gold bullion held in the Paper Currency Reserve on the lines of clause (a) of sub-section (b) of section 18 which refers to the permanent provisions which have not yet come into force. For it was announced in a press communique dated August 4th 1926 which accompanied the issue of the Commission's report that pending legislation, the Government would take such steps as may be necessary to confine the movements of exchange within the approximate upper and lower gold points as calculated on the basis of a 1s. 6d. rupee, namely 1s. 6-3/6d. and 1s. 5-3/6d. respectively and the Government undertook in the same communique to lay the proposals before the legislature during the next session in order to give the legislature the earliest possible opportunity of considering the matter. The Bill designed to give effect to that undertaking was accordingly placed before the legislature in August last. Further consideration of the Bill was postponed and the Bill automatically lapsed on the dissolution of the last Assembly. The present Bill is substantially the same in its purposes as the Bill introduced in August last, but opportunity has been taken to effect certain improvements in the drafting.

The Backbay Reclamation Report.

The Bombay Back Bay Reclamation report was issued on the 17th January 1927. It apportions blame in respect of the difficulties in which the scheme is involved and makes recommendations regarding future operations. The report is unanimous and is signed by Sir Grimwood Mears, Chairman, Sir M. Visvesvarayya, Sir F. Hopkinson and Mr. S. B. Billimoria.

Reasons for Failure.

The Committee say :—" The object of the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme was to reclaim from the sea an area of 1,145 acres at an estimated outlay of about Rs. 367 lakhs. The Government were prepared to spend on the scheme up to Rs. 400 lakhs, if necessary. A revised estimate for Rs. 702 lakhs was approved within two years of original sanction and if the scheme is to be completed, a second estimate will be necessary. The total cost will approximate to about Rs. 900 lakhs gross exclusive of interest charges. This total sum will be reduced by Rs. 256 lakhs to be received from Military authorities and any other subsequent receipts from sales of land. The programme of reclamation which was to have been completed by 1926-27 has completely broken down. If it is continued under present conditions, it cannot be finished for many years to come. It is believed that land reclaimed cannot in the near future be sold at remunerative prices and care should be exercised not to reclaim land in advance of demand. The work is being constructed from public loans on which interest and sinking fund charges have to be met and Government are faced with a growing debt. The difficulties in which the scheme is at present involved arise from (1) unsatisfactory character of the estimates, (2) defective organisation, (3) failure of dredging operations and (4) fall in land values. Defects in various estimates would have been avoided if there had been sufficient and careful preliminary investigation. If an alternative comparative estimate for dry filling had been prepared at the outset and the cost of adequate dredging plant properly investigated the Government might have hesitated to commit themselves to the use of suction dredgers for this scheme. A dredging scheme costing Rs. 400 lakhs was an attractive financial proposition but it might very well be considered to have changed its character when the cost went up to Rs. 702 lakhs. Reclamation by dry filling, if then practicable, might have proved cheaper.

As regards organisation and arrangements made for the conduct of the scheme, these in themselves were almost unworkable. A reading of clause 3 of the agreement between the Secretary of State in Council and the firm of Meik and Buchanan shows that responsibility was not clearly defined between the engineers and the Director of Development. Much of the technical work was left to an overworked Chief Engineer or was not done at all, there was no costing system without which it was impossible properly to control expenditure. Because no body believed himself responsible for the due execution of the work, unwise decisions were taken and mistakes made such, for instance, as commencing the construction of the sea wall from both ends, delay in sealing rubble mound, undertaking dredging operations

in Back Bay without consideration of the cost, absence of preconcerted programmes to regulate operations, etc. All this militated against the success of the scheme and added to its cost. Inability of the dredger to give the required output has been the chief cause of failure and has had a disastrous effect on the financial prospects of the scheme. The principal reason for the present serious position of the scheme was the ordering of the dredger on estimates and specifications put forward by Messrs. Simons and Company and acceptance of a quotation for a dredging plant without any real effort to secure competitive tenders. The work having been undertaken in anticipation of realising large profits, the scheme was subjected to very great criticism when a period of acute trade depression set in with a consequent fall in land values. Trade depression was not a matter which could have been foreseen although caution was necessary in undertaking a scheme of this magnitude at a time when world conditions were unstable. With the disappearance of the prospect of profits, public criticism concentrated on the defects of the scheme."

Lord Lloyd's and Sir George Buchanan.

The Committee, discussing the present aspect of the case, pass strictures on the part played by persons in authority. Dealing first with Lord Lloyd, the Committee observe : "Lord Lloyd left England charged by Mr. Montagu to take urgent steps to improve the housing conditions of Bombay. Whilst that did necessarily imply the undertaking of a reclamation scheme, reclamation had nevertheless been considered for many years to be an integral part of any comprehensive scheme for the betterment of conditions. We are satisfied from the evidence that Mr. Montagu was deeply interested in reclamation and wished it to be carried through. We think that Lord Lloyd and the Government of Bombay were justified in accepting Sir George Buchanan as an expert to report on Mr. Kidd's scheme and that, having taken the man recommended by the Government of India, the proper and prudent course was to treat his opinion as final and authoritative. Lord Lloyd's letter of 25th May 1919 shows conclusively that he had no predilection for a reclamation scheme and that he was prepared to abandon it at once had Sir George Buchanan reported adversely on it. Though we are aware that a Governor must necessarily rely upon his advisers for the details of any particular scheme, yet having regard to the personal interest displayed by Lord Lloyd as disclosed by his evidence and that of Sir George Buchanan, we are surprised that his acute intelligence overlooked the apparent inadequacy of Sir George Buchanan's figures even though he held the belief that the 1912 figures of Mr. Kidd were to some extent inflated. In his report, Sir George Buchanan himself gave Rs. 241,90 lakhs as the figure which he would have estimated in 1912 and, on that basis, the work could not have been done by him in 1919 for less that Rs. 605 lakhs. To a lesser extent we are surprised that Lord Lloyd, when reading Sir George Buchanan's report, did not notice that Sir George Buchanan described the clay as hard whilst Messrs. Simons and Company were putting forward an offer for a soft clay dredger. We do not agree with Lord Lloyd that this was a technical point. The explanation may be a technical one, but discovery of the apparent contradiction between the character of clay as described by Sir George Buchanan and Messrs. Simons and Company needed no technical knowledge. It stood out on the document and was, unless satisfactorily explained, a contradiction in terms. We are satisfied that

Lord Lloyd acted throughout with the highest motives, anxious only to make good his undertaking to Mr. Montagu and to benefit the city of Bombay.

"Sir George Curtis who is living at Dinard was too ill to attend. He has, however, furnished answers to certain questions which were sent to him. Although he was the Member in charge during the inception of the scheme, he has not been able at this distance of time to give us any information of value and he cannot enlighten us at all as to the reason why no one in the Government of Bombay queried the varying descriptions of clay or compared the estimates of Mr. Kidd and Sir George Buchanan with reference to 1912 and 1919 prices." The Committee next dealt at length with Sir George Buchanan and state: "We cannot understand how Sir George Buchanan's figures found acceptance in Bombay and Delhi even with the addition of some 10 per cent. It was common knowledge that prices of plant, material and labour, when taken collectively, had gone up at least 2/½ times in the period between 1912 and 1919. The 1912 figure of Mr. Kidd, Rs. 323·23 lakhs, had been accepted both by the Government of Bombay and the Government of India as a fair figure. If that was their belief, then Rs. 366 lakhs was a manifest under-estimate and proper scrutiny would infallibly have demonstrated it. When Sir George Buchanan was being questioned on these two sets of figures by the Committee and the rise in prices and the inevitable inferences arising from them, he preferred not to answer the question. Failure of the Government of Bombay and the Government of India and, in particular, failure of Sir Sydney Crookshank to notice the varying description of clay contained in (a) Mr. Kidd's report, (b) Sir George Buchanan's report, (c) Messrs. Simons and Co's letter of 12th September 1919 and general conditions enclosed with that letter are regrettable. The reports of Mr. Kidd and of Sir George Buchanan were not studied with due and proper care by the Bombay Government and the Government of India respectively. The Government of Bombay ought to have approached the port Trust and the Royal Indian Marine for permission to dredge in the harbour before deciding on dredging as the mode of reclamation. We consider that Sir George Buchanan ought to have made far more extended and careful local investigations. These occupied him for less than a fortnight in May 1919."

The Committee then make observations at length to justify their conclusion that "with regard to the order for dredger, Sir George Buchanan committed grave errors of judgment. The principal cause of failure of the dredging operations arose, in our opinion, from the fact that Sir George Buchanan did not take trouble to ascertain the working records of 'Kalu' and 'Jinga' and believing that they had done extraordinarily good work, was of opinion that vessels of a slightly increased horse power of the same type would be adequate for the work. A most serious mistake in connection with the order of the dredger was the assumption that a machine capable of dredging 2,000 cubic yards on a short test would be capable of averaging that quantity during a whole season.

The building of the sea wall at both ends simultaneously was disastrous. Though the suggestion emanated from the Government of Bombay who must, therefore, take greater part of responsibility, we are of opinion that Sir George Buchanan should have advised it and resisted it and should, in the circumstances of the sale of block 8 to the military, have prepared a programme for building of the wall and the commencement of reclamation

from Colaba end only. Moreover, the building of sea wall from both ends simultaneously prevented continuance of original and sensible plan which was to shut an area as soon as possible and pump into it with the least possible delay."

Examining the defective organization, the Committee say that from the outset, neither Sir George Buchanan nor Sir Lawless Hepper seemed to have any very clearly defined idea of their respective duties. Later, when the disaster was threatening the enterprise, each relied upon his interpretation of the agreement. Sir Lawless Hepper, when giving evidence, insisted before us that Sir George Buchanan was entirely responsible for the due execution of the works as if he were in fact a contractor who had undertaken them. On the other hand, Sir George Buchanan contended that responsibility lay with Sir Lawless Hepper, pointing out that he it was who had control of the resident engineer and that his firm has no power of dismissal over any of the staff. On a strict construction of the agreement, we incline to the opinion that Sir George Buchanan is right although there are statements of his to be found in his correspondence which would bear the interpretation that he did regard his firm as responsible for the actual carrying out of the works. The reports of the Development Directorate drafted by Sir Lawless Hepper cannot be justified. They did not present a true picture of the progress of work and concealed material circumstances. We are of opinion that Sir Lawless Hepper had so much work in connection with other development schemes that even if he had appreciated his responsibility for the execution of the works, he could only have carried out that duty as regards reclamation by neglecting other duties relating to the other schemes. Mr. Lewis was not a specialist in sea works and dredging. Sir George Buchanan ought to have nominated him. It is most regrettable that he was allowed, contrary to Sir George Buchanan's advice, to remain at his post till July 1924. We are of opinion that Mr. Elgee, Mr. Ororke and Mr. Speirs have done their best on all occasions to promote the interests of reclamation and that the quarry constructional and dredging staff have done their duty."

Finally, the Committee say: "It has been put forward that reclamation of back bay would, by providing more land in business and residential area, in some way relieve housing conditions of poor classes. That, in our opinion, is too remote for serious consideration, but had back bay proved to be a financial success which was anticipated, the advantage to all classes of persons in the city and throughout the presidency would have been that there would have been available immense sums of money to be used for any purpose pleasing to the Legislative Council. Confident anticipation of profits had no doubt considerable weight in causing reclamation of back bay to be accepted as an integral and necessary part of any comprehensive plan of development."

Discussing charges of dishonesty, the Committee observe : On three occasions in Bombay we announced publicly our willinges to receive evidence from any one who could give us assistance upon any matters coming within our terms of reference. One of these matters undoubtedly was the conduct of officials of the Development Directorate in relation to the Reclamation Scheme. In March of 1925, Mr. Nariman stated in the Legislative Council that there were ugly rumours in the city that higher staffs of officers in the Development Directorate had been receiving secret commissions from manufacturers. It may be true that there were ugly rumours, but as far as our

enquiries into the affairs of the Back Bay Scheme have gone, there has not been very slightest evidence brought forward that these ugly rumours had any foundation. In fact, no one has brought any charge against any manufacturer of having given, or any official, high or low, of the Development Directorate of having accepted a commission. When Mr. Nariman gave evidence before the Committee, he did not disclose any fact which, in the least degree, implicated any one of wrong-doing of this charcter. There has not been throughout the whole of the enquiry the least suggestion that any one interested in supplying or ordering goods for reclamation or assisting in the work of reclamation has been guilty of any dishonesty of any kind whatever.

The Recommendations.

After this criticism, the Committee lay down the following recommendations for future operations :—(1) For financial reasons, the completion of block 8 is a most urgent work. (2) Foreshore portion along blocks, 3, 4, 5 and 6 should be filled in to an average width of 300 feet seaward of the present shore line and brought up to the ground level of the reclamation strip and should curve at both ends so as to join on with block 2 at the northern and block 7 at the southern end. This should be done as speedily as possible. (3) Foreshore strip should be reclaimed with moorum filling. (4) A complete lay-out of the area to be reclaimed should be prepared. The foreshore strip should be developed as soon as completed and blocks, 1 2, and 7, gradually as land is taked up. The lay out already prepared for the complete scheme (1,145 acres) should be re-examined with the help of a Committee and lay-out of the area now recommended for reclamation should fit in with the lay-out approved for complete reclamation, if ultimately undertaken. The Corporation of Bombay should share the cost of development and the Government should arrive at an understanding with the Corporation on this point. (6) Results of the work of "Sir George Lloyd" and "Colaba" during the current season should be verified. If the cost of filling by dredging approximates to that of moorum and the quality of the reclaimed land is satisfactory, they might be used for blocks 1 and 2 after block 7 is completed. If not they should be disposed of. Notice should not be given to the staff until this point is decided. (7) Reclamation should be removed from the control of the Development Directorate and carried out in accordance with one or other of the plans suggested in the report. A small Committee including one or two experienced engineers should be constituted to advice the Government on matters referred to them. (8) Work should, in future, as far as possible be carried out by contract agency. (9) Alternative estimates of the cost of the scheme now proposed are submitted. Extension of 300 feet foreshore strip by additional strips of 400 feet and 300 feet as need arises, is contemplated. Blocks 1 and 2 as being the most valuable in the whole project should be completed as soon as posssible. No part of them should be assigned for recreation purposes. (10) Detailed revised estimates should be pre ared at once. The form of tender issued by the Development Directorate should be revised. (11) Every endeavour should be made to complete the scheme proposed in three or four years. When a demand arises for completing the whole, reclamation work may be carried out by moorum filling exclusively.

The Cotton Textile Tariff Board's Report.

The Cotton Textile Tariff Board's report and the Government of India's decision thereon were published on the 6th June 1927. The Board consisted of Mr. Noyce, President, Raja Harkishna Kaul and Mr. Subba Rao. The report is unanimous except for a point of importance regarding the nature and the extent of protection. The Government of India have in this respect rejected both the majority and minority views.

The Government of India's Resolution.

The Government of India's resolution first surveys the Board's findings and then enunciates its decision. It states: "On the application of the Bombay Millowners' Association the Government of India appointed a special Tariff Board in June 1926 to investigate the condition of cotton textile industry, to examine the causes of depression and in particular to consider whether the depression is due to the competition of other countries. The Board was instructed to report whether the industry was is need of protection and if so in what form and for what period protection should be given. The Board was further instructed to make any other recommendations germane to the subject.

Japanese Competition.

The Board has found that the present depression is largely due to causes which are not peculiar to India but are world-wide in their operation. In India itself, depression has been more acutely felt in Bombay than in other parts and the Board attributes this state of affairs partly to causes for which the mill-owners themselves are responsible, partly due to competition of mills in other parts of India and partly to competition from Japan. Under the first head stress is laid on the undue conservatism and insufficient diversification of production while the relative prosperity of mills in the other parts of India is ascribed mainly to natural advantages they possess, particularly in a lower rate of wages and also in their proximity to their markets and to areas from which they obtain their raw material. The Board has emphasised the importance of the increasing competition of mills in other parts of India as a menace to the industry in Bombay and considers that it constitutes a problem not less urgent than that which arises from competition from abroad. The Board has found that competition from abroad from which the Bombay mill industry is suffering is from one country only. It was not contended by the Bombay Millowners' Association that either the volume of imports from the United Kingdom or the prices at which they were sold had in any way been a contributing cause of the present depression. In regard to imports from all countries other than Japan, the Board has found that there has been no change to the disadvantage of India as compared with the pre-war position.

On the other hand Japanese competition is severely affecting the industry in respect both of yarn and piecegoods and in so far as this competition is facilitated by inferior conditions of labour in Japan the industry has in the Board's view established its claim to protection against it. The

inferior conditions, particularly referred to, arise from the provision of Japanese Factory Law which permits the employment of women by night and thereby enables Japanese mills to work double shifts. The advantage to Japanese mills in the actual cost of manufacture according to the Board's estimate is about 4 per cent on both yarn and cloth; but if a reasonable return on the capital is included in the cost of protection the advantage increases to 10 per cent on yarn and 12 and a half per cent on cloth. The Japanese mills will, the Board thinks, retain their advantages until a date when the amended Factory Law comes into full operation which is expected to be the 1st of July 1929 and in that case any influence on the market of the stocks accumulated before that date should have disappeared by the end of the official year 1929-30.

All the findings of the Board which have been mentioned are unanimous, except as regards the estimated advantage to a Japanese mill working double shifts if a fair return on the capital is included in the cost of production.

Board's Recommendations.

In addition to a number of detailed recommendations directed towards the improvement of the internal organisation of the industry the Board has made two important recommendations designed to assist the industry in securing a greater diversification of production and to stimulate a larger output of goods of higher quality. The first is the establishment with financial assistance from the Government of combined bleaching, dyeing and printing works at Bombay. The recommendation is unanimous.

The second which is put forward by a majority of the Board is for payment for period of four years of a bounty of one anna per pound or its equivalent on the production of yarn of 32s and higher counts. Based on the output of an average of 15 p. c. of the total working spindleage in a mill, the cost of this bounty is estimated to be about 30 lakhs of rupees per annum. The President of the Board, Mr. Noyce, dissents from this recommendation. A majority of the Board has proposed that import duty on cotton piecegoods should be increased from 17 to 15 per cent for a period of three years. The primary object of this increase is to provide funds to meet the cost of the proposed bounty of spinning of finer counts and certain other proposals made by the Board but it will also serve to reduce the rigour of competition from Japan from which the industry suffers. No increase in duty on yarn is recommended by the majority in view of the effect that such a measure might have on the handloom industry. The President of the Board, Mr. Noyce, does not consider that an all-round increase in import duty on piecegoods can be justified but has recommended that an additional duty of 4 per cent. should be imposed on all cotton manufactures including yarn imported from Japan for a period of three years.

Government's Decisions.

The Board has proposed several other measures for the assistance of the industry by the Government. Most of these are under separate consideration and only one can be mentioned here. The Board has unanimously recommended the remission of import duty on cotton textile, machinery and on certain mill stores for a period of three years after which the question of continuing the remission would be considered in the light of the conditions then existing. The loss of customs revenue from this remission

according to the Board's estimate is about 50 lakhs of rupees per annum. Finally, the Board emphasises its view that State aid and changes in the Tariff which it has proposed can in themselves prove no more than palliatives and would indeed fail in their purpose if they did not succeed in stimulating and encouraging the industry to undertake reorganisation and effect economies on lines suggested. The Government of India are unable to accept the recommendation of the majority of the Board that spinning of higher counts of yarn should be stimulated by the grant of a bounty. They are satisfied that the administrative difficulties in the working of a scheme of the kind proposed are insuperable and they agree with the view expressed by the President of the Board (Mr. Noyce) that a long established industry such as the cotton textile industry in Bombay should need no stimulus at the cost of general tax-payers nor that such a development is in its own interest.

As regards the proposal that the Government should contribute towards the cost establishing combined bleaching, dyeing and printing works in Bombay the Government of India are unable to express any opinion until they have ascertained the views of the Local Government and of the cotton mill industry in Bombay and elsewhere. Rejection of the proposed bounty on spinning of finer counts removes the principal reason advanced by the majority of the Tariff Board for general increase in import duty of cotton piecegoods. The Government of India are also satisfied that on the facts as found by the Board no case has been established for a general increase in duty as a measure of protection.

The Government of India accept the finding of the Board that the advantage to Japan resulting from labour conditions in that country until an amended factory law comes into full operation in actual cost of manufacture would not be assisted at about 4 per cent on both yarn and cloth. In making this calculation the Board has allowed for the fact that double shifts are universal in spinning mills in Japan but not in weaving mills in which average hours worked are only 14-15 hours, but the majority of the Board omitted to make a corresponding allowance when calculating the advantage if a reasonable return on the capital is included. Hence the advantage to Japan when calculated on this basis should be 10 per cent on cloth and not 12 and a half per cent as stated by the majority of the Board. It follows that the advantage to Japan even if a reasonable return on the capital is included is already sufficiently covered by the existing revenue duty of 11 per cent on cotton piecegoods. No additional duty on this account can, therefore, be justified. The existing revenue duty on yarn is only 5 per cent and in this case if this calculation of the majority is accepted the advantage to Japanese mills is not fully covered but an additional duty on yarn only would affect prejudicially the handloom industry and for this reason should not be imposed.

Removal of import duty on machinery and on materials of the industry was recommended by the Fiscal Commission and is in accordance with the principle of the resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly on the 10th February, 1923, that the fiscal policy of the Government of India may legitimately be directed towards fostering the development of industries in India.

In giving effect to this principle as revenue considerations permit, the Government of India are prepared to give precedence to articles used chiefly

by the industries which are passing through a period of depression but they would be unwilling to differentiate between industry and industry by allowing one industry to import free of duty articles on which other industries have to pay duty. The Government of India have decided therefore to deal on these lines with the recommendation of the Board that the import duty on cotton textile machinery and mill stores should be remitted for a period of three years.

Forthcoming Legislation.

The Government of India will introduce legislation at the next session of the Indian Legislature to remove altogether with effect from 1st October 1927 duties on the following articles:—"All machinery and component parts of machinery as defined in items No. 51-A and 51-B of Import Tariff Schedule (schedule 2 to the Indian Tariff Act 1894), aniline and alizarine dyes, bleaching powder and paste, farina, china clay, sago flour, magnesium chloride, starch, tallow and cotton ropes. It is estimated that the consequent loss of customs revenue will be 45 lakhs of rupees in 1927-28 and 85 lakhs in a full year. The removal of duty on machinery is subject to the provision that it may be necessary to reimpose an import duty on particular kinds of machinery, if it appears on a report by the Tariff Board that it is desirable to encourage the manufacture in India of such machinery and that a protective duty is required for that purpose or that the imposition of a duty is necessary in order to secure equality of tariff treatment and remove a handicap under which the manufacture of such machinery in India would otherwise suffer.

The remaining recommendations of the Board in so far as they concern the Government are under consideration."

Conclusions and Recommendations.

The following is a summary of the conclusions and recommendations of the Board:—

Chapter II.

(1) The most striking feature in the history of the cotton textile industry in India from 1899 to 1912 in the expansion in every direction especially in weaving (para 7.)

(2) Other important features in the history of this period are the loss of the export trade in yarn, the gradually decreasing dominance of Bombay and the increasing share of Japan in the import trade (para 7.)

Chapter III.

(3) The present depression in the cotton textile industry had been and is much acutely felt in Bombay than in other centres (para 12.)

(4) The mills which have spinning departments only have been affected to a greater extent than mills which have both spinning and weaving departments (para 12).

(5) The demand for protection has not been as earnestly pressed from other centres as from Bombay and Ahmedabad (para 13).

Chapter IV.

(6) The altered relation between agrarian and general prices since 1920 has contributed to the depression in the industry (para 14).

(7) The boom and the depression in India have presented all the features which characterises a trade cycle (para 15).

(8) The course of American cotton prices has contributed to the depression in the industry (para 16).

Chapter V.

(9) The competition of Japanese yarn exercises a depressing effect on the price of Indian yarn (para 20).

(10) Japanese yarn of 32s. is being sold at a price which is practically equal to the cost of manufacture alone of yarn of this count in India without any allowance for profit or depreciation (para 20).

(11) In cloth of the lower counts, that is, in drills and sheetings, Indian mills are able to hold their own and it is, therefore, doubtful whether the Japanese imports in these lines control prices in India (para 26).

(12) In cloth of counts of 30s. and above, the cost of manufacture alone in Indian mills is either practically equal to or higher than the Japanese sale price and Japanese competition, therefore, exercises a depressing effect on the prices of Indian mill production (para 26).

(13) The depreciation of the Japanese exchange, while it lasted, stimulated exports from Japan to India but Japan now enjoys no special advantage in regard to exchange (para 30).

(14) Double shift working in Japan gives the Japanese industry an advantage of 4 per cent on the actual cost of manufacture both of yarn and cloth. This advantage is considerably increased if a reasonable return on capital is included in the cost of production (para 32).

(15) It does not appear that mills in Japan can, as a rule, obtain higher prices in the home market than they can from exports and a charge of dumping in the usual sense of the word cannot, therefore, be substantiated (para 34).

(16) Conditions of labour in Japan are inferior to those in India in respect of hours and the employment of women and juveniles at night (para 35).

(17) It must, therefore, be held that there is unfair competition between Japan and India, and that this competition is an important cause of the present depression in the cotton textile industry (para 35).

Chapter VI.

(18) The stabilisation of the rupee at 1s. 6d. coming as it does at a time of falling prices, has rendered the problem presented by the disparity between prices and wages in the industry somewhat more pronounced (para 38).

(19) Over-capitalisation has contributed to accentuate the depression in Bombay (para 39.)

(20) The dividends paid by the Bombay industry during the boom period were unduly high (para 40.)

(21) Except to the extent that defects in the managing agency system such as undue conservatism and lack of initiative have contributed to the present depression that system cannot be held to be responsible for the existing conditions (para 41.)

(22) The use of inefficient machinery cannot be held to have affected the industry to any appreciable extent (para 42).

(23) Difficulties in arranging finance both by mills and dealers in piecegoods have contributed to accentuate the depression (para 43).

CHAPTER VII.

(24) The loss of the China trade in yarn is an important cause of the present depression in Bombay (para 44).

(25) The loss of the export trade in yarn has not been compensated appreciably by an increase in the export of piecegoods (para 45.)

(26) The increasing competition of mills in Ahmedabad and other centres is also an important cause of the present depression in Bombay (para 46.)

(27) Greater attention to diversification of production, more direct contract with consuming centres and greater alertness on the part of commission agents would to some extent have mitigated the severity of the depression in Bombay (para 47.)

(28) The depression in India has not been accompanied by any decrease in production but over-production cannot be held to be a cause of the depression (para 48.)

(29) Labour costs in Bombay are markedly higher than those in other centres (para 49.)

(30) High labour costs in Bombay cannot be held to have caused the depression but they have undoubtedly accentuated it (para 49.)

(31) High local taxation has added to the difficulties caused by the depression in Bombay (para 50.)

CHAPTER VIII.

(32) Examination of the figures of cost of production in the various centres shows that by far the greatest disability in costs of manufacture from which Bombay suffers in comparison with Ahmedabad and other upcountry centres is in its high cost of labour (para 52.)

(33) Bombay is under substantial disadvantages as compared with other centres in regard to cost of fuel and power, cost of water and higher local taxation, but these appear to be rather more than offset by advantages in regard to cost of stores, of insurance and of office expense (para 52.)

(34) In regard to supplies of raw material the balance of advantage as compared with other centres is on the whole, against Bombay (para 52).

(35) Proximity to local markets is a factor which operates appreciably to the benefit of the mills in upcountry centres (para 52).

CHAPTER IX.

(36) To the extent that the depression in the cotton textile industry in India is the outcome of the cyclical character of trade, it is not of a permanent nature (para 53).

(37) It is impossible to express a definite opinion as to how far foreign competition can be regarded as a permanent cause of depression (para 53).

(38) The loss of the China trade in yarn must be regarded as a cause of depression which is of a permanent character (para 53).

(39) When the increasing competition with the Bombay industry of Ahmedabad and other upcountry centres is a temporary or permanent

cause of depression must depend on the steps taken by the Bombay industry to meet it (para 53).

(40) In regard to the purchase of raw material in Bombay, a single hedge contract is the ideal to be aimed at but, in the meantime, proposals on the lines of the scheme put forward by Messrs. Forbes, Forbes, Campbell and Company for reducing the number of the existing hedge contracts and widening their scope should again be placed before the Representative Committee of the East India Cotton Association (para 55).

(41) Managing agents would be well advised to employ brokers who do not operate on their own account and who are not themselves in actual possession of cotton (para 53).

(43) No economies in the cost of fuel and power appear possible in Bombay (para 56).

(43) A further reduction in the charge for water in Bombay is desirable (para 57).

(44) Managing agents should exercise the closest supervision over all purchases of stores (para. 58).

(45) The only alternative to a reduction in wages in the Bombay mill industry is increased labour efficiency and it is in this direction that the true lines of advance lies (para. 59).

(46) The general adoption in Bombay of the system of maintaining a labour reserve to provide against absenteeism is desirable (para 60).

(47) The piecework system should be extended to spinners in Bombay and should be accompanied by an increase in the number of spindles allotted to each spinner (para 61).

(48) The disparity between the wages of spinners and weavers is a matter which demands the attention of the industry (para 61).

(49) An increase in the number of looms attended by a weaver would tend to economy and give increased earnings to the weaver even when accompanied by a slight reduction in rate (para 61).

(50) Economies similar to those suggested in the spinning and weaving departments can be effected in the preparatory departments (para 61).

(51) If the efficiency of operatives is to be improved, it is essential that there should be an improvement in the standard of efficiency of jobbers (para 61).

(52) Increased efficiency cannot be expected from operatives unless they are provided with suitable raw material. The existing tendency to spin higher counts of yarn than the quality of the cotton warrants causes breakages and increases the work of the spinner and the weaver (para 61).

(53) The fixation of a definite period of rest to enable operatives to take their morning meal is desirable (para 62).

(54) Labour should be recruited directly by the officers in charge of the department of the mill which requires it or by a responsible assistant and not by the jobber (para 63).

(55) The practice of compelling weavers to take over cloth spoilt by defective workmanship at its full value should be abolished (para 64).

(56) Fines levied should be used for the benefit of the operatives as a body (para 64).

(57) The standardisation of wages throughout the Bombay mill industry would undoubtedly strengthen the position of the industry. A suitable

scheme could only be drawn up in consultation with the representatives of labour (para 65).

(58) Blocks of the chawls built by the Bombay Development Department might be taken over and administered by groups of mills or by the Bombay Millowners' Association as a body (para 66).

(59) The town duty of one rupee per bale should be reduced to eight annas per bale on all cotton consumed by the Bombay mills (para 66).

(60) More attention to welfare work on the part of the Bombay mill industry is desirable when financial conditions permit (para 67).

(61) Certain alterations in the courses in cotton textiles in the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute are desirable (para 68).

(62) The provision of more facilities for technical education of mill-operatives especially jobbers is essential to any improvement in efficiency. The early establishment of Trade Schools in Bombay is, therefore, desirable (para 68).

(63) The preparation and distribution of technical handbooks, in the vernacular, plentifully illustrated and drawn up on suitable lines, for the use of jobbers and operatives should be undertaken (para 68).

(64) The high labour costs in Bombay cannot be reduced by the introduction of the Northrop looms but the experiments with the Whittaker attachment should be continued (para 69).

(65) Bombay is not a suitable centre for the adoption of the double shift system since the city is already very congested and the presence of the additional labour force which would be required would increase this congestion (para 70).

(66) The desirability of imposing additional assessment on 'toka' lands in graduated stages when the present assessment expires should be considered (para 72).

(67) The Bombay Millowners' Association should consider the possibility of undertaking fire insurance for its members (para 73).

(68) No economies under the head of technical and supervising staff can be suggested but the proper training of such staff should be insisted on in all cases (para 74).

(69) Depreciation including any amount which may be in arrears, should invariably be regarded as a first charge on profits (para 75).

(70) Mill stocks should in all cases be checked at audit (para 76).

(71) The practice of employing an auditor who is related to the managing agent is open to objection and should be discontinued (para 76).

Chapter X.

(72) The Bombay Millowners' Association should take immediate steps to obtain a full range of samples and to maintain a full record of prices of all imported cotton manufactures which compete with Indian goods (para 77).

(73) The Bombay Millowners' Association should constitute sub-committees to deal with questions relating to export and home markets, finance, labour, registration of labels and numbers, supply of raw material and woollen mills (para 77).

(74) Combined action should be taken by the Millowners' Associations and other bodies interested to ensure that the quality of cloth sold under a particular number is maintained (para 78).

(75) At least one member of each firm of managing agents should have received technical training (para 79).

(76) The practice of investing the surplus funds of mills with firms of shroffs is undesirable and should be discontinued as should that of lending the funds of one concern to another under the same managing agency (para 79).

(77) Writing down of capital in the Bombay mill industry is a matter which calls for further attention (para 80).

(78) Bombay should utilise to the full its natural advantages in the matter of climate and situation for the production of goods of higher counts than it has done in the past (para 81).

(79) The difficulties in regard to suitable raw material are not insurmountable, and can be overcome temporarily by greater use of American and African cotton (para 81).

(80) The charges levied for fumingation are a handicap to the use of American cotton (para 81).

(81) In a great expansion in the Bombay mill production of bleached coloured, dyed and printed goods lies one remedy for the depression in the industry in Bombay (para 82).

(82) There is no reason why the printing industry should not be successfully established in India, provided the operations are on a sufficiently large scale, and the latest developments in technique, are utilised to the full. It is necessary, therefore, that the matter should be taken up by a combination of mills (para 82).

(83) A large factory for combined printing, bleaching and dyeing should be established in or near Bombay and there would seem to be great advantages for placing it at Ambernath (para 83).

(84) Greater attention to the quality of production is desirable (para 83).

(85) The practice of selling yarn under double numbers is undesirable, and should be discontinued (para 83).

(86) Both the system of sales on commission and that of selling through the mills' own shops have advantages and it is not possible, therefore, to say which is preferable (para 84).

(87) Representatives of mills should visit the consuming centres from time to time in order to acquaint themselves closely with the character of demand (para 84).

(88) The Bombay Millowners' Association should arrange for trade correspondents in the principal consuming centres (para 84).

(89) Managing agents should not act as guarantee brokers for the mills they control (para 84).

(90) It is desirable that the finance of the cotton industry should be investigated and that an enquiry into the possibility of introducing the warehouse system into India should form part of this investigation (para 85).

(91) The development of the export trade of Bombay would be a valuable means of relieving the depression (para 86).

(92) Coloured and dyed goods form the largest part of the exports of piecegoods and further expansion of this side of the Bombay industry would, therefore, strengthen its position in the foreign market (para 86).

(93) It is essential to the development of the export trade of Bombay that adequate information regarding foreign markets should be available and that the industry should be in a position to utilise it (para 86).

(94) The industry should examine the feasibility of a combination of the mills interested in the export trade for the purpose of arranging such details as manufacture of lines required, allocation of quantities among the members and provention of imitation of marks and numbers (para 86).

(95) The statistical information regarding the industry should be improved in certain respects (para 87).

CHAPTER XI

(96) High protective duties on the scale advocated by the Bombay and Ahmedabad Millowners' Association cannot be justified (para 90)

(97) The claim for a protective duty of 4½ per cent to enable the Indian mill industry to make provision for depreciation of plant and machinery cannot be admitted (para 91).

(98) No justification exists for a differential duty against Japan on the ground of depreciated exchange (para 91).

(99) The case for a small all round increase in the import duty on cotton manufactures other than yarn is strengthened by the undoubted temporary handicap imposed on the industry by the stabilisation of the rupee at 1s. 6d. (para 91).

(100) A moderate measure of protection both for yarn and cloth can be justified for such period as labour conditions in Japan continue inferior to those in India (para 92).

(101) An additional duty on yarn is undesirable in view of its effect on the handloom industry (para 92).

(102) A differential duty against Japan is undesirable (para 92).

(103) The proposal to give protection against unfair competition from Japan in the form of specific duties levied on the class of goods which are in the main imported from that country is open to several objection and cannot be supported. Protection to the industry should therefore, be given in the form of an addition to the present duty on all cotton manufactures other than yarn (para 92).

(104) No justification for an export duty on cotton can be established (para 93).

(105) The concession of free entry enjoyed by cotton mill machinery and mill stores prior to 1921 should again be granted (para 94).

(106) The most satisfactory method of working the concession so far as stores are concerned would be to grant total exemption from stores which can only be used in the mill or handloom industries and to exempt other stores from duty if imported direct by a mill or to grant a refund on them when they are purchased from "stockist." Two lists have been drawn up accordingly (para 94).

CHAPTER XII.

(107) A stimulus to the production of goods of higher quality can best be given in the form of a bounty on the spinning of higher counts of yarn instead of by an additional import duty on yarn (para 96).

(108) A bounty of one anna per pound, or its equivalent on yarn of 328 and higher counts, based on the production of an average of 15 per cent of the total working spindleage in a mill in British India would meet the situation (paga 97).

(109) The operation of the bounty should be limited to four years (para 97).

(110) The bounty should be limited to the production of 15 per cent. of the spindleage in any mill and would not be given unless the total spindleage employed on higher counts exceeded 7 and a half per cent. and the average count spun was not below 34^{s} (para 97).

(111) One great advantage of this scheme is that the position of the handloom industry will not be affected (para 97).

(112) As the majority of Indian mills have both spinning and weaving departments, the absence of protection for the lower counts of yarn is compensated by the additional all round duty on cloth. Contingencies may arise in which an additional duty on yarn would be justified (para 98).

(113) If a satisfactory scheme for a combined bleaching, dyeing and printing plant can be put forward by the Bombay mill industry, assistance from Government should be given (para 99).

(114) No justification can be established for the grant of export bounties (para 100).

(115) Two Trade Commissioners should be appointed, one at Basra and one at Mombasa (para 101).

(116) Before Trade Commissioners are appointed for other countries, a rapid survey of the potentialities of the markets in those countries should be undertaken by a small mission (para 101).

(117) It is most important in the interests of the Bombay mill industry that it should have its own representatives in the principal export markets. Expenditure by the Bombay Millowners' Association in this respect should be supplemented for four years by the grant of an equal amount from Government up to a maximum of Rs. 25,000 annually (para 101).

(118) The question of subsiding shipping freights should be investigated by the Trade Commissioner and by the commercial mission suggested in (116). Combination on the part of the Bombay Millowners' Association would place it in a much stronger position to negotiate with shipping companies (para 102).

(119) The difficulties in applying a policy of discrimination in regard to railway freights to the cotton textile industry are insuperable (para 103).

(120) Specific complaints in regard to inequalities of railway freights are a matter for investigation by the Railway Rates Advisory Committee (para 103).

(121) The existing facilities in the matter of railway sidings in Ahmedabad are sufficient (para 104).

(122) The charges for the fumigation of American cotton entering India are levied in the interests of the cultivators of cotton should be borne by general revenue (para 105).

(123) No case has been made out for the abolition of company supertax (para 106).

(124) The cost of those proposals which involve expenditure should be met by an additional import duty of four per cent. on all cotton manufactures other than yarn (para 107).

(125) This duty should be imposed for a period of three years (para 107).

CHAPTER XIII.

(126) No justification has been established for the special treatment of the hosiery industry (para 109).

(127) The abolition of the duty on yarn of counts above 40s. or the

grant of a rebate of the duty to mills using such yarn cannot be supported (para 110).

In conclusion, the majority of us wish to express our deep regret that we have been unable to obtain the President's support for our scheme of a bounty on the spinning of yarn of higher counts. We wish to emphasise that this is the only point of importance on which there is any difference of opinion between the Members of the Board and that in every other respect, apart from one or two matters of analysis or calculation, there has been complete unanimity which has found expression in the presentation of a single Report. We would also like to express our sense of obligation to the President for helpful discussion in the drafting of that part of the Report with which he finds himself in disagreement.

Changes in Tariff.

The changes in the tariff which were suggested to us were three in number: additional import duties on yarn, piecegoods and other cotton manufactures, an export duty on raw cotton, and the abolition of the duty on mill machinery and mill stores. We proceed to examine these suggestions.

We received much evidence in favour of the imposition of additional import duties on cotton manufactures but, apart from those which were put forward on behalf of the hosiery industry which we deal with elsewhere, the only definite suggestions which we deem it necessary to discuss came from the representatives of the industry in Bombay and Ahmedabad. The proposals put forward by the two Millowners' Associations were not, however, in close agreement nor were they advanced on the same grounds. In their original representation, the Bombay Millowners' Association asked for "a scientific tariff so that the goods which Indian mills can manufacture and supply to India shall not be open to unfair competition from foreign competitors." They went on to state that the industry required, "in order to place it in an equal position with foreign countries in respect of the cost of manufacture, additional protection equivalent to 13 per cent and further additional protection to enable the mills to make the necessary allowances for depreciation to plant and machinery." This 13 per cent was based on the 8 per cent advantage which it was held that Japan possessed on the ground of depreciated exchange and on 5 per cent advantage due to inferior labour conditions. The additional protection asked for to enable provision to be made for depreciation was subsequently placed at 4 and half per cent so that the total demand was for 17 and half per cent. In their reply to our questionnaire, the Association explained that by "scientific tariff" they meant a fixed duty per pound on the different classes of cotton goods imported into India and that they had in mind a tariff somewhat similar to that in force in Japan. They considered "that a heavy duty should be levied on coarse goods and lower counts of yarn, a moderate duty on medium classes of goods and a low duty or the present rate on higer counts and on special types of goods which cannot be manufactured in India economically." In the course of their oral examination, the representatives of the Association elaborated their position and explained that the increased "ad valorem" duty of 17 and a half per cent and the scientific tariff were alternative suggestions and that if the scientific tariff were adopted in preference to the 17 and a half per cent "ad valorem" duty the specific duties imposed under it on certain classes of goods would require to be much heavier.

The concern of the Bombay Millowners' Association was with protection against what they regarded as unfair competition. The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association went further. In their reply to our questionnaire, they asked for a substantial increase in the import duty on cloth and yarn up to 40s counts, a moderate increase for counts up to 60s and little or no increase on counts above 60s. In their oral examination, they explained that they asked for increased duties on all imported yarn, both and other manufactured goods and justified the extension of their demand beyond that put forward by the Bombay Millowners' Association on the ground that the additional duties proposed would enable the Indian mill industry to establish itself firmly in the spinning of higher counts of yarn and the manufacture of cloth therefrom. In the course of their oral examination, their representatives also changed the character of their demand slightly and asked that the higher duty should be imposed at a uniform rate on all counts of yarn up to 60s and on cloth manufactured therefrom, the duty on yarn and cloth above 60s. to be such duty as was required for revenue purposes.

We have before us, therefore, three different porposals, two emanating from the Bombay Millowners' Association and one from the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association. These are :—

(1) Additional duties to the extent of 17 and a half per cent on cotton manufactures imported from countries from which there is "unfair" competition.

(2) Specific duties of amounts not specified on all imported goods of low, medium and higher counts respectively but which would work out on certain classes of goods at a higher rate that the ad-valorem duty.

(3) Additional duties to the extent of 12 and a half per cent on all cotton manufactured goods of counts up to 60s. from whatever country imported and lower duties on those of counts above 60s.

Before we proceed to examine in detail the grounds on which the Bombay Millowners' Association have sought to justify the imposition of the additional duties they suggest, it is necessary that we should consider, in their broader aspects, the problems involved in the levy of duties at the rates suggested by the two Associations, in other words, the general effect of high additional duties on the future course of prices and the development of the industry.

Effect of High Additional Duties.

The first of the three proposals set forth above is that an additional duty of 17 and half per cent should be levied on all imports from foreign countries from which there is "unfair competition." The duty would thus be a differential duty on a comparatively small portion of the imports even if it were decided, in order to avoid the difficulties arising from the existence of the Anglo-Japanese Convention of 1905, to extend it to al countries outside the British Empire. It is unnecessary to enter in any detail into analysis of the working of such a duty and it will suffice to state the conclusion that a differential duty on a relatively small portion of the supply does not bring about an increase in price over the whole supply unless, and the reservation is of the greatest importance in the present connexion, prices before the levy of the duty have not been such as to yield an adequate return to the industry. If, on the other hand, as is claimed, prices have been forced below the cost of production of efficient mills by

the pressure of unfair foreign competition, the levy of a differential duty against the countries from which such competition comes should raise them to a level which is, at any rate, sufficiently high to meet the expenses of production. The extent of the rise will depend on the extent to which it corrects the unfair advantages enjoyed by foreign competitors. To the extent of that rise, it involves a burden on the consumer but it cannot be considered an undue burden since no industry can be expected to suffer continuous losses in his interests. Dumping and depreciated exchange were held by the Indian Fiscal Commission to constitute unfair competition against which Indian industry was justified in seeking protection beyond that afforded by any existing revenue duties. The case of unfair labour condition was not specifically considered by the Indian Fiscal Commission but it appears to us to fall within the same category. We hold that an industry may legitimately ask the State to assist it to revert to what may be regarded as normal conditions of business and that the consideration of decisive importance is, therefore, the correctness of the analysis of the situation and the accuracy of the estimates of the disadvantages to which the industry is subjected by unfair competition. It should be pointed out that, even if no counter-vailing duty is levied a rise in price is inevitable since, unless Japan is able to supply all the requirements of India at the low prices at which she is able to supply part of them, it is to her interest, once she has established herself in the Indian market, to allow prices to rise to the level at which other competitors can sell without loss but which would yield her larger profits. A rise of prices in this way would, however, be far more gradual than that which follow the imposition of a differential duty and in the meantime serious and perhaps lasting damage might have been inflicted on the home industry. From the point of view of the consumer therefore the imposition of a differential duty against unfair competition merely hastens the rise in prices which would, in any event, be brought about by the play of normal economic forces.

The proposed specific duties stand on a different footing. They are intended to secure in an indirect way what a duty on all classes of goods imported from Japan would secure in a direct way. We shall deal subsequently with the administrative and technical difficulties which militate against the resort to such duties, whether for revenue or protective purposes, but would here draw attention to some considerations which we regard as of very great importance. While the objective of duties imposed on the basis advocated by the Bombay Millowners' Association might be the imports from one country only, the duties would affect the imports from all countries alike. Heavy duties on coarse cloth and lower counts of yarn and moderate duties on medium classes of goods would cause a rise in prices of all such goods entering India. The rise in prices would thus be both more immediate and higher than would be effected by duties levied against the imports from a particular country only. The only safeguard to the consumer would lie in the operation of internal competition and the operation of this factor would be impeded by the virtual monopoly in the coarser and medium goods secured by the heavy duties on them. The burden on the consumer would thus be heavy and of considerable duration and the only justification for it would lie "in the educative influence which my be brought to bear on the industrial classes of a nation to devote their energies to tasks for which they have adequate resources and opportunities but in which they nevertheless lag

ehind the best practice that can be found elsewhere (Dr. Marshall)." There is, unfortunately, no reason to believe that any development in this direction would follow. We have stated elsewhere our view that it is essential to the recovery of the Bombay industry that there should be greater diversification of production and a development of the spinning of higher counts of yarn. Both the form and magnitude of the specific duties suggested would retard rather promote such a development as they would place a premium on the spinning of the lower counts and the manufacture of cloth from them. They would, therefore, in no case, benefit the Bomboy industry which stands in the greatest need of assistance, for they would not help it in its competition with the upcountry mills. The result of such duties would be to impose a burden on the consumer of the coarser goods who is obviously least able to bear it in order to enable the industry to persist in unprogressive lines of production and that too at a time when it is the contention, even of those who advocate the duties, that his purchasing power has been reduced.

The proposals put forward by the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association differ from those examined immediately above in that they do not favour the production of coarser goods to the disadvantage of those of medium counts and are indeed put forward in the expectation that the change to medium counts would be stimulated by the imposition of the duties they propose. The difference is, however, one of degree rather than one of principle. If there is no differentiation in the treatment of coarse and medium goods, it is not to be expected that a development in the production of the latter which has been gnder discussion for a long time past without any appreciable results will come about. The objections to specific duties apply equally to these proposals.

Exception may be taken to the presentation of the case which has been put forward above on the ground that, while the specific duties have been proposed either solely or mainly to protect the industry against unfair foreign competition we have applied a test which is irrelevant in this connexion, that of the greater diversification of the industry. So far as the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association are concerned, however, the view was distinctly put forward that the additional duties were required even more for the promotion of greater diversification than for protection against unfair foreign competition. There is a further answer that, in view of the heavy burden likely to be imposed on the consumor, protection on the scale asked for can only be legitimately demanded by an infant industry.

It may further be urged that we have exaggerated the extent and duration of the burden to the consumer as internal competition would operate to prevent any rise in prices beyond the level of normal expense of production including a reasonable return on capital. This view was placed before us both by the representatives of the indusrty and by other witnesses. It is a view which is widely held and is not without theoretical justification if long period results alone are considered. It is a valid argument that, given immunity from foreign competition, the home producer will at first reap the benefit of prices raised almost to the extent of the additional duty but that the prospect of such prices will induce increased production both by those already in the field and by those attracted to the industry by the expectation of high profits. In consequence, prices will again be lowered by competition among the producers to the level at which they only cover costs of production including the reasonable return on capital which it is the

presumption that at the earlier level of lower prices brought about by unfair foreign competition they did not do. But while the high duties are proposed avowedly on the ground that only then will conditions be equalised, the argument implies that the lower level of prices brought about by internal competition will still be sufficiently high to compensate producers. In other words, either it is sought to place on the consumer at the outset a larger burden than is justified or the indusry will, as soon as internal competition lowers the level of prices, be no better off than it was before the duties were imposed.

A further objection to protection on the scale proposed by the representatives of the industry is that whilst, on the one hand it would encourage additional production, on the other, it would restrict consumption. The problem before the Indian mill industry and especially the Bombay section of it is to secure increased consumption and not merely to make higher profits on restricted sales. The Bombay Millowners' Association in their original representation have expressed the view that enhanced import duties would not raise the prices to the consumer as internal competition between the mills in India would establish 'equitable' prices. We have examined this aspect of the question above. They further maintain that the enhancement of the import duties on cotton manufactures other than yarn to 11 per cent in 1921 did not raise the price of cloth or check its consumption. It is impossible to disentangle the effect of an increased duty on prices or on consumption especially where, as in the case of cotton textiles, so much depends on other factors such as the cost of raw material in respect of prices or the presence or absence of a good monsoon in respect of consumption. But it is axiomatic that, other things being equal, the effect of an increased duty must be to enhance prices and that the effect of increased prices is to restrict consumption. The figures of consumption per head of cloth which we give in Appendix IV throw some light on this as they bring out very clearly the extent to which high prices restricted consumption, from 1917 to 1923, and especically in 1919-20. It is difficult to draw a definite conclusion from the figures for the last four years but it is noteworthy that the consumption of cloth per head in 1924-25, 15·01 yards, was higher than in any year since 1923-14 and that allowing for the slight corrected required owing to the absence of figures for exports by land for 1925-26 it is higher in 1925-26 than in any pre-war year, with the exception of 1912-13 and 1913-14 when imports were unusually high owing to the abundance and low prices of American cotton. Although prices in 1924-25 were slightly higher than in 1923-24, the average prices longcloth being 11·16 annas per pound in the former year against 21·52 annas in the latter the consumption per head in the latter year was 15·01 yards against 12·12 yards in the former. This can be accounted for by the fact that 1924-25 followed a long series of years in which prices had been high and consumption below normal and also that the decline in prices which has continued ever since set in August of that year. The figures appear to show that the recent decline in prices has stimulated consumption a movement which an increase in impart duties would undoubtedly check.

Our President desire to make it clear that, while he is in entire agreement with the views expressed above, he wisher this part of the chapter to be read in the light of the remarks in his minute of dissent.

The grounds urged in favour of high Additional Duties.

We now proceed to examine the grounds on which the Bombay Millowners' Association have put forward a claim for 17 and half per cent protection against foreign countries, the imports from which compete unfairly with Indian manufactures. The claim for a 4 and half per cent duty to enable Indian mills to make the necessary allowance for depreciation of plant and machinery can be dismissed very briefly. Depreciation charges are obviously as much a cost of production in the county against which protection is sought as they are in this country anP an enhancement of protection to enable provision to be made for them as well as on the ground that costs of production, owing to unfair competition, are lower elsewhesre than they are in India would obviously mean that they would be allowed for twice over. No claim for protection to enable this provision to be made can, therefore, be admitted.

The Bombay Millowners' Association claimed a protective duty of 8 per cent on the ground of depreciated exchange. It is unnecessary to examine the basis of the calculations on which this claim was made since, as we have pointed out in paragraph 30 any advantage which Japan possessed owing to a depreciated exchange has disappeared with the restoration of the yen to its gold parity and any disadvantages to which the industry may be subjected from the stabilisation of the rupee at 1s. 6d. are therefore, not confined to imports from Japan. In paragraph 38, we have discussed the extent of these disadvantages and have stated our conclusion that the stabilisation of the rupee at 1s· 6d. coming as it has done at a time of falling prices, has rendered the problem presented by the disparity between prices and wages in the cotton textile industry more pronounced. That foreign competition may be intensified in such circumstances until prices and wages adjust themselves to the altered ratio is an economic truism. A number of countries have enacted tariff legislation to safeguard home industries against unfair competition arising from the depreciated currencies of competing countries. The validity of the principle underlying such legislation was admitted by the Indian Fiscal Commission who suggested the insertion in the legislation against dumping, which they proposed, of a clause on the lines of the provision in the Australian Act which would in their opinion prove an ample safeguard against any dangers that might be anticipated from exports from a country with a depreciated exchange.

It was held by many witnesses before us that if the validity of the argument for protection against countries with a depreciated exchange is admitted a similar argument must be held to apply to a rise in exchange to which internal prices and wages have not been adjusted. We have pointed out elsewhere that the direct disadvantages to the cotton industry have been estimated at between four and six per cent, according to the price of cotton but that, in our view it is impossible satisfactorily to assess either the exact measure of the disadvantage or the period for which it will last. In these circumstances and in view of the complexity of the considerations involved we should have had considerable hesitation in proposing an increase in the import duty on this ground alone but the majority of us consider that the reasons we advance elsewhere for a small all-round increase in the import duty on cotton manufactures other than yarn are strengthened by the undoubted temporary handicap imposed on the industry by the stabilisation

of the rupee at 1s. 6d. Our President dissents fom this view for reasons recorded in his separate minute.

We now come to the examination of the claim of the Bombay Millowners' Association that the Indian cotton textile industry requires protection against Japan owing to the competition which results from the unfair conditions in that country in regard to hours of labour and the employment of women and children at night. In paragraph 35 above we have stated our conclusion that to the extent that conditions of labour in Japan are inferior to those in India in these respects, it must be held that there is unfair competition between India and Japan. We have further pointed out that Japanese competition is severely affecting the Indian industry in respect both of yarn and piecegoods and our conclusion is that, to the extent that this competition is facilitated by the inferior conditions of labour in Japan the industry has established its claim to protection against it. The Bombay Millowners' Association estimate the advantage which accrues to the Japanese industry from its labour conditions at five per cent. We have preferred to make our own detailed calculations under this head, and have assessed the advantage in actual cost of manufacture at about 4 per cent. in both yarn and cloth. If, as the majority of us consider, the advantage the Japanese industry obtains should be worked out on the basis of the inclusion of a reasonable return on capital in the cost of production, as is the practice of the United States Tariff Commission with regard to their calculations of comparative costs of production, it is very much greater and may be placed in the neighbourhood of 12/½ per cent. on cloth and 10 per cent. on yarn. We are agreed that, in addition to the protection afforded by the present import duty of 5 per cent. on yarn and 11 per cent. on cloth a moderate measure of protection can be justified for such period as the labour conditiions in Japan continue inferior to those in India.

Conclusions and Recommendations.

The majority of us consider, however, that the imposition of any additional duty on yarn is undesirable in view of the effect that this would have on the handloom industry which in 1925-26, according to the figures given in Appendix IV supplied about 26 per cent. of the total consumption of cloth in India. It was represented to us by many witnesses, including some Directors of Industries, that the imposition of an additional duty on yarn would not affect that industry unfavourably as the greatest part of its output is of cloth woven from yarn of the finer counts and may, therefore, be regarded as a luxury product, any increase in the price of which due to an enhanced duty could easily be passed on to the consumer. We are not convinced by this agrument. The figures we have given in preceding chapters show that a large proportion of the output of the Bombay mills in the coarser counts is placed on the Indian market and any increase in the price of this must react unfavourably on the handloom industry. It will also react unfavourably on the position of those mills which have weaving sheds only and are dependent on yarn either locally manufactured or imported. For these reasons the majority of us are of opinion that any assistance given to the spinning industry is, for reasons stated elsewhere, best given in the form of a bounty. In regard to protection for cotton manufactures other than yarn in order to enable them to meet Japanese competition, there are four methods by which such a duty could be levied.

An additional duty might be levied on imports from Japan alone. This would necessitate the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Convention of 1905 under which Japanese imports into India are entitled to "most favoured nation treatment" and might lead to retaliation against exports from India which largely exceed in value the imports into this country from Japan, the figures in 1925-1926 being Rs. 58 crores for exports against Rs. 18 crores for imports. In these circumstances, the majority of us are of opinion that the imposition of a differential duty against Japan is undesirable when the object aimed at can be secured in other ways.

It should be pointed out that a further complication arises from the fact that, if a differential duty is imposed, against Japan on the ground of inferior labour conditions, it would appear logically to follow that it should also be imposed against China where labour conditions are inferior to those in Japan and also against the United States which also has not ratified the Washington Convention and where, as will be seen from Appendix IX, in some of the Southern States, there is no limitation of the number of hours and prohibition of the employment of female labour at night. In a report of a special investigation into conditions in the textile industry in Massachusetts and the Southern States of the United States and America presented to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts in 1923 it is stated that in practice most of the operatives in the mills in the Southern States work fifty-five hours per week during the day time, ten hours for five days and five hours on Saturday and that then, if necessary, a night shift (including women) may be employed for ten hours each night except Saturday and Sunday.

A specific duty might be levied on the class of goods which are in the main imported from Japan. We have dealt with the general aspect of such a duty but there are further objections to it. The first of these, which rules it out in existing conditions, apart from any other consideration, is that, except of course, in regard to yarn, to machinery at present exists for working such a duty. The ascertainment of the exact counts of yarn from which a particular cloth is manufactured is a highly technical process for carrying out which an expert staff would be required. We examined the Collectors of Customs at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, on this point and, while they are agreed that the substitution of specific advalorem duties would be welcomed by the Customs Department for administrative reasons as it would obviate the difficulties which at present arise in regard to valuations, more especially in Calcutta, it would be extremely difficult to evolve a satisfactory scheme even for grey goods owing to the immense range of cloth which enters India. Various attempts have been made to frame such a scheme but no progress has so far been achieved. Even in regard to grey goods which, it was agreed, represented a much easier problem than bleached or coloured, printed and dyed goods, the very important class of bordered dhotis presents great complications.

A tariff on cotton textiles on these lines is already in force in other countries, of which Austria may be mentioned as an example, but a satisfactory scheme could, in our view, only be worked out by an expert with a very close knowledge both of Indian and imported piecegoods in consultation with the trade and the work would take several months. No solution of the present problem can therefore be found in this direction even if there were not objections from other points of view to the proposal. There is the

consideration, the force of which the representatives of the Millowners Association themselves admitted, that the imposition of a duty by counts would lead to legitimate substitution. The imposition of a heavy duty on counts of yarn below 30s or on cloth made therefrom, would, for example, lead to the increased import of counts of yarn just above 30s or of cloth made therefrom, and the object for which the heavier protection against the lower counts was granted would be frustrated. The only solution for this difficulty which was offered to us was the raising of the dividing line; for example, if the object was protection against cloth manufactured from counts of yarn under 30s, it was held that it would be necessary to impose a duty on all cloth made from counts of yarn under 40s. If that proved insufficient the line would then have to be placed at 50s. It will be obvious that this does not furnish a satisfactory solution of the problem. There is the further objection that, while the object of a specific duty based on counts might be simply protection against Japan, it would also affect a very large proportion of the imports from other countries, more especially those from the United Kingdom since, as we have pointed out, between 40 and 45 per cent. of the imports from that country consist of cloth of counts between 30s and 40s, so that the limited purpose for which the duty might be imposed would not be attained. In these circumstances, we are unanimously of opinion that protection to the industry cannot be given in the form of a differential duty based on counts of yarn.

The third method by which the Indian industry might be protected against unfair competition is by the imposition of an ad valorem duty on cotton manufactures from all countries other than those within the British Empire. The adoption of this course would obviate any difficulties arising from the existence of the Anglo-Japanese Convention which only secures for Japanese goods imported into India the lowest customs duties applicable to similar products of any other foreign origin, that is, imports from countries outside the British Empire. The majority of us do not consider it necessary to discuss the advisability of such a duty for three reasons. In the first place, it would, in effect, amount to Imperial Preference and thus raise broader questions of commercial policy than can be dealt with by such a Board as ours with limited terms of reference. A second and even more important consideration is that the proposals we subsequently put forward will involve a very much larger expenditure than would be provided by the imposition of a duty which would only affect a comparatively small proportion of the imports into India. The third objection is that goods of foreign origin might be imported into India through ports within the Empire such as Hongkong or Singapore.

The fourth method which the majority of us favour is, therefore, that of an addition to the present advalorem duty of 11 per cent. on all cotton manufactures other than yarn. Such a duty has, in our view, four great advantages. In the first place, it gives protection against unfair competition. In the second, it avoids complications arising from discrimination against particular countries. In the third, it enables funds to be found to give a definite stimulus to the development of the industry on the lines we have considered desirable and lastly, it obviates the necessity for certificates of origin which would be necessary to ensure that goods of foreign origin are not passed off as goods from any part of the Empire. We discuss in chapter XII the manner in which this stimulus should be given.

The President's Minute of Dissent.

The following is the minute of dissent submitted by Mr. Noyce, the President of the Board.

I am compelled to differ from my colleagues in regard to the proposal for the grant of a bounty on the production of yarn of counts 32s and over. I do so with regret as I agree with them that a development in this direction would be to the advantage of the Bombay industry. The disagreement on this point is an illustration of the difficulties of the problems with which we have been confronted.

I am not convinced that the artificial stimulus to the development of the spinning of higher counts is either necessary or desirable and I, therefore, object to the proposed bounty on principle and because I consider that the administrative difficulties in working the scheme satisfactorily are so great as to be insuperable. My colleagues have explained that the main justification for the bounty lies in the special needs of Bombay. I hold that a long established industry in Bombay should need no stimulus at the expense of the general taxpayer to a development which is in its own interests. If the Bombay mill industry is convinced by our analysis of the present position in the report and by the arguments we have there adduced in favour of diversification of production I cannot but believe that it has the energy and initiative to embark on such a development without the stimulus of a bounty. If it is not so convinced, the small bounty proposed will be without effect.

My colleagues have explained the reasons which prevented evidence being taken as to the practicability of their proposals or the efficacy of the safeguards they suggest but I regard it as most unfortunate that it has not been possible to discuss the probable effects of their scheme with those best qualified to express an opinion on them. That the scheme might have undesirable effects is implicitly admitted by the proposal that the bounty should be limited to the production of 15 per cent of the spindles in a mill, in order not to overweight the production of the higher counts. If the production of higher counts is a desirable object in itself, it appears to me illogical to impose this limitation.

Some Objections to the Proposal.

I attach more importance than do my colleagues to the objection that the bounty would do little or nothing to assist the mills which have spinning departments only. There are fifty of these in India and as we have pointed out, they are in a worse position than those which have both spinning and weaving departments. If, as we have held, the price of Japanese yarn exercises a depressing effect on the price of Indian yarn, a bounty on the production of yarn of higher counts will do nothing to rectify matters in this respect. The depressing effect on the price of all yarn as the result of foreign competition will continue to be felt. All that will happen will be that the mills which have spinning departments only will receive a bounty or at the utmost, fifteen per cent. of their production and will be in no stronger position to withstanding foreign competition on the remaining eighty-five per cent. The bounty, therefore, will in effect, be no more than a grant in aid to reduce losses or to increase profits. The position of the spinning mills in respect of foreign competition will in no way be strengthened thereby.

The greatest problem before the Bombay mill industry, in my view, is that presented by the increasing competition of mills in Ahmedabad and

other up-country centres. Of the 25·6 million pounds of yarn over 30s spun in Indian mills in 1925-26, only 8·4 million pounds or less than one-third were produced in Bombay. The corresponding figures for the first six months of 1926-27 were 19·39 million pounds and 6·7 million pounds respectively. It would thus seem that the up-country mills, as a whole, are at least as well equipped as Bombay to take advantage of the bounty and that it will not improve the position of the Bombay mills relative to that of those in other centres.

My colleagues have, in my view, dealt too cursorily with the difficulties presented by the insufficiency of raw material in India itself suitable for spinning counts of over 30s. We have stated in our Report the extent to which cotton suitable for such counts is available in India and have pointed out that the Bombay industry, for whose benefit the subsidy is mainly proposed, is at no special advantage in respect of it. It is, on the other hand, at some disadvantage as compared with Ahmedabad in respect of the Broach crop and at a distinct disadvantage as compared with the mills in Southern India in respect of the Cambodia crop. Any development in the direction of spinning higher counts in Bombay must, therefore, mean an increased use of Amrican and African cotton. However desirable this may be in the interest of the Bombay mill industry, I consider it questionable whether it is desirable that it should be encouraged by the grant of a bounty which would be met, in part, by the cultivator of Indian cotton in the form of an increase in duty on such imported cloth as he may use.

I attach considerable importance to the objection that the proposed bounty would deprive the millowner, who has alreay embarked on the spinning of higher counts, of much of the advantage he has derived or may derive from so doing. There are already a few mills which are spinning higher counts on a much larger scale than is contemplated by the proposed scheme. The proportion in one successful upcountry mill of spindles employed on counts above 30s is as high as four-sevenths. While the managing agents of such mills will be in a position to obtain a bounty of fifteen per cent. of their production they will in regard to the reminder of it find themselves in competition with the subsidised product of their own and other mills.

The effect of the subsidy would be very unequal. Certain centres such as Bombay, Ahmedabad, Madras and Madura would be in a position to take greater advantage of it than others such as Cawnpore and Delhi. It would also work unequally as between mills in the same centre. Managing agents who control large mills or groups of mills would be able to take greater advantage of it that those who control smaller mills as they would be in a better position to effect the changes which would be necessitated by the transition to higher counts and to work the full percentage of spindles necessary to earn the bounty. My colleagues consider that inequality of advantage is inseparable from any scheme of protection, whether in the form of an import duty or of a bounty. Even if that is admitted, I am still of opinion that direct State aid which works to the advantage of a section of an industry only is undesirable.

The grant of the proposed bounty would accentuate the tendency on the part of Indian mills to spin higher counts of yarn than the quality of the cotton warrants, a tendency which was the subject of unfavourable comment in evidence we received. The result is inferior yarn and cloth and dis-

contented labour. Mills at present spinning 30s. weft yarn would be tempted to spin 32s. or even 34s. yarn without altering their mixing.

The bounty would lead to inefficient working. The smallest efficient unit in a mill is one preparation and fifteen per cent of the spindles are not sufficient to deal with the output of this where the plant consists of 30,000 spindles or less. The result would, therefore, be that the smaller mills would run a proportion only of a preparation on the cotton required for the spinning of higher counts and the balance, between the two processes would be upset.

If the bounty is granted on the basis of the output of fifteen per cent spindles used for spinning counts of 32s. and over, the result would be to encourage the spinning of counts of or very near 32s. as it would be on these that the maximum amount of the bounty could be earned at the minimum cost of production. If the bounty is granted on the average number of spindles, there is no incentive to securing the maximum production per spindle.

Administrative Difficulties.

As I have stated, the difficulties in the way of administering the subsidy appear to be insuperable. A grave objection to the subsidy, in my view, is the inquisitorial inspections which would be necessary to ensure that the production and counts of yarn were as stated. My colleagues have referred to the fact that a similar and even more elaborate scheme is in force in Queensland which is so far as I am aware, the only country in which an attempt has been made to subsidise the cotton textile industry in the manner proposed. The cotton textile industry in Queensland is an entirely new industry and the number of mills is very small indeed, so small that the number of spindles in them is not shown separately in any return of the world's spindles which I have been able to procure. There is further an important difference between the scheme which is in force in Queensland and that proposed for India. The bounty in Queensland is given on a graduated scale from the lowest counts upwards. There is thus no inducement to a mill to return higher counts than those actually spun in order to earn the bounty.

Increase of Import Duty on Cotton Manufactures.

My colleagues have proposed the imposition of an additional four per cent duty on all imports of cotton manufactures, other than yarn, mainly in order to provide the funds required to stimulate the production of yarn of higher counts. As I do not agree that such a stimulus is necessary or desirable, it follows that I am unable to agree that an all-round increase in the present eleven per cent duty can be justified. The objections to a substantial all-round increase in that duty which have been stated at length in our report appear to me to apply whatever the amount of the proposed addition. It is, therefore, unnecessary to discuss at any length the secondary argument advanced in favour of a general increase in the duty, namely, that it would afford relief against the maladjustment between costs of production and falling prices. My colleagues consider that the other reasons they advance for a small all-round increase in the duty are strengthened by the undoubted temporary handicap imposed on the industry by the stabilisation of the rupee at 1s. 6d. which has rendered the problem presented by the disparity between prices and wages more acute. I would merely

point out that it has not been established that the problem presented by the disparity between prices and wages is pronounced except in Bombay our examination of the cost of production statements as well as much evidence adduced before us has shown that there is no respect in which the disadvantages of Bombay as compared with other centres are more apparent than in its high labour costs and it has not been shown that the present level of wages is an undue burden on the industry in any centre other than Bombay. Even if the estimate of the direct disadvantage to the industry, due to the stablilisation of the rupee at 1s. 6d. as from 4 to 6 per cent according to the price of cotton is accepted, it must, I consider, be held that the greater part of this has been rectified by the abolition of the excise duty. It is unnecessary to labour this point. The connextion between the level of wages in Bombay and the abolition of the excise duty is sufficiently obvious from the fact that the attempt to reduce wages in Bombay at the end of 1925 was abandoned when the excise duty was abolished.

No all round increase in the duty affords any solution to the main problem before the Bombay industry, that of meeting the increasing competition of mills in other centres. The complexity of the problems with which we have been confronted has been very greatly enhanced by the disparity between the conditions in Bombay and other centres. We have pointed out, in Chapter III, that the demand for protection has not been so earnestly pressed from other centres as it has been from Bombay. It is, I think, unquestionable that there would have been no demand for protection at all had it not been for the depression in Bombay. If the demand for protection in any form is admitted, as we have admitted it in the case of unfair foreign competition, the problem is therefore to devise a measure of protection which will assist the Bombay industry, will impose the minimum burden on the consumer and will not, at the same time, give the industry in other centres assistance of which it does not really stand in need. The problem is an insoluble one, but the nearest approach to its solution is provided by protection against unfair foreign competition, the effect of which on prices is felt by the whole industry though the direct effect is much more severely felt in Bombay than it is elsewhere. We are agreed that an industry may legitimately ask for protection against unfair foreign competition beyond what is accorded to it by any existing revenue duty. The unfair competition in the present instances arises from inferior labour conditions and the measure of protection should, therefore, be that which is required to offset the advantages derived from these. We have estimated the advantages derived by the Japanese industry from double-shift working at 4 per cent on the actual cost of manufacture of yarn and cloth. We have further given figures which show that, if a reasonable return on capital is included in the cost of production, this advantage, owing to the fact that the economies secured by double-shift working are obtained on twice the output, is increased to about 10 per cent for yarn and 12 per cent for cloth. I do not attach the same importance to these figures as do my colleagues. It appears to me impossible to assess quantitatively the advantages derived by the Japanese industry in this respect. Further, the addition of a reasonable return on capital to actual manufacturing costs introduces problems of the utmost complexity in regard to the correct basis which should be adopted for the capitalisation of an industry which

has been so long established as the cotton textile industry. The basis of the calculations, the results of which are given above, is present replacement values, but it appears to me that there is insufficient justification for adopting this basis for the industry in Bombay where, owing to municipal restrictions, no new mills can be erected. Whatever view may be taken in regard to this, I hold that the maximum duty which can be justified is one which will offset the actual advantage per pound of yarn or per pound of cloth manufactured, derived from double shift working in Japan. This, it is most important to note, is all that was asked for in this respect by the Bombay mill industry.

Differential Duty Suggested.

I, therefore, recommend the imposition of a differential duty of 4 per cent on all cotton manufactures imported into India from Japan, to be imposed at the earliest date from which such a duty can be imposed with reference to the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Convention of 1905. For the reasons given by my colleagues, I further recommend that this should be imposed until the end of the period for which they have recommended the additional general duty, that is until the end of the financial year 1929-30. I realise, as fully as they do, the objections to imposing an enhanced duty on yarn. even though it is a differential duty against one country only, but I can see no logical ground for distinction between yarn and cloth and would point out that the argument they have advanced in support of their proposal for an all round increase in the duty on cloth, namely that the recent heavy fall in the price of cotton should render its effect on the consumer imperceptible, applies enqually to yarn. It may be held that a differential duty of four per cent is so small that it will give the industry no material assistance in meeting unfair competition. It must be remembered that it is in addition to an existing duty of five per cent. on yarn and of eleven per cent on cloth. Tha history of the Indian cotton textile industry, moreover, furnishes convincing proof that a duty of four per cent has never been regarded as inappreciable.

My colleagues have pointed out that their proposal obviates the disadvantage which would arise from the fact that the imposition of a differential duty against Japanese imports would necessitate the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Convention of 1905 and that this might lead to retaliation against exports from India to Japan. It has also been pointed out in the report that the difficulties arriving from the existence of the Anglo-Japannese Convention could be obviated, and the industry could at the same time be protected against unfair competition, without the imposition of a general duty, if an additional duty were imposed on cotton manufactures from all countries outside the British Empire, the imports of which from countries other than Japrn are very small. My colleagues hold that this would, in effect, amount to Imperial Preference and thus raise broader questions of commercial policy than can be dealt with by such a Board as ours. I am in entire agreement with them on this point. Our concern is with the facts of the industry before us. On those facts it has been established that the industry is suffering from unfair competition but that the extent of that competition does not justify an increase in the present level of duty beyond four per cent. We are agreed in holding that a duty of this amount would give the industry an appreciable measure of protection. I am at one with my colleagues in holding that it is not for us to express

an opinion whether the disadvantages to the cotton textile industry, arising from unfair foreign competition, outweigh the advantages which accrue from the existence of the Anglo-Japanese Convention, especially in view of the fact that, as six months' notice has to be given of intention to terminate it, more than six months of the period of two and a half-years during which conditions of labour in Japan will, so far as can at present be foreseen, remain sufficiently inferior to those in India to justify a differential duty must necessarily elapse before such a duty can be imposed. Nor is it for us to express an opinion whether the object aimed at, which is the protection of the industry against unfair foreign competition, could better be secured by the imposition of an additional duty on cotton manufactures from countries outside the British Empire. It must, however, be pointed out that the latter course would have the advantage that only a very small additional proportion of the import would be affected. The imports of yarn from countries outside the British Empire and Japan in 1925-26 amounted to 2·1 million pounds or 4 per cent of the total, and those of piece-goods to 56 million yards or 3·5 per cent of the total. It would further enable immediate assistance to be given to the industry whereas, in any event, no differential duty could be imposed against Japan for a period of six months and possibly considerably longer. It would also avoid the complication which arises from the fact that there are other countries such as China and the United States of America in which conditions of labour in respect of the employment of female labour at night are inferior to those in India and which should, therefore, logically be included in any scheme of differential duties imposed on this ground. The competition of these countries is not severe but the figures we have given in paragraph 44 show that, when stable conditions are restored in China, competition from that country may easily become so. In this connection, it cannot be overlooked that there are 45 mills in China which are owned by Japanese, so that a differential duty against Japan might well lead to increased imports from China.

The proposal submitted by my colleagues have the advantage over that submitted above than they more that provide the funds required for the expenditure involved by recommendations, other than that for the grant of the bounty, which have my entire support. An additional duty of four per cent on cotton manufactures from Japan would yield about Rs. 50 lakhs on the basis of the figures for 1925-26. An additional duty against Japan would undoubtedly lead to a fall in this figure, and, as the estimated cost of the remission of the duty on machinery and mill stores alone is Rs. 50 lakhs, there would thus be some loss of revenue under this head as well as expenditure on carrying out the other proposals enumerated in paragraph 107 of the Report which would have to be met from other sources.

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India in Parliament.

Jan.–June 1927.

Indian Debate in the Lords

HOUSE OF LORDS—30TH MARCH 1927.

In the House of Lords on March 30 Lord OLIVIER asked the Secretary of State for India to give the House information with regard to matters of immediate interest in public affairs in India, and in particular with regard to the prospects of any steps being taken at an early date in preparation for the consideration of further constitutional change; also as to the agreement recently arrived at between the Government of the Union of South Africa and the Government of India with regard to the position of Indians in the Union, as to the continued detention of persons arrested under the Bengal Ordinance of 1924, and as to the policy of the Government of India in regard to the rating of the rupee; and moved for papers.

He noticed that in a recent speech the noble earl had said it was yet too early for him to pronounce on the success or failure of the present Constitution. He (Lord Olivier) did not know that it would ever be early enough for the noble Earl to express an opinion on the success or failure of the present Constitution in India, but he had no doubt that he had formed in his own mind an opinion on the success or failure of the very well-intentioned and sincerely conceived constitutional experiment in that Dependency. Although that Constitution was good enough as a stop-gap, it was one which the longer it worked the less satisfaction it gave, and, seeing that they had now arrived at the third electoral period of the probationary period of the Constitution, it behoved the Government to consider what was to be the next step in the direction of possible modification of the Constitution.

The noble earl in the same speech had gone on to say that if the constitutional experiment was not in every respect happily conceived, it did equip Indians to show that in concert with ourselves they could frame a better Constitution, and we could contribute our part to the framing of that better Constitution. It was extremely difficult to understand what exactly was in the noble Earls mind. Had he in view any project affording Indians by invitation or otherwise an opportunity of showing that they could frame, in concert, a better Constitution ? If that was the right interpretation of the noble lord's observations it was a matter of very great importance.

The Earl of Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India.—I said in concert with ourselves.

Alternative To A Statutory Commission.

Lord Olivier said that the working of the present Constitution in India gave no opportunity except by the appointment of a Special Committee of the Legislature to indulge in Constitution-making. That duty was by statute entrusted to the Imperial Parliament after the appointment of a Statutory Commission. What he wished to elicit from the noble Earl was whether there was any alternative to a Statutory Commission. The noble Earl had said further in his speech that the events of the last two months provided some encouragement that the saner sections of opinion in India were realizing that we were asking for nothing better than to continue a sympathetic and friendly partnership. He entirely agreed that a much saner and much more promising method was being pursued as far as one could judge at present both in the Legislative Assembly and elsewhere towards the possibility of working representative institutions in India. It could not be said that any sort of factious or reasonable opposition or abuse of the form of the House had been indulged in by any party during the recent Sessions of the Legislative Assembly, so far as he had been able to follow them. But the expressions of the noble earl were likely to be interpreted in India as offering rather [illegible]s than Indians thought was their due. In the memorandum which the

Government had issued on China they stated that the time had come for the powers to recognize that Chinese nationalism preferred to manage its own affairs and not to have them managed under the tutelage, however wisely devised, of the European powers. That was very much on the lines of what the Indian Nationalist Party were striving for. It would be a mistake to suppose that the smoothness with which things had gone in the Legislative Council or Assembly was to be taken as any adumbration of moderation of the unanimous demand of all parties, whether Moslem, Hindu, or Swarajist, for a progressive advance towards the establishment of a self-governing Dominion under the Crown.

Desire for a Concordat.

The leaders and more intelligent spokesmen of both the Moslem and Hindu Parties desired to come to some concordat in order that constitutional progress might be made on a firm basis. In the last few days a real and genuine movement had been seen in the direction of establishing a basis for settling the vexed question how the rights of minorities were to be dealt with. He asked whether there was any prospect of any steps being taken in preparation for the consideration of further constitutional change. Time was running out and an enormous amount of preliminary preparation would be needed. The agreement recently arrived at between the South African Government and the Government of India with regard to the position of Indians in the Union seemed to him reasonable and fair to both parties, and he considered it an Imperial event of the greatest promise. The continued detention of persons arrested under the Bengal Ordinance of 1924 was a source of continual trouble in India. Did the Secretary for India think it was possible to go on very much longer with some of these cases, exercising a continuous preventive detention, or was there any hope that within a short period the present operations of the Ordinance would practically expire by exhaustion?

There had been a vote in the Legislative Assembly on the proposal to stabilize the rupee at 1s. 6d. when the Government had obtained a small majority. The effect of a ratio of 1s. 6d. as distinct from one of 1s. 4d. was always to favour the importer of goods from England into India and to penalize the producer in India of goods that had to be sold in that country or sent to England. There was an immense amount of feeling in India that the general interests of the Indian producer had been sacrificed to the financial interests of the Government.

The SECRETARY OF STATE for India (the Earl of BIRKENHEAD): My Lords, I am grateful to the noble Lord for affording me this opportunity of attempting to give your Lordships a survey of the present situation in India. Some nine months have elapsed since I last reviewed in general Indian affairs and, although I am well aware that many of your Lordships follow with attentive and instructed interest such accounts—and they are not inconsiderable nowadays—as the Press provided of day to day happenings in India, I think that it may be of advantage, even to those of your Lordships who have had personal experience of the problems of Indian politics and administration and are consequently well qualified to assign their relative values to the tendencies indicated by events, if I attempt to place the component elements of the somewhat bewildering panorama of this large fraction of the Empire in the perspective which, from my reading of contemporary history and from the large volume of information which it is my daily duty to receive, appears to me to be just.

The noble Lord has asked me to deal specifically with a number of somewhat diverse points, all I admit of importance; and I propose endeavour to include them all within my survey, if not necessary in the order which he adopted. Let me begin by reminding your Lordships that, since I last addressed you, India has passed through the third General Election of the 1919 Constitution. No very detailed information has yet reached me of the number of voters who went to the polls but I can at least say that there was no dearth of candidates of ability, that the polls were conducted without disorder, and that the electors showed, on the whole, a distinctly greater interest in the exercise of their suffrages than on the two previous occasions. How far this increased interest was due to other causes than a realisation of the issues at stake and of the

political philosophy underlying the use of a vote, I cannot even guess. But it would be foolish to pretend that electoral politics in India have yet emerged in general beyond the individual and personal appeal, or that Party politics, as we conceive them, are not still a conception of the future. It is true that Party labels are there, and that within the Legislatures groups have formed and reformed, named and renamed themselves, coalesced and disintegrated, in almost Kaleidoscopic complexity. I can, however, discern no sharp line of principle dividing and distinguishing them, nor perhaps can this will be otherwise at the present stage of constitutional development.

One Broad Issue.

But with due regard to these limitations, it is none the less true to say that there was on the occasion of these last Elections one broad issue which confronted the electors—namely, whether their choice should fall upon a candidate who professed, or upon one who repudiated, the main principle associated with the Party until recently known as Swarajists. As Your Lordships are aware, the Election of 1923 brought into the forefront of Indian politics a conception of statesmanship, the appeal of which to intelligent men I have more than once expressed my inability to understand. The noble Lord, my predecessor, has several times in speech and writing claimed that the position attained by the followers of the Swarajist creed in most of the Councils as the result of the Elections of 1923 entitle them to be regarded and treated as the Constitutional Opposition. Events have in my judgment proved this claim to be misconceived.

This is not the occasion for a philosophic examination of the theoretic bases of Party government. But I imagine that none of your Lordships would dissent from the position that, although, no doubt, the main function of an Opposition is to oppose, the very conception of Government and Opposition pre-supposes acceptance by both alike of the framework of Constitution within which they function and have their being. Without this postulate the forms of Parliamentary government are empty and meaningless, and it was the denial of this postulate which, as I understand it, formed the bedrock of the Swarajist creeds. Their policy was to endeavour "by uniform continuous and consistent obstruction within the Councils"—this is not my phrase but the 'ipsissima verba' of the Party's manifesto of 1923—"to make government through the Councils impossible." And why? Because Parliament decided in 1919 that the bold step forward then to be taken towards responsible government could not for the time being be more than a stage in the advance and should not consummate a complete abdication of authority on the part of this country. I am not so rash as to attempt to predict from the present composition of the Councils the probable course of their actions during the next three years, but I think it is not unduly optimistic to discern grounds for hope that the sterile and reactionary character of the creed of the rigid Swarajist has become apparent to Indian intelligence generally, and indeed to not a few of its former exponents.

A Change of Name.

I do not deny that the last Session of the Indian National Congress decided by a majority to affirm the past policy of the Swarajist Party, but it is instructive to observe that the Swarajist Party has now discarded its title in favour of the title of "Congress party," thereby perhaps advertising (what had become during the last few years increasingly obvious) that the Congress, which in the past has numbered within its fold practically every Indian of character and enlightenment, is no longer entitled to arrogate to itself the description "National," for it is an open secret that the decision to decline the responsibility of Ministerial office in the Provinces where the Swarajists were in sufficient strength to warrant an invitation to assume it, or to supp rt the Ministry formed from other Parties where this was not the case, was received in more that one Province with great searching of heart by the Party's local adherents; while it is no secret at all, but a plain fact, that those who profess and call themselves Swarajists have been returned in diminished numbers to nearly every Council, and that most of the so-called Responsivists and Independents who are now to be

found in appreciable numbers in all the Councils are persons who, having hitherto marched under the Swarajists banner, have declined any longer to bind themselves to a programme of barren and naked obstruction.

One tangible effect of this situation is that in two Provinces—Bengal and the Central Provinces—where, after the Elections of 1923, the Swarajists had been returned in sufficient strength to put a stop to the machinery provided by the Act of 1919 for transfering to the control of Ministers responsible to the Councils an important section of the administration, the Governors have now found it possible to appoint a Ministry, and in both places there are distinct indications that the Ministry can count on the requisite Parliamentary support. Your Lordships have no doubt observed that about ten days ago a formal vote of "No confidence" in the Bengal Ministry was rejected by a decisive majority.

Hindu-Muslim Tension.

Here, my Lords, the peculiar difficulties which have beset the Governor of Bengal in finding Hindu and Moslem leaders willing to co-operate, bring me to a topic with which, at the noble Lord's especial request, I dealt in some detail on the last occasion I answered a similar question—the rivalry and antagonism of Hindu and Moslem. I wish that I could report to your Lordships that this matter gives ground for less anxiety, and for less constant watchfulness on the part of the authorities responsible for the preservation of peace and order, than was the case when I spoke here nine months ago. Unfortunately I can make no such report, though I am glad to think that the situation is in some places less acute than it was last summer. Only three weeks ago bigoted intolerance—and I characterise impartially in those terms the attitude of those who rigidly insist on the playing of music at times and in places which give ground for offence, and of those who no less rigidly object to it in circumstances when objection has not in the past been made—bigoted intolerance, I say, led to a clash between large parties of Hindus and Moslems at a remote village in Bengal, which the police were forced, with no small loss of life, to end by the use of firearms. Though there have not been of late disorders on a scale comparable with those which disgraced the streets of Calcutta in the spring and summer of last year, the instance I have cited is only one of four serious collisions which have occurred at various places within the last six months.

Almost more disquieting to my mind than these crude manifestations of mob intolerance are the jealousies and suspicions of Hindu and of Moslem leaders in the field of politics, for if the leaders are incapable, or not desirous, of subordinating sectarianism to nationalism, the prospects of growth among their less enlightened followers of that spirit of reasonable accommodation which is the life-blood of political progress, can hardly be regarded as encouraging. I have no desire to dilate again upon this problem—a problem the solution of which can be found by no one but Indians themselves—but I must be permitted to observe that until those who contend that India is at this moment the rightful and competent arbiter of her own destiny can lay the spectre of sectarian violence, their contention must necessarily fail to appeal with conviction to unprejudiced minds. Whether the discussions to which the noble Lord referred, which were reported a few days ago from Delhi as having been initiated by certain Mahomedan Leaders, as to the feasibility of surrendering the separate Moslem electorates which form part of the present political structure, and as to the conditions upon which this change might be considered, will come to fruition and prove, as they well might, to have in them the seeds of a solvent for this "malaise," I have little means of judging—no more than any one of your Lordships—but I shall watch with attention the development of this most interesting indication of the moment of Indian political thought.

A Promising Situation.

I should, however, be giving a false impression if my observations hitherto have led your Lordships to suppose that I see only shadows on the picture. I say, though not without some hesitation, that the political outlook as the result of the last elections aided by the fortunate outcome, to which the noble Lord very generously referred, of the recent negotiations between representatives of the South

African and Indian Governments, on which I shall have something to say in a moment, is one of no small promise. I shall not go further than that somewhat guarded utterance takes me. Indeed, I am conscious that some not inexperienced observer would view with unbelief even that degree of optimism. I have followed, with the close attention I was bound to give to it, the Session of the newly-elected Legislative Assembly which has just closed, and in specially mentioning the Assembly I must not be taken to have overlooked the proceedings of the other, and not less important Chamber of the Indian Legislature: it is, however, inevitable that one's attention at this juncture should be chiefly directed to that body which represents the more recent choice of its constituents, and which by the nature of its constitution, should indicate more directly the trend of the general mass of political opinion.

The impressions I have gained from this scrutiny I should find it difficult to indicate fully within the time I am entitled to expect your Lordships' attention. But let me generalise by saying that, while I admit that the tone of the debates has been, on the whole, free from bitterness; that relations between members of the Government of India and the Opposition have been friendly both inside and outside the House; and while, finally, the Government of India has been able to find, sometimes by extremely narrow majorities, sufficient support for their considered policies to secure the defeat of their opponents upon issues of first-class importance, yet I cannot but feel that the position, even to-day, lacks stability. I have said before, and I say it again now, that by the co-operation which I have before requested I do not mean servile acceptance of any and every proposition that the Government think fit to submit to the scrutiny of the debate and to the verdict of the Division List. As the noble Viscount, Lord Chelmsford, found occasion truly to observe on a memorable occasion to the Indian Legislature: "The day of autocracy is past" in India.

Responsive Co-Operation.

Nor am I so foolish as to waste endeavour to find a point of approach to those who have succeeded in persuading themselves that they still continue to serve the interests of their country by putting into practice the orthodox Congress creed. My doubts arise from the difficulty the past Session has presented of distinguishing by the test of speech and vote between the hide-bound adherents of that creed and those late professors of it who claim to have been returned to the present Assembly as followers of their own individual consciences. I have already observed that Indian politics in the mass are still largely, perhaps inevitably, an affair of personalities, but I am loath to believe that those men who have been judged worthy by their fellow countrymen to represent their views in the Central Legislature can carry independence of judgment and action only to the extent of repudiating the colours of a particular Leader while echoing his sentiments and following him on every important occasion into the Division Lobby. Still, despite such discouragements, I maintain that I do see clearer signs, and from a wider area, of that "responsive co-operation" (to borrow the phraseology of Indian politicians themselves) between British and Indian which is indispensably needed to enable the best mind of both races to think out without prejudice, the testing problems confronting them, and failing which I myself can see no solid hope of progress.

The Bengal Detenues.

I turn now to the second of the topics upon which the noble Lord invited my observations—the continued detention in goal, or under restraint of various degrees, of a number of persons in the Bengal Presidency. I do not intend on the present occasion to examine the grounds upon which the Government of which the noble Lord was a member decided to authorise the noble Marquess, the late Viceroy, to enact the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of October 1924. On an earlier occasion I have dealt fully with that matter in your Lordship's House, and have made it plain—as was, indeed, apparent from my own decision a few months later to support the certification of the Act of 1925—that, whatever my "prima facie" prejudice against legislation of this character (and I

have never either disguised or dissembled it,) I considered that the action of His Majesty's late Government and of the Government of India in assuming and using these unusual and drasic powers was completely justified.

I shall assume, therefore, for my present purpose a general acceptance of the decisive fact that in 1924 there was existing, and had existed for some years in Bengal, an organised conspiracy for the commission of revolutionary crime : I shall assume a further general acceptance of the fact that the authorities responsible for the preservation of life and the maintenance of order in the Bengal Presidency found themselves unable to accept responsibility for the performance of their task unless they were enabled by process of law to deprive the known leaders and organisers of this conspiracy of the freedom to pursue their criminal activities, by segregating them alike from their fellows and from their potential victims. The noble Lord does not, indeed he cannot, with due regard to his personal responsibility in this matter, question these premises. He has put his case with great moderation and it is my duty to give him as far as I can an answer alike full and candid.

I am asked, and reasonably asked, what is to be the end of this policy of detention? Are we, with our high judicial traditions, to contemplate the indefinite detention in gaol, or even under less irksome forms of restraint, of a large number of the educated youth of Bengal? Let me assure your Lordships that, pursuantly to the pledge which I gave to the best part of that year I have been putting these questions insistently to myself and for several months I have been in constant consultation with the Government of India as to the answer we are to give, having regard to our responsibilities and those of the Bengal Government for the protection of the life and property of the inhabitants of the Province.

Your Lordships will not expect me to disclose to you the details of these discussions, but, in view of the admitted conditions at the time when these powers of detention were last assumed, the question at issue really resolves itself into this : Is the situation which admittedly necessitated the arrest of a number of persons in the autumn of 1924 in order to prevent the commission of terrorist outrages, now, in the spring of 1927, such that the release of all those persons can be contemplated with equanimity or allowed with safety? In my judgment, after the most careful examination of which I am capable, even of individual cases, the release at this moment of all these persons from the restraint under which many of them have lain for a long period would be attended by a risk of the recrudescence of murderous outrages for which I will not assume responsibility. And in making this assertion I claim that I am not easily deterred from a course otherwise proper because that course is attended by risks. But this does not mean that I contemplate a policy of indefinite detention and that I return a blank non possumus to the noble Lord's appeal.

The New Policy.

Let me state in some detail and in the plainest terms I can the policy at which, in consultation with myself, the Bengal Government and the Government of India have now arrived and which is now guiding and will continue to guide their actions. In order to do so I propose to read to your Lordships a statement not long, which was made publicly, with my declared concurrence, on behalf of the Government of India last week. It is as follows :

"The policy of the Government regarding those who have been detained under Regulation 3, or the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, in connection with the Bengal revolutionary conspiracy, has been and still is that the detention of no man should last longer than is essential in the interests of the public safety. The Government are convinced that a terrorist conspiracy is still in active existence, and that consequently it is not possible to take steps in the direction of the release of those about whom there is no reasonable doubt that they would utilise their liberty to resume their previous activities. They are, however, anxious to pursue as quickly as possible the gradual release of individuals whose conduct gives reason for hoping that they will not abuse their liberty. The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act provides for a considerable degree of elasticity in the treatment of those who are dealt with under it and

enable the Government to transfer from gaol to less strict forms of supervision persons whose past record and present conduct would not justify their unconditional release. Individuals of this class may be directed to reside in a particular village or in their own home. The practical results of transferring men in this manner to village or home domicile are carefully watched, and the Government are enabled to observe whether action taken is justified by events, and this to determine the possibility of the further extension of such action."

The noble Lord asked me upon this point a particular question. He said, when you are releasing an individual upon the giving of an assurance, what is the use of examining his past record ?

Lord Olivier : I put it the other way round. If you are only going to release a person when you are satisfied by the past record that he is not dangerous, what is the use of asking for a promise ?

The Earl of Birkenhead : You form your judgment upon a combination of both considerations. The assurance for the future may possess a value quite different in the case of a man whose past record is good. Supposing for fourteen years a man's record has been one of revolutionary violence, it would naturally be the duty of the authorities to examine in a very different spirit any assurance that he might give for the future. I cannot really see any inconsistency in the double test which has occasioned the anxiety of the noble Lord. However, it is proper that I should show what has been done in the direction of discriminating the treatment of detenues. I may mention that out of 171 persons dealt with under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act from the beginning 75 have been placed in village domicile and 13 in home domicile, while 26 have been released. The number now remaining in gaol of this class is 54. Of those arrested under Regulation 3, 31 were subsequently transferred to the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and are included in the figures just given. Sixteen at present remain in gaol under the Regulation.

"Village and Home Domicile."

In the last two and a half months the Government of Bengal have issued orders for the transfer of 19 detenues from goal to village or home domicile under the Act and have released seven. The Government of India have also had under review the case of those who are still detained under Regulation 3. They are considering the case of one of these State prisoners on medical ground. In respect of four others they are satisfied that detention in gaol is no longer necessary and they are, therefore, cancelling the warrants under Regulation 3 so that action may be made to bring them under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act with a view to their transfer to village domicile. It must be understood that the practical results of this action, as exhibited in the conduct of the men thus placed in village or home domicile, require the constant attention of the Government. If it is ascertained that such men are reverting to terrorist conspiracy the Government will not hesitate to deal with those men under their powers. That is our policy at which, as I have said, we have arrived after the fullest and most careful consideration of the matter in all its aspects, and that is my answer to the noble Lord's question on the policy involved.

I have reminded your Lordships that the exercise of powers of this kind is not, unhappily, a new feature in Indian administration. It was necessary, for precisely the same reasons as those now operating, to intern a number of persons during the War. Let me also remind your Lordships that in 1920 a general amnesty of all such persons was ordered in the hope that it would result in the abandonment by them of their dangerous activities. The hope proved fallacious ; the conspiracy was revived and a series of outrages followed which was not checked until resort was made to the present legislation. Even now—apart altogether from the information in the possession of the Bengal Government—it must be sufficiently apparent even to the uninstructed that conspiracy is still at work. No longer ago than in January of this year two men were arrested in the course of house-searches in Calcutta in a room which contained revolvers, ammunition and thirteen cases of bombs, while within the previous thirteen months two other discoveries of a similar but more elaborate nature had been made. I

tell your Lordships plainly that so long as the Bengal Government and the Government of India continue to advise me that the release from restraint of any given individual is likely on reasonable grounds of probability to lead to further outrage, I shall not attempt to set aside their judgment. I shall, on the contrary, support them.

Indians in S. Africa.

I turn now to a wholly unrelated subject—the outcome of the recent negotiations on the subject of Indians in South Africa. The noble Lord has referred to the Agreement recently reached between the Union Government and the Gavernment of India regarding the position of Indians in South Africa. I am placing in the library Two Papers, one containing an announcement made by the Government of India last month regarding the results of the Conference, and the other, a more detailed summary of the conclusions reached, which was laid before the Indian Legislature. I do not propose to review in detail the contents of the latter document, but merely to describe in the broadest outline the results attained. The two Governments have agreed to co-operate in a scheme of assisted emigration from South Africa; the restrictive legislation introduced last year will not be proceeded with, and an agent of the Government of India will be appointed in South Africa. I am not able to give the noble Lord with exactitude the information he asked for as to the stage which the arrangements have reached, but the matter is now the subject of discussion. Further, while the right of South Africa to maintain western standards of life has been recognised, the principle has been affirmed that Indians in South Africa who are prepared to conform to such standards should be enabled to do so.

I have described the results of the Conference in the most general terms and with a deliberate economy of language, for I am above all things anxious to give no colour to the belief that one side or the other has gained an advantage. There is no question of this. The settlement, which a year ago seemed impossible, is an honourable one which does credit to both Governments, and was only brought about by the spirit of mutual forbearance and goodwill with which the two Delegations approached this most difficult question and by the resourcefulness applied to the discovery of its solution. Great credit is due to Sir Mahomed Habibulla and to the other members of the Indian Delegation, and I would like, if I may, to pay a sincere tribute to the wisdom and the high statesmanship of General Hertzog and his colleagues in very difficult circumstances. But apart from the many concrete difficulties that have been solved by these negotiations, the Agreement has a higher value in that it marks in my judgment the beginning of a period of cordial co-operation and of more intimate and friendly relations between the two Governments. Each Government has come to appreciate the difficulties of the other; mistrust and suspicion have been replaced by understanding and goodwill, and the complete change of atmosphere that has been brought about is the best augury for the harmonious working of the Agreement and the adjustment of any difficulties that may arise in future.

The Rating of the Rupee.

Another matter on which the noble Lord seeks information is the policy of the Govt. of India in relation to the rating of the rupee. I should not have thought that there could be any misconception on this point. A Royal Commission, of which the majority of the members were representative of Indian interests, finding that the de facto rate of exchange had been 1s. 6d. for some time and that a substantial adjustment of prices to this ratio had been attained, recommended, with one dissentient, that in the best interests of India the rupee should be stabilised in relation to gold at that rate. This recommendation was accepted by Government in advance of the other recommendations and a Bill designed to effect the change was introduced into the Assembly in August last. In deference, however, to the not unreasonable desire that the recommendations of the Commission should be dealt with as a whole, consideration of this measure was postponed until the present session.

In the interval a further adjustment of prices to the 1s. 6d. rate has strengthed the case for stabilisation at this ratio, but at the same time an agitation arose

in India in favour of a reversion to the old rate of 1st. 4d. Doubts have been expressed as to the reality of this agitation. I cannot give a definite opinion. It has been suggested that the movement was largely political. We need not, however, happily engage upon these speculations, for the Legislative Assembly, by a narrow majority no doubt, has accepted the Commission's recommendation. That this decision was wise there can be no doubt in instructed opinion, and I am convinced that any other decision would have been in the worst interests of India, involving as it would have done, the long and painful process of readjustment of prices and wages to an entirely new level. As it is, stability of exchange has been attained and this cannot fail to benefit Indian finance and Indian commerce.

Of the other recommendations of the Commission—notably those relating to the establishment of a gold bullion standard and the creation of a Reserve Bank, I need only say that following the announcement which I made to your Lordships last autumn a Bill has been introduced which will, after reference to a Select Committee, be considered later in the year. This Bill is a complicated one and will require more careful consideration but pending its examination by the Indian Legislature your Lordships will hardly expect me to review its provisions.

The Indian Budget.

I cannot pass from this branch of my subject without making a brief reference to the budget. I do not propose to inflict upon the House a wearisome review of the Revenue and Expenditure of the present and the coming year. I content myself rather with stating the gratifying fact that for the fourth year in succession the revised estimates disclose a substantial surplus. This surplus amounts to nearly three crores. In the coming year, on the existing basis of taxation and allowing for Provincial contributions, a surplus of more 3½ crores is anticipated. But although these successive surpluses, earned as they have been by the most rigid economy, afford evidence of the soundness of Indian finance, they are particularly welcome as they make it possible to give effect to the policy of progressively extinguishing Provincial contributions. Few realise how injurious to the chances of the Constitution has been the burden of Provincial contributions, chilling, depressing and rendering almost impossible the adequate discharge of those social services that might have done so much to recommend the novel and difficult Constitution.

Noble Lords are aware that when the Reforms were introduced, an adjustment of Revenue between the Central and the Provincial Governments was required and that to secure equilibrium between Revenue and Expenditure the Provinces were required to contribute in the aggregate 983 lakhs of rupees each year to the Central Government. The arrangement under which the Provinces contributed to Central Revenue, though in the circumstances inevitable, had very evident drawbacks. The Joint Parliamentary Committee, indeed, placed it on record that Government should so direct its financial policy as to extinguish these contributions at the earliest possible moment, and this policy the Government of India have persistently pursued.

Remission of Provincial Contributions.

In 1922-23 Bengal was relieved of its contribution of 63 lakhs, and three years later contributions amounting to 250 lakhs were permanently remitted, apart from the temporary relief of 50 lakhs given for one year to those provinces which had not benefitted by the permanent relief then given. In the following year a further permanent remission of 125 lakhs was made, and, as matter now stand, the original figure of 988 lakhs has been reduced to 545 lakhs. This year's surplus will, as an exceptional measure, not be used for the reduction or avoidance of debt but will be carried forward and, together with the anticipated surplus for the coming year, will enable the Government to remit permanently another 350 lakhs of these contributions and to remit temporarily, for 1927-8 only, the balance of 195 lakhs. The remainder of the surplus will be set aside to be used to meet initial expenditure involved in the inauguration of the new

currency system and the setting up of the new Reserve Bank with the result that the Revenue and Expenditure of the coming year will, unless we are unfortunate, balance. Noble Lords will thus see that next year the Provinces will be entirely relieved of the obligation to contribute to Central Revenues, a notable achievement due to the courageous skill with which Sir Basil Blackett has administered the finances of India. In the past India has enjoyed the services of a long line of gifted Ministers of Finance, and Sir Basil Blackett has worthily upheld the traditions of his predecessors. He has indeed deserved well of India.

I have dealt at some length on this question of Provincial contributions, because of its reactions on the political situation. I believe that in the past the greatest of all impediments to the successful working of the reforms has been the want of money. When we remember that since the Government of India Act was passed, new burdens have in many cases necessitated retrenchment, one cannot help sympathising with provincial Ministers. Even to tried administrators, retrenchment is always painful and difficult. How much more difficult and how discouraging the process must have been to those new to administration who undertook the responsibility of the Transferred Departments in the hope that they would thus be enabled to advance the well-being of their fellow countrymen! Instead of being able to launch out on new schemes of public works, of education, of public health and sanitation, Ministers in many cases were forced to retrench in every direction. Thus, one of the elements necessary to the success of the reforms has been wanting, and I am confident that your Lordships will share my satisfaction that, by the freeing of the Provinces from the incubus of these contributions, wider opportunities will be given to Indian Ministers to administer more liberally the Departments entrusted to their charge.

Army Estimates.

There is one other part of the Indian Budget upon which I must say a few words. Your Lordships may have observed that the Legislative Assembly has rejected the Estimate for the Army Department as a method of protesting against certain features in Army administration; and in the discharge of my responsibility to Parliament it is right that I should offer some observations on the points against which the Assembly has directed criticism. One ground, and perhaps the principal ground, of objection is the standard of military expenditure in India. It may not be out of place at the outset to attempt to remove a misconception which appears to prevail not only in India but in some quarters in this country. A common line of criticism is that the Indian Retrenchment Committee of 1922 recommended that military expenditure should not exceed 50 crores of rupees (let us say £37,000,000) a year, and that Government had failed to give effect to this recommendation. But what did my noble friend Lord Inchcape and his collegues in fact say? They said :—

"Should a further fall in prices take place we consider that it may be possible after a few years to reduce the military budget to a sum not exceeding 50 crores of rupees, although the Commander-in-Chief (I should explain that this was the late Lord Rawlinson) does not subscribe to this opinion." That was a very guarded expression of opinion—is was not a recommendation—and what have Government done to give effect to it? They have reduced military expenditure from 65 and one-fourth crores, that is about £49,000,000, to less than 55 crores or about £41,000,000 in the last five years.

The strength of the Army in India has been reduced, wisely or unwisely, by 38,000 men or 14 per cent since 1914. It is true that its cost has nearly doubled, but India can no more expect to escape the financial consequences of the world upheaval than another part of the Empire. In the same period British military expenditure has increased by fifty per cent although its strength has been reduced by sixteen per cent. It must be remembered that owing to the rigid economy of pre-war years, the Indian Army was actually below the efficiency level when War broke out. The fruits of that policy were borne in Mesopotamia and I can assure your Lordships that neither the India office nor the Government of India nor I myself will forget the lesson that was taught there, however short on occasions may be the memory of the Legislative Assembly.

I have referred to the reduction of the strengh of the Army in India since the War; but I must add that the progressive reduction was acquiesced in by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, and approved by the noble Viscount, my predecessor; not as in itself a sound military measure—it was never so claimed, never so defended—but solely because the financial condition of India at that time made retrenchment necessary, and the improvement in the external and internal situation of India made it possible to take a certain amount of risk. I must emphasise this because behind the general complaint against the size of military expenditure lies the suspicion that the Army in India, even on the present footing, far exceeds the actual requirements of the country and thus contains, at Indian expense, a potential reserve which can be, and is intended to be, used for Imperial purposes alone. That suspicion is absolutely without foundation.

The primary purpose of the Army in India has been defined, in a Resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1921 and endorsed by His Majesty's Government, as "the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal order." So far from its being true that the Home Government keeps troops in India which are not needed by India and can at will be drawn upon for reinforcements elsewhere, almost the exact opposite is the case. It is true that when for the moment conditions in India are peaceful—and this is I think the answer to the specific question which the noble Lord asked me—troops can be temporarily spared from India, as they are being temporarily spared at the present time, to assis. in emergencies elsewhere. But neither the Government of India nor I would be likely to conceal from ourselves that by lending troops from the Indian garrison at this moment we are facing a certain risk. It is, we believe, a reasonable risk, or we should not have been justified in taking it, but it is reasonable only so long as the occasion is temporary. Further than that we dare not go.

The strength of an army must be measured, not in relation to which I may term local day-to-day contingencies, a border scuffle one day, a disturbance of the public peace the next, but in relation to wider contingencies which I need not further specify. It is recognised by both His Majesty's Government and the Government of India that in certain contingencies the Army in India will not suffice for "the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal order," but that we shall have to obtain, should these contingencies unhappily arise, reinforcements from the Imperial Army in order to defend India successfully against a combination of menaces. That is the cardinal fact in the question of the military requirements of India and the military commitments of Great Britain. In face of it, it is surely futile to say that the strength of the Army in India exceeds its requirements as defined by the Indian Legislature itself and to demand that it be reduced still further.

An Imperial Concern.

Throughout all these criticisms upon Army administration in India, I detect a belief that these matters are primarily of concern to India alone, that there is no call on His Majesty's Government to take part in them, and that action by His Majesty's Government in this sphere is a kind of bureaucratic interference from Whitehall. If only for the reason which I have already indicated, this is a mistaken view. All these questions, whether they relate to the spread of military training in India, or to the Indianisation of the Indian Army, can only be handled with the necessary degree of success if they are brought under comprehensive survey by an authority competent to examine them from the broadest Imperial point of view. It is not enough to approach them parochially. I had, in fact, last year formed the conclusion that the time had now come to invite the Committee of Imperial Defence to consider the problem of Indian defence as a whole and to take the opportunity of examining certain incidental questions, of which I will refer to two because they have been mentioned in the Legislative Assembly.

The first is the Report of the Indian Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee, which requires a broader survey than either the Government of India or the India Office are able to undertake, in so far as it relates to the potential

fighting strength of India which can be placed under military training. The other is the Indian Sandhurst Committee Report, which will in a few days be made available to your Lordships. I shall not be expected to discuss that Report this afternoon, because I have not at this stage received the Government of India's recommendations on it. But I will say this. It is a document of first rate importance, not only in what it contains but even more perhaps in the lines of inquiry which it is bound to initiate; and it presents the problem in a way which necessarily compels us to consider where we now stand and in what direction we may most safely and readily advance. So far as I am concerned, I shall welcome the opportunity and use it to the full.

Quite obviously the problem, so stated, is one of Imperial scope, on which neither the Government of India nor the Secretary of State is qualified to speak with final authority. I felt bound to consider whether we in India might not be well advised not to publish the Report until both the Government of India and His Majesty's Government had had time to examine it and to review the whole problem, including aspects of it which were beyond the range of the signatories. It appeared that this would involve too long delay in publication and, after consulting the Viceroy and those of my colleagues who are primarily concerned, I decided to publish the Report at once with some preliminary indication of the scope of the further inquiries to which it points the way. That will very shortly be done and the next step will be for the Committee of Imperial Defence, after receiving the Government of India's views, to examine the Report as a whole in its relation to those wider aspects of military policy which they alone are competent to appraise.

Trades Union Act.

Labour difficulties bulk so largely in India that noble Lords will perhaps expect me to say a word on this subject. The Indian Trade Unions Act, which was passed last year, provides for the voluntary registration of unions, and to registered unions various privileges will be given. The object of the Act, which will come into effective operation as soon as the Local Governments have promulgated regulations, is to encourage the growth of a healthy trade union movement in India, and to assist in the development of responsible associations of workmen, which can be recognised by employers. This cannot, of course, be brought about by legislation, and the future of this movement must depend entirely upon the workers themselves and their leaders. I would be the last to underrate the difficulties which stand in the way. These are enormous, but the passage of this Act should serve to make easiest the creation of stable and responsible unions, and so help towards industrial peace.

Further Constitutional Change.

The noble Lord finally asked me to inform him of the prospects of any steps being taken at an early date in preparation for the consideration of further constitutional change. I would ask him in turn, does he feel quite certain that the advancement of that magic date, 1926, which has occupied so much attention in India during the last six years, is now in fact the desire of those who have hitherto urged it with such untiring persistence? I have thought myself that I have seen of late signs among the leaders of Indian opinion of a certain reluctance to rush this fence, if I may be permitted the image, now that the march of time has brought it so unescapably close. But I do not dwell unduly upon that point. Unless Parliament were to decide otherwise, and to amend the law accordingly, a Commission must be instituted not later than the end of the year 1926. Having regard to the known climatic conditions, any advancement of this date must mean that the Commission would be constituted in time to commence its labours in the late autumn of either this year or next. The issue has thus become a somewhat narrow one—so narrow in fact that I hazard the suggestion that ten or even five years hence it will have become difficult to recognise that a choice between 1927, 1928, or 1929 as the date for the initiation of this inquiry should have been one to arouse grave controversy.

However that may be, I decline, as I have stated once before in this House, to make myself the slave of a date, and the decision of this question still lies with

India herself. If the results follow which might reasonably be expected from the fairly favourable auguries disclosed by the past four months, if, that is, it becomes apparent that the present Constitution, with all its faults, is being accepted as the instrument for a serious and sustained effort to collaborate in securing the "better government of India"—to quote the description applied in the Act of 1857—then I see no reason to anticipate that His Majesty's Government and Parliament, if so advised by the Governor-General, will be found over-anxious to insist upon waiting until the ten years period has run its full course. My appeal is still, as it was two years ago, for common sense and reasonableness. The pursuit of political will-o-the-wisps has not so far proved very profitable. Nor will it hereafter. An intelligent discharge of existing powers is a powerful argument for their extension; an irrational obstruction a powerful argument against. The critical months which we await will determine the decision, and I earnestly hope that at long last we shall meet a sanity and sobriety of action which will encourage and fortify those who established the present Constitution in the hope of witnessing its evolutionary extension.

Constitution Not A Failure.

The Marquess of READING said he dissented from the statement of Lord Olivier that the present Constitution must be regarded as a failure. He (Lord Reading) was surprised to hear the noble lord take that view. He refused to regard the Constitution as a faliure; he would rather regard it as a monument erected by the generosity of the British Parliament for the purpose of giving effect to the principles which this country held dear, and to enable India in the future, when she was ready for it, and when she had shown the willingness of spirit which they all desired, to govern herself as part of the British Empire and maintain her position, they hoped for all time, associated with us in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Looking back on the six or seven years which had passed since this Constitution was put into operation he asked how anyone who had studied constitutional history could have expected more to have been accomplished in India during that short period than had actually been achieved. He thought that Lord Birkenhead's speech was a complete answer to the statement that the Constitution was a failure. They all remembered the unfortunate and tragic events of 1919, as a consequence of which the reforms were started under the most unfavourable auspices. As the years progressed he became more confirmed in the opinion that the British Parliament acted wisely in 1919, and that if we had not taken the course we did then we might have been in much greater difficulties at this moment. Everything seemed to point to the peaceful development of constitutional government. He was not suggesting that he took the view that we were ready to make the jump forward which some Indian politicians desired, or had desired in the past—he was not so certain of the present position. If they took the last Session as an example he doubted very much whether it would be just to say that there had been any effort of deliberate obstruction in the sense of attempting to prevent the constitution from functioning. Everything apparently of importance that had been desired had been obtained in the Assembly.

Financial Position.

Speaking of the financial position, he said that during the five years from 1919 onwards there was a deficit of 75 millions sterling. It was determined to initiate a new policy and to make the Budget balance if possible. With the assistance of Lord Inchcape's Committee retrenchments were made in expenditure. When he had read articles and listened to debates on economy in this country he had sometimes thought a useful lesson might be learned from the study of the affairs of India. The finance of India emerged from their parlous condition as the result of a policy of retrenchment and economy. There would not be a surplus at this moment if it had not been for the drastic reductions made in expenditure. The result of the administration of financial affairs had been that the provincial contributions to the Central Government had now been abolished—a notable achievement. It had been expected that it would take many years to dispense with these contributions. The financial conditions of India were such that he thought India might be compared very favourably perhaps with any country

other than the United States. In the direction of finance he would ask their lordships to come to the conclusion, not that the Constitution had been a failure, but that, viewed by the light of events, really its achievement was somewhat remarkable.

A Qualified Approval.

Viscount HALDANE : My Lords, whatever my noble friend Lord Olivier may not have succeeded in doing, at least he has brought out the two very interesting speeches to which we have just listened. The noble Marquess has defended the Constitution established by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1919 powerfully. He has said that he denies that that Constitution was a failure and he has given us, in truth, some record of very valuable things which have taken place under it. I think he is entitled to congratulate himself completely upon the outcome as regards finance. I do not think he exaggerated in the least in that regard, and I was very glad that so cordial a tribute was paid, both by the Secretary of State and by him, to the work of that dis inguished administrator Sir Basil Blackett, who worked under him and to whom is due a great deal of credit in connection with the reorganisation of the finance of India. If the only question were whether the Constitution had been a complete failure, I should agree with the noble Marquess that it had not been done under it. But finance is not the whole question, and all I think that my noble friend Lord Olivier intended to convey was that at least it is a Constitution which has not been as fully and generously accepted as we could have hoped, with the result that there has been a good deal of evil.

I shall presently have something to say about what I believe to be the cause of that, but before I do so ; I wish to advert to the speech which the Secretary of State has made. It was a very full speech, it was a very candid speech and I think it was a very useful speech, in as much as he answered nearly every question which had been put to him. It covered so much ground that I cannot hope to traverse it on this occasion when, indeed, I only wish to say a few words on certain specific points. But there were two or three things with which I was glad the noble and learned Earl dealt. He spoke of the Act of 1925 for dealing with disturbances in Bengal. I took an active part in the drafting of that Act. It was settled really between India, in close consultation with the Viceroy, and London. It was limited by general assent to one principle, which was to deal, not with political agitation, not with new political crimes, but with crime under the actually existing law and to take steps to put that down. Anybody who remembers the state of things, in Calcutta in particular, in that year, knows that it was a very dreadful state of things, a state of things in which human life was not safe in the City, and the Act was passed to enable the authorities to deal with that state of things drastically. It was done, and now the question has been raised in India and by some people here whether the time has not come when you might release the whole of the offenders in prison under that Act.

Release of Detenues.

Speaking for myself I think it would be inconsistent with the very principle of the Act to release them wholesale. You must deal with their cases individually. They are being dealt with individually. A considerable number are out on probation. I hope that that is a process which may be carried still further, and I do not quarrel in the least with the principle that the noble and learned Earl laid down, that you must go cautiously. But you must to some extent review the decisions come to on the spot about individual cases. I know it is very difficult, and I am very much against interfering with local people in ordinary matters but when it comes to life and liberty then you have a very serious state of things, particularly when there is a powerful public opinion observing you. Accordingly I hope that the noble and learned Earl, while adhering to the principle that the cases must be dealt with individually and each on its merits, will see to it that they are all disposed of, not in that somewhat happy-go-lucky way which often happens when things are left only to the local police.

The Army In India.

Another matter on which the noble and learned Earl touched was the Army. It is true that there has been a very powerful movement in India for the reduction of the Indian Army and its cost, and no doubt there is a great force in the contention that the Army is probably kept up on a scale for the resistance of foreign aggression which would not be necessary if India was a perferctly peaceful country left to itself and not apt to become involved in quarrels which proceed between Great Britain and other countries. That is true, but of course we cannot do without an Army in India of at least sufficient size to preserve law and order and to ensure security from some form of attack. But I have often raised a question in my mind which I commend to the consideration of the noble and learned Earl.

It is a question which, as far as I am aware, has never been considered. We maintain two great Armies, one in India and the other the Imperial Army, the Home Army. The Home Army is generally exclusively in this country. When it goes abroad it goes abroad temporarily. I have sometimes thought—and I have discussed this with some of the most eminent military authorities in India—that in these days of rapid transport it would be possible to keep at least some part of our own Home Army, some part of our Expeditionary Force, generally in India. It need not be a large part. A comparatively small part of of it would be sufficient to relieve the necessity of keeping up quite as great a military force in India. A short time ago it was obvious that it would have been a good plan because the theatre of probable disturbance was in the Near East, in Iraq and in countries in that vicinity. Then it would have been a convenience to us to have had that part of the Expeditionary Force which we might require close at hand. But that is not so now. I do not think that invasion from the north is a very practical proposition.

It may be that circumstances may change and you may require a larger force, and then the consideration of this new source of addition to the Indian Army, which may be considered on the analogy of the Territorial Force, may become important. I do not think it is possible to come to a decision about so large a question straight off, but I do say that I think we should do well to consider the question whether the Expeditionary Army of this country and the Indian Army should not be in closer relation than they are at the present time. At the present time they duplicate their work to some extent, and it is one of those things which ought to be considered in the Committee of Imperial defence on a large scale—whether the views of those who think that some part of our forces might remain generally in India (as I say not too large a part), is not a view which ought to be taken into account. I myself discussed this largely in 1924 and 1925 with those who are engaged in considering strategical questions. It is purely a strategical question. It is a question which deserves more consideration than it has ever had. I think it is one that is new so far as the War Office is concerned.

Reason for Failure of Reforms.

Then I come to the question why it is that the Constitution established in 1919 and the reforms of which the noble and learned Earl has spoken and of which the late Viceroy has spoken—why it is that those reforms have not produced as much fruit as we could have hoped for. There is a reason for it. Between India and this country there is a very great difference in spirit and I think that difference in spirit is a difference which is too much overlooked. I do not often take part in the discussion of Indian affairs in this House, but for all that I see a great many distinguished Indians, men of learning who come over here and who discuss things in a moderate spirit. I see them very often in my house and I read a great deal of literature with which they furnish me. I wish we had in the library for instance, such a magazine as the review which is published in the University of Calcutta and which contains articles by some of the most able men in India discussing all those questions on which we have been touching to-night. If it were read, then I think it would become apparent that

much of the difficulty about constitutional questions and much of the difficulty about domestic questions in India, is due to the difference of outlook.

At the bottom of almost everything in India is the question of religion. I do not mean any conflict between Hinduism, in the popular idea of it here, and Christianity. They have got beyond that. I mean that the Indian is essentially a religious person and he brings religious considerations into his conscience at every turn. The result of that is apparent in his attitude towards your questions and I think you very often do not take account of the fact that you are dealing with persons of a different spirit from your spirit. I take one case. The question of elementary education is a profoundly serious problem in India at this moment. Very little has been done. The amount of ignorance is stupendous. It interferes with everything, not only with the people whom it leaves open to those influences operate so readily on an unguarded mind, but with the supply of administrators and of people to be employed in skilled businesses. As a consequence the education question is being more and more recognised by those who think in India—and they are many—as lying at the root of nearly the whole of the social problem. Practically nothing has been done about it. Now that these financial reforms of which we have been hearing to-night will place the Provinces in a better position it is possible that the education question may be dealt with by them to some extent. There is another question in which the noble Marquess took a great interest when he was Viceroy and to some extent assisted, and that is the question of agriculture. The development of the study of agriculture in India is a matter of the first importance, and I hope and believe that the development of that study will produce a new class of people in India, more intelligent and able to get a great deal more for you out of the soil.

Need to Understand Spirit of People.

All these things show, as writers like Lord Ronaldshay have been impressing upon us in their books, that we have to understand the spirit of the people more than we have done if we want to get rid of the reproach that our measures do not get home to them. I think it is quite reasonable to take time over the fashioning of the Constitution, if only for the reason that was given both by the noble Earl himself and by the noble Marquess. People's minds are very slowly settling down on that question out of a good deal of chaos and controversy. That is not a reason for feeling hopeless. If you turn to the state of Canada as it was even after Lord Durham's time, you will find its Constitution in a condition as difficult as that of India to-day. We shall get out of these difficulties if we maintain an attitude of moderation, and at the same time of definite purpose. I think that the speeches to which we have listened to-night are speeches that give us considerable hope that, with persistence and by seeking to maintain the vast gap that now separates the spirit of those who administer India from those who administered it before the Mutiny in a very narrow fashion, there is at any rate a likelihood that India will by degrees emerge into that ideal which was prescribed for it at the time when the reforms were instituted.

LORD OLIVIER THANKED THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD FOR HIS STATEMENT AND WITHDREW HIS MOTION FOR PAPERS.

The Indian Debate in Commons

On the 2ND JUNE 1927 in the House of Commons on a motion for adjournment, Mr. LANSBURY (Labourite) initiated the Indian debate and complained of the discrimination against Indians on the Indian railways and also of the "colour bar" in Britain. He asked for the establishment of an impartial tribunal to enquire into the Kulkati disturbances and demanded the publication of the medical report on which Mr. Bose was released. He said that this was one of the cases that would be remembered in India eternally as the "persecution of a good nationalist" and he urged that the Government should appoint a committee to survey the situation and lead up to the appointment of the Statutory Commission. He was confident that he was voicing the opinion of the Labour Party when he said that it was as anxious as anyone to maintain the British connection with India, but was convinced that it was only maintainable by giving people the right to be masters in their own country.

Earl WINTERTON, responding, said that he did not complain of Mr. Lansbury raising these Indian questions "as Indian debates were only too rare." As regards the ban at Edinburgh, he very much regretted the circumstances, but they were not within the control of the Secretary of State for India nor the Secretary for Scotland. He was glad to hear deprecatory expressions from both sides of the House on June 1st and personally agreed with the other Labourites rather than with Mr. Shiels.

Revolutionary Crime and Mr. Bose.

As regards the Bengal detenus, the Secretary of State never attempted to disguise the fact that exceptional powers were necessary. Earl Winterton declared that the necessity for them was abundantly proved when they were put into operation in 1924. There had been an organised conspiracy in Bengal to commit revolutionary crimes. Nothing could be more incorrect than Mr. Lansbury's description of Mr. Bose's offence as a "political offence." Mr. Bose broke the law as regards revolutionary crimes under the Indian Penal Code.

Earl Winterton continued that it was impossible for the Bengal Government to guarantee the maintenance of law and order and prevent widespread assassination unless they were empowered to segregate persons responsible for organising and instigating the conspiracy. Moreover, the Bengal Government were convinced that the ordinary trial by jury would endanger the lives of witnesses. Hence powers were taken to arrest those persons. Lord Olivier sanctioned this policy. Earl Winterton had always thought that the Socialist Party accepted what Lord Olivier did.

Earl Winterton pointed out that 46 persons were in jail under the Act, as compared with 70 three months ago and 11 were in jail under the Regulation III as compared with 16, while 95 were detained in villages or homes. He re-stated Sir Muddiman's statement in the Legislative Assembly on March 21st and added that Mr. Lansbury would be surprised to learn that there were certain of Mr. Lansbury's general observation with which he (Earl Winterton) and most members agreed. Nobody liked any form of extra-judicial power if it could be avoided. Neither he nor the Government of India were anxious to exercise the powers a day longer than was necessary. He emphasised that these men were there because they were guilty up to the hilt of participating in the operations, which nobody except a few lunatics could condone.

Earl Winterton said that revolutionary crime in Bengal was confined to a small area and had almost disappeared from the rest of India. It alternately boiled up and died down in Bengal. It might be said that it boiled up most when coercive measures were taken and that it was least active when people treated it in Mr. Lansbury's way, but the very opposite was the case mentioned here concerning the number of those who had been given amnesty by Mr. Montagu in 1920.

Regarding Mr. Bose Earl Winterton argued that the fact that the man occupied an important position in no way determined his guilt or innocence, whatever the confidence the Calcutta Corporation might have in Mr. Bose. The Corporation was not quite the reasonable and moderate body that Mr. Lansbury contended it was, but anyway their confidence in Mr. Bose had nothing to do with the matter.

Earl Winterton recapitulated the developments leading to Mr. Bose's release and added that the Government would have done the same thing in the case of any other person but would not make any special arrangements on account of his position in private life. On the matter of publishing the doctor's report, Earl Winterton said that he did not see the reason for altering the usual procedure.

The Kulkati Affair.

He was sorry to assume an uncompromising position over the Kulkati affair, but he must refuse to agree to an independent enquiry as it was wholly unnecessary. Lord Birkenhead did not see the reason to doubt the rightness of the course taken by the authorities.

Earl Winterton recited the facts and asked the House to visualise the situations with which the police have always to deal. They did not get thanks for their action, but he was proud to stand up for the body of a most long-suffering men in the British Empire. The Indian Police often showed as much courage, tact and discretion as could be shown by the Metropolitan police in similar circumstances. He was not going to comment on the proceedings which were being considered and judicial proceedings might follow, but " prima facie" there was little doubt that the District Magistrate had to take drastic action or much greater loss of life would have been probable if the crowd got into a conflict.

The Royal Commission.

As regards the Royal Commission, Earl Winterton was unable to add to what he and Lord Birkenhead had previously said. It was impossible to announce the date of appointment or the conditions governing the acceleration of date. As regards the composition of the Commission which Lord Birkenhead had naturally to consider, any view expressed in the Commons and Lords he would consider those views when the time came to make a submission to His Majesty with regard to its composition and until then it was impossible, unusual and possibly improper to state the definite names of the gentlemen to be submitted as members.

Mr. Subhas Bose's Refutation.

On the 5th June 1927, in a communication to the Associated Press, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose now released from the Mandalay Jail refutes the statement made by Earl Winterton in the House of Commons that the detenus including Mr. Bose under the Regulation and Ordinance were tried before two judges.

None of the detenus has, says Mr. Bose, so far as I am aware, ever been tried before a judge or judges. There has not been even a mock trial. I was never produced before any magistrate or judge nor was I ever told by whom the papers in connection with my case, which had been prepared or fabricated, had been examined either prior to my arrest or would be examined subsequent to it. Some time after my arrest a police officer visited me at the Alipore Central Jail in Calcutta and read out to me a number of allegations which were miscalled charges. As far as my recollection goes, I was accused of being a member of a conspiracy for importing arms, manufacturing explosives and murdering police officers. When I was asked if I had anything to say in reply to the " charges." I said that I was wholly innocent and I demanded trial before a court of law.

In January 1925 I was transferred from the Berhampore Jail to the Mandalay Jail. Under the Bengal Ordinance some time in February the same charges were presented a second time. When I was asked if I would reply to the allegations, I stated this time in writing that I reaffirmed my innocence. I then raised

the question myself as to why I should have got into the bad books of the police. I proved or at least attempted to prove that any predicament was the result of personal malice against me on the part of a high police official. I venture to think that my explanation was, to put it very mildy, certainly as plausible as the case concoted against me by the police. It is not, therefore, true, as Earl Winterton said on a former occasion, that when I was confronted with the charges I declined to reply. Neither is it true as the Home Member of the Government of India said on one occasion, that detenus were made acquainted with the general scope of evidence against them.

In October 1926 a police official interviewed me in Mandalay and in the course of conversation with me he attempted to say that there was documentary evidence against me. I challenged him to produce it and asserted that there could not possibly be any such evidence against me and that if he would still persist in saying there was I could not help saying that that evidence must have been forged. The official in question therefore observed discreet silence, possibly because he felt the game was up.

Referring to the statement of Earl Winterton that the detenus were guilty up to the hilt of taking part in assassination, Mr. Bose says that during the last five or six years, in a province the population of which is about fifty millions, there has been one single case of political assassination, namely, the murder of Mr. Day. There is no one who did not or does not condemn the murder and if this and its sequel prove anything they prove that the ordinary law of the land was sufficient to cope with any form of violence whatever its motive might be.

Mr. Bose next refers to the murder of the Sankaritola Postmaster, Mr. Santi Chakravarti, and Rai Bahadur Bhupendra Nath Chatterjee, in all of which cases he holds the ordinary law of the land would suffice to bring to book those who were responsible for the outrages and adds that it would not be fair for the authorities to make use of these murders as arguments for justifying the Ordinance or Regulation.

Regarding the assassination and intimidation of witnesses in political cases, the apprehensions of Earl Winterton, he says, are entirely without foundation. A large number of recent cases which the police regard as political and which have been tried in open court have disapproved this contention and one is surprised that the Under Secretary of State for India should still continue to trot out such worthless and repeatedly exploded arguments for bolstering up a thoroughly discredited policy.

Mr. Bose agreed with Earl Winterton that the fact that a man occupies an important position in no way determines his guilt or innocence. "I have never claimed any immunity from the operation of law by virtue of any position in private or public life. We are all equal in the eye of the law and we desire to remain so. If we break the law as we did in December 1921 we shall do so openly and we shall carefully accept the consequences as we did then. In the present case we have not broken the law and we have not violated any section of the Indian Penal Code. It is therefore but natural that we should feel that we are being persecuted not for complicity in revolutionary conspiracy but for setting up a strong political organisation by means which are open and above board."

Mr. Bose concludes :—"Except that some obliging gentlemen have occasionally come forward with a broken revolver or picked up a bomb shell and offered themselves for arrest, whenever there has been talk of releasing detenus, there has been no crime in the province which may be called revolutionary during the last few years and certainly not during the last twelve months. A perusal of Earl Winterton's speech gives one the impression that either he is deliberately indulging in an erroneous statement and half-truth or has been completely misinformed by men on the spot about the exact position of affairs in this unhappy province. Either alternative affords us poor consolation and little solace."

The India Office Estimates

HOUSE OF COMMONS—17TH JUNE 1927.

The India Office Estimates were discused in the Commons on the 17th June. Contrary to the usual practice, the debate did not open with the Estimates speech by Earl Winterton. The Opposition had selected the subject of India for to-day at short notice. Consequently, it was arranged that Earl Winterton should formally move the Estimates and then there should be a general discussion, to which Earl Winterton would reply, and the Estimates should be re-discussed at a later session, when Earl Winterton would make the Estimates speech. Mr. Patel and Lord Sinha were present in the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery.

Mr. LANSBURY opened the debate by enquiring with regard to the Reforms and the establishment of Reforms Commission, etc. Referring to Mr. Patel's presence, he pointed out that there was a vital difference between the Commons and the Assembly in India, because the Commons, when it passed a law or a resolution, had the power to see that it was carried into effect but that did not happen in India.

Referring to Mr. Bose Mr. Lansbury read a telegram from Mr. Bose declaring that no detenus had ever been tried before any judge and that he himself had never been produced before a Magistate or a Judge. He was never acquainted with the nature of the evidence against him. He had challenged the police to produce documentary evidence, but they were silent.

Mr. Lansbury declared that the Trade Unions Act for India was a step towards the right direction, although it was a very halting step. The labourities would have liked to see a very much broader measure. He concluded by MOVING THE REDUCTION OF £100 FROM THE ESTIMATES.

Mr. Warlaw-Milne expressed appreciation of the tone of Mr. Lansbury's speech. Discussing what would happen in 1929 when the Reforms would be considered, he expressed the opinion that it was impossible to do anything more than extend the progress already made.

Mr. Saklatvala repudiated the idea that gradual reform would remedy the grievances of the Indian people. There was no middle course between slavery and freedom.

Earl WINTERTON, replying to the debate, said he could make no announcement with regard to the date of the Statutory Commission, except to say that the interval remaining before the time, when, under the act, the Commission must be appointed was now so rapidly diminishing that the question of the precise date of the assembling of the Commission was fast becoming one in which matters of practical convenience bulked almost as largely as questions of policy. It was an open secret that the Government of India were collecting data to submit before the Royal Commission. If the Commission was brought into operation before the exact time prescribed by the act, Government would have to seek the approval of Parliament and it would do so without hesitation. Under the Government of India Act, it would be necessary, in due course, quite apart from the question of date, to obtain Parliament's approval to submission to His Majesty of the proposed personnel of the Commission.

Replying to Mr. Lansbury's remarks with regard to the Assembly in India, Earl Winterton, emphasised that the debates in the Assembly and Councils had influenced the course of Government more strongly than was contemplated when the act was passed. Nothing could be further from the truth than the statement that the members of the Assembly and their electors were powerless. He would be most surprised if the Royal Commission, when it came to consider the matter, did not confirm his view. He expressed the opinion, that the constitutional machine in India appeared to be working with less jolting and vibrations than a year ago and with fewer attempts to paralyse it and there was a growing

appreciation of its merits and the merits of the Reforms. Probably, the improvement in the financial situation, the growing scepticism of the value of pretensions of the more extreme critics of the Government of India, and the feeling, that energies should be husbanded for the next stage when the Statutory Commission appeared on the scene, were all factors, which led to the improved situation.

Referring to the Hindu Moslem agreement regarding joint electorates, Earl Winterton expressed regret that the statements and speeches of representatives of the two communities did not give great hope that the so-called agreement would be recognised by private people.

Referring to the Royal Commission on Agriculture, Earl Winterton emphasised that the evidence of witnesses did not necessarily represent the view of the Government. He personally was of opinion that the Commission would find not all the complaints against Indian agriculture to be justified. He cited the opinion of the Director, Government Demonstration Farm in Bengal, that the Commission might find that the ancient implements such as wooden plough were the best instruments for cultivation of small plots of land in Bengal.

Earl Winterton concluded with a strong defence of the action of the Government with regard to the Bengal detenus.

MR. LANSBURY'S MOTION WAS REJECTED BY 173 VOTES TO 45. THE DEBATE WAS THEN ADJOURNED.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—8TH JULY 1927.

Mr. Patel and other distinguised Indians were present in the gallery, when Earl Winterton opened the continuation of the debate on India Office Estimates in the House of Commons on the 8th July.

Earl WINTERTON reiterated that, save in very exceptional cases, where the action proposed would raise national and imperial difficulties, His Majesty's Government did not regard themselves at liberty to intereiere when agreement had been reached between the Government of India and the legislature. From personal knowledge Earl Winterton knew that Mr. Saklatvala did not represent one-half of one per cent of the views and sentiments of the community which he posed as representing. Indeed, he had been approached by more than one distinguished Indian in public life, asking how to get into touch with representatives of Liberal and Conservative parties with a view to standing for election to counteract the idea that Mr. Saklatvala in any way represented the majority.

Earl Winterton contrasted the conflicting schools of opinion. Firstly, those who, whilst they grudgingly admitted certain benefits of the British connection with India, contended that the bulk of population was as miserable, poor, diseased, ignorant and under-fed as previously and all would be changed with Swaraj. Secondly, those who, while admitting the inadequate margin of subsistence of Indian workers, claimed that, since the British came, there had been a great improvement, which would have been greater but for the lack of co-operation and the obstructive attitude due to the inebrited customs of Indians themselves. The latter also held that the growth of the Indianisation of services and the devolution of power resulted in the deterioration of administration. Earl Winterton rejected the first thesis and was unable to accept the second without qualification. He pointed out that much of the health and welfare of Indians depended on the efficiency of the municipalities and district local boards, whose activities could not be surveyed in the Commons. Probably, the diarchical system provided an inadequate financial stimulus to the transferred subjects, because, while ways and means of finance were generally not matters for which the ministers were responsible and as long as the reserved departments could be represented as having the first call on the provincial funds, it was always possible for a Minister and his followers to persuade themselves that the principle, that socialism was unattainable without paying for it, did not apply to them and to actual power in their hands.

Earl Winterton drew attention to the conflicts of opinion and criticism as, for example, Mr. Gandhi's contention, that roads, railways and mills did not

appeal to the soul of India, while other critics accused us of utter indifference for the prosperity of the people. It was pathetic to see real sorrow filling the heart and soul of the man who had spent his life in the administration of India having to leave and hand over the work to another. Earl Winterton expressed the opinion, that the difficulty lay in the indifference of the people, especially, due to the inherited views of this life and the next. Obviously, religious observance and custom in a matter like caste, with the accompaniment of child-marriages, the depressed classes and the prohibition of the slaughter of animals must affect the health and vitality of individuals.

Earl Winterton enumerated at length what had been accomplished through the co-operation of Indians and Europeans in various directions and analysed the Indian budget, dwelling on the gradual reduction of the provincial contribution excluding the Bengal contribution, and the decision to use the anticipated recurring surplus for the remission of three and a half crores of contribution permanently. While the feasibility of making a remission of the residue of contributions permanent would depend on the future, nobody was more anxious than the Secretary of State and the Government of India to see the last of the feature of the Indian Reforms finance. Earl Winterton drew attention to the improvement of labour conditions, which synchronised with India's whole-hearted participation in the international labour organisation, and pointed out that India was one of the few countries which had ratified the Washington Labour Convention. (Loud Labour cheers.) Her output of social legislation during the past five years was a remarkable achievement of an oriental country. He paid tributes to Lord Lloyd, Sir Leslie Wilson, and their respective Governments for carrying out great and far-reaching schemes of social betterment. He doubted whether the people realised the amazing progress of agricultural co-operation.

Earl Winterton said that recruiting of Europeans for the services was steadily rising, but they were not getting enough of young Indian Civil Service officers. The Government of India and Lord Birkenhead were carefully watching the position and all necessary steps would be taken to ensure the recruitment of sufficient British officers. The apprehensions regarding the effect of Indianisation must be most carefully considered, when the Government dealt with the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report. As long as we offered, as we must, adequate guarantee as regards conditions and prospects of service, he was confident the Indian Army would continue to be one of the finest careers.

Concluding, he said, he was personally acquainted with more numerous Indians of all parties in public life than any of his predecessors could say. He hoped, without showing effusiveness or a patronising spirit that in culture and education, the leading men anong them were not behind the public men of any other country. That, however, was not enough. He had shown the extent to which power to improve the masses rested in their hands, not merely in future but at present under the existing constitution. So far as any custom and tradition barred the way to progress, they could do infinitely more than any Government to influence a change.

Other speakers.

Several Conservatives and Labourites followed Earl Winterton. Col. Wedgwood asked the Government to fix a date for the grant of Home Rule when Indians could manage themselves their military and civil affairs and urged the immediate appointment of a Royal Commission. He added that he would like to see Mr. Gandhi on it. Owing to Parliamentary time, Earl Winterton was unable to deal with the matters raised by the various speakers, but picked out the instances mentioned by Mr. Shaw, namely, the alleged beating of a man by a British officer six months ago, which Mr. Shaw said he and a German friend witnessed. Earl Winterton said it was difficult to take action now as Mr. Shaw had not reported the matter to the police which it was his plain duty to do. Earl Winterton therefore described it as a cock and bull story.

A stormy scene then ensued, Earl Winterton charging Mr. Shaw with breach of duty as a citiven in not reporting the matter. The sitting automatically ended at four o'clock and the DEBATE ON THE INDIA OFFICE VOTE WAS ADJOURNED "SINE DIE."

The Indian Navy Bill

Second Reading Passed.

The Indian Navy Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Earl Winterton in February 1927. The Second Reading of the Bill was moved in the Commons on the 9TH MARCH 1927. In moving it Earl Winterton related the history of the Naval Forces in India and incidentally referred to the Royal Indian Marine as a " non-combatant force."

Commander Kenworthy protested against this.

Earl WINTERTON replied that the term had been usually applied to the Royal Indian Marine which for the greater part of its service was a non-combatant force and emphasised that its duties were very important. He paid a tribute to the very valuable service of the Royal Indian Marine during the War and declared that it had during its service good men and true, British and Indian, and the new force would inherit with its new personnel the traditions of a great service. (Cheers). It was intended to name the new force as the Royal Indian Navy. Its functions during peace time would be the training of personnel for war and the maintenance of services required at all times by the Government of India, such as survey and transport work. Eventually the force might undertake the patrolling of the Persian Gulf which would involve a very small addition to the force, but would relieve the Royal Navy of a very arduous and difficult service for Europeans. Obviously most of the provisions of the Bill took the form of legislation by reference. He admitted the general disadvantage of that course, but it was quite impossible to avoid it in the case of the Government of India Bill. India was the only part in the Empire which had a written constitution of that kind and it was impossible to create such a force or even take any important step with regard to Indian legislation without an amendment of the Government of India Act. But amendments, mainly full substitution amendments, were therefore far less cumbersome than amendments of mere words and phrases.

Earl Winterton said the bill did not alter the existing law that Indians should be eligible for Commissions in the Royal Indian Marine. It had been found in practice that the class of educated Indians willing and capable of serving as officers of ships was almost non-existent, but full opportunity would be given to any young Indian who was prepared to be trained as a Naval Officer. The new service would have small numbers and therefore the number of vacancies for new officers, British or Indians, would be very limited, but Indian candidates would be eligible for vacancies when they passed the necessary examinations and had the requisite training. As regards the objection that this was an addition to that naval force of the Empire, he emphasised that the Bill only provided for the service to carry out duties which must always be carried out even if the ideal of univeral disarmament of combatant ships materialised. It was not intended that this navy would need any modern combatant ships.

As regards the objection that the Indian Assembly had not been properly consulted, he said there was nothing in the constitutions to the effect that Parliamentary legislation affecting India required the previous approval of the Assembly, nor was there any precedent for it. He pointed out that the Labourites' Commonwealth of India Bill proposing most fundamental changes in the Government of India Act was never discussed in the Assembly. Earl Winterton emphasised that the bill could not come into effective operation in India without consequential legislation by the Assembly and presumably when the Assembly discussed the bill there would be full opportunity to discuss the whole question of the Indian Navy. Moreover, the new Indian Navy would be exactly in the same position and relation to the Assembly as the Indian Army. He commended the bill to the House, because to the best of Lord Birkenhead's belief, it was desired by the people of India.

Mr. AMMON MOVED FOR THE REJECTION OF THE BILL. He contended that the Indian Marine could have done everything intended in the bill and he could not accept Earl Winterton's statement as wholly covering the ultimate intention. He declared it was absurd to talk of this being an Indian Navy. It was simply an endeavour to supplement the British Navy and impose the cost on the Indian people.

Commander Kenworthy urged that suitable young Indians should be picked who after some years of training would be well able to take their place on board ship. (Earl Winterton : Hear, Hear) - The big thing to do would have been to provide that in a grave emergency these forces could be placed at the disposal of the Admiralty with the consent of the legislature.

Mr. Pilcher (Conservative) emphasised that the British taxpayer would bear a large capital expenditure on two additional sloops on Indian waters and declared that the bill gave the Assembly complete control over the personnel and discipline until emergency arose.

Colonel Wedgwood suggested that great steamship lines might be persuaded to take Indian cadets. Indians should be encouraged to become officers in the Air Force, Navy and Artillery.

Mr. Headlam emphasised that as far as the Admiralty was concerned every effort would be made to train Indians who were suitable for officers. The Admiralty intended to treat the Indian would-be officer similarly to the English.

Com. Kenworthy suggested that Indian cadets should be allowed to go to Dartmouth.

Mr. Headlam replied that Indian parents could not be expected to send young boys to England to be trained, but they could be expected to let them come to England when they were older to be trained as officers. That was the intention as far as the naval authorities in England were concerned.

A Labour Motion Defeated.

After the bill had been read a second time the Labourites moved that the bill be committed to a committee of the whole House. This motion was defeated by 244 votes to 120. This Labour motion was apparently intended to enable further discussion by the whole House instead of by a limited number of members in the Standing Committee.

The Labour motion for rejection of the Bill was defeated by 245 votes to 117.

Report of the Standing Committee.

On the 22ND MARCH the Standing Committee of the House of Commons ordered the Indian Navy Bill to be reported to the House for the third reading.

Com. Kenworthy submitted two amendments requiring the consent of both the Houses of the Indian legislature similarly to British Parliaments as regards the revenues of India and also placing at the disposal of the Admiralty Indian Forces or vessels.

Earl Winterton resisted both the amendments which were finally negatived by 12 votes to 9 and 13 votes to 8 respectively.

Earl Winterton moved a new clause that " any law of the Indian legislature under provisions of sub-sections III and IV and Section I of the Government of India Act may provide for the repeal of any law of the Indian legislature in force at the commencement of this Act regulating Royal Indian Marines but until such repeal, the Government of India Act shall, in relation to the Indian Marine, have effect as if substitutions effected by the above-mentioned sub-sections had not been made and as if men or ships belonging to the Indian Marine were naval forces or ships raised by the Governor-General in Council within the meaning of the provisions of sub-sections I and II of Section X."

Earl Winterton explained that the clause made a transitory provision for the continuance of the existing disciplinary measures. When the Bill was enacted the Indian legislature would be empowered to legislate and similarly to regulate the discipline and control of the new force.

The clause was passed without discussion.

Third Reading Passed.

On the 5TH APRIL 1927 the House of Commons, during the report stage of the Indian Navy Bill, rejected by 254 votes to 113, Mr. Pethick Lawrence's amendment to delete Clause I of Sub-section I. Mr. LAWRENCE said that the Labour Party had substantially agreed to the main object of the Bill, namely the creation of an Indian Navy for the protection of the shores of India, but it proposed to get rid altogether of the provisions enabling the Indian Navy to be used for other purposes such as the despatch to anywhere abroad of a part of the Indian Navy.

Earl WINTERTON said that what was proposed under the Bill was exactly the same as had already been in operation as regards the Indian Army and it would be most inconvenient from the administrative viewpoint, if the Navy was put on a different basis. Earl Winterton placed a great deal of reliance on Indian public opinion. He had paid a lot of attention to the opinions expressed, but the opinion advocated in the amendment had not been expressed by any responsible person. The amendment would preclude the use of the Indian Navy for Imperial purposes. No such restrictive covenant applied to the Dominion navies. Indian opinion would say that the new force was placed in a humiliating position compared with the Dominion navies, if it was only used in Indian waters. He emphasised that in the Great War, India had as much defended the North Sea as the Indian Ocean.

Earl Winterton objected to a fundamental alteration in the Bill, firstly, on account of the great administrative inconvenience; secondly, it was unreasonable to create an anomaly, which would be created if the Indian Army was subject to one set of legislative enactments and the Indian Navy to another; and, thirdly, no such limits need be placed to the patriotism of the people who were likely to join the Indian Navy. It was most unlikely that the Indian Navy would be widely used outside Indian waters in war, but possibly in a big naval war these ships might be used for other purposes. He challenged Mr. Lawrence to find any Indian amongst the types accustomed to defend their country in the past, who would not say it was a reflection on their patriotism to suggest that they were willing to fight in Indian waters and not elsewhere.

Mr. Kenworthy's Amendment.

After declaring that he would have liked to amend the Government of India Act so that Indian troops might not be used outside India, without the consent of the Indian Legislature, Commander KENWORTHY moved an amendment to Clause 1 Sub-Section 2 providing for the omission of the words "without the consent of both Houses of Parliament". He said that the safeguard inserted in the Bill with regard to the consent of Parliament when the Indian Navy would be used by the Admiralty took over the force for services elsewhere than India that we should pay.

Earl WINTERTON, replying said that he did not think that these words in the clause would offend the susceptibilities of Indians, because it was exactly the same provision as applied to the Army, which could not be used outside India and paid for out of Indian revenues without the consent of both Houses. This procedure had been adopted in the case of the Army for years past and had been found to be satisfactory. It was extremely unlikely that Parliament would ever be asked to vote the revenues of India for this purposes and the power was only conferred as it was considered the most convenient and most proper method of procedure, should an emergency arise. Indeed it was most unlikely that the Sub-Section would be put into operation at all.

Earl Winterton said that the effect of the amendment, if carried, would be that India under no circumstances would be asked to provide for money to defray the expenses of any vessel used outside the Indian territorial waters. He did not believe that the House was anxious to impose that sort of restrictive covenant upon the Indian people. He refused to believe that Indian patriotism was of such restrictive character. This amendment was tantamount to saying

that at no time, however much it might be desired by Indian public opinion and despite what had been said by some members he believed it would be desired. Under no circumstances would they give money, if they wanted to, for general naval defence.

Col. WEDGWOOD raised the question of the payment of Indian Troops in the Great War.

Earl Winterton replied that they were paid for by the Imperial Government and India gave a large sum towards the expenses of the war. He thought the effect of the amendment would be to prevent India from doing the same in case of her navy.

The amendment was rejected by 294 votes to 126.

Mr. Kenworthy's Amendment.

Com. KENWORTHY moved another amendment requiring the consent of both Houses of Indian Legislature to the payment of expense of vessels not employed outside Indian naval defence. He declared that he moved the amendment not to wreck the Bill but because he wanted to see this navy become a symbol of freedom.

Earl Winterton said that most people would largly agree to considerations mentioned by Com. Kenworthy but the adoption of the amendment would not be regarded in India as a gesture of goodwill and equally, if it was not adopted there was nothing in the sub-clause to offend Indian susceptibilities. He was convinced that the very important question of principle which Com. Kenworthy had raised was not affected by the clause. Moreover, it was never pretended that in the present transition stage of Indian Constitution India, through the Assembly, had full control over her revenues. It had been asked that there should be a Commission of enquiry into the relation between the House of Commons and India and until the Commission was appointed and the whole question investigated any Government bringing a bill like this would apply to the Indian navy the same provisions and form of procedure as applied to the army. The point was not a fresh one and he hoped the House would come to an early decision.

The amendment was rejected by 272 votes to 126.

Speaking on the motion for the third reading of the Bill, Mr. HEADLAM explained that the whole point of the Bill was to carry out the acknowledged policy of the British Government by degrees to give Indian people more and more interest in their own defence. At present India's naval defence lay with the Admiralty and the Bill aimed at gradually transferring the responsibility for looking after India's naval defence. This and the gradual granting of Self-Government could not be done in the twinkling of an eye. This Bill was one further stage in the policy of bringing India to the same position as the other Dominions of the Crown.

The Bill was then read the third time and passed by 256 votes to 122.

The Navy Bill in the Lords.

On the 28TH APRIL 1927 the House of Lords passed the second reading of the Indian Navy Bill. In moving it Lord BIRKENHEAD said that the Bill aimed at the development of Indian Navy from the existing nucleus of Royal Indian Marine into an instrument which, though primarily designed for Indian local naval defence alone, would also be fitted to form one of the groups of overseas navies, co-ordinated by common tradition and common policy of Imperial naval interest. Simultaneously the Bill would bring the Indian naval defence into proper place within the Indian Constitution. India would thus have an opportunity of taking her place among the overseas members of the Empire maintaining local navies capable of co-operating in a combined policy of naval defence. The general policy of development now contemplated had more than once received the assent of the Imperial Conference but naval defence was at present outside the ambit of the Government of India Act and the Government of India had no voice in it. There was no option such as existed in the Indian Army for Indians themselves to be trained as

combatant naval officers in the Indian naval force. The Bill would rectify these anomalies. The Bill, therefore, did not alter the framework of the Indian Constitution, but there was room within the framework for the introduction of a sphere of administration, such as naval defence, and the Bill purported to effect its introduction without disturbing the main structure. Lord Birkenhead paid a tribute to the fine record and unsparing services of the Royal Indian Marine in the long and critical period of its history and said, "If it is now to pass, I hope its members will find more pleasure than regret in the occasion of its passing and follow with pride the career of the Indian Navy, which the Indian Marine alone has made it possible to create."

Lord HALDANE supporting the Bill on behalf of the Labour party said that the Bill would be criticised, because it empowered the Government of India to create an Indian Navy in addition to the Indian Army, thus enabling further expenditure of Indian revenues to be incurred on defence.

Lord Haldane however pointed out that India, for military purposes, was an Island and could not be succoured from the North, while the British navy might sometimes be unable to be there to protect the country from the sea, in which connection he instanced the case of "Emden" in wartime, when India was without a navy of her own. He also suggested that a portion of the military forces of the crown, which were kept in Britain, might be located in India, and thus save Britain's sending out battalions to India and save India somewhat from the duty of maintaining as large an Indian army as she at present deemed desirable.

The Bill was then read and committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

Text of the Indian Navy Bill.

The follwoing is the text of the provisions of the Indian Navy Bill, presented to the House of Commons on the 25th February 1927, to amend the Government of Indian Act with a view to facilitating the provision of an Indian Navy and to make consequential amendments in the Naval Discipline Act:

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. With a view to facilitating the provision of an Indian navy, the following amendments shall be made in the Government of India Act:—

(1) At the end of section twenty-two the following new sub-section shall be inserted:—"(2) Where any naval forces and vessels raised and provided by the Governor-General in Council are in accordance with the provisions of this Act placed at the disposal of the Admiralty, the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defraying the expenses of any such vessels or forces if and so long as they are not employed on Indian naval defence."

(2) After section forty-four, the following section shall be inserted:—"44-A. Any naval forces and vessels which may from time to time be raised and provided by the Governor-General in Council shall be employed for the purposes of the Government of India alone, except that if the Governor-General declares that a state of emergency exists which justifies such action, the Governor-General in Council may place at the disposal of the Admiralty all or any of such forces and vessels, and thereupon it shall be lawful for the Admiralty to accept such offer."

(3) For paragraph (e) of sub-section (1) of section sixty-five, the following paragraph shall be substituted:—"(e) For all persons employed or serving in or belonging to any naval forces raised by the Governor-General in Council, wherever they are serving, in so far as they are not subject to the Naval Discipline Act: and"

(4) For section sixty-six, the following sub-section shall be substituted:—"66. Subject to the provisions of this Act, provision may be made by the Indian Legislature for the application to the naval forces raised by the Governor-General in Council of the Naval Discipline Act, and that Act, if so applied, shall have

effect as if references therein to His Majesty's Navy and His Majesty's ships included the forces and ships raised and provided by the Governor-General in Council, subject, however—(a) in the application of the said Act to the forces and ships raised and provided by the Governor-General in Council, and the trial by court-martial of officers and men belonging to those forces, to such modifications and adaptations (if any) as may be made by the Indian Legislature to adapt the Act to the circumstances of India, including such adaptations as may be so made for the purpose of authorising or requiring anything, which under the said Act is to be done by or to the Admiralty or the Secretary of the Admiralty to be done by or to the Governor-General in Council or by or to such person as may be vested with the authority by the Governor-General in Council; and (b) in the application of the said Act to the forces and ships of His Majesty's Navy not raised and provided by the Governor-General in Council, to such modifications and adaptations as may be made by His Majesty in Council for the purpose of regulating the relations of the last-mentioned forces and ships raised and provided by the Governor-General in Council: Provided that, where any forces and ships so raised and provided by the Governor-General in Council have been placed at the disposal of the Admiralty, the said Act shall apply without any such modifications or adaptations as aforesaid.

2. In sub-section (1) of section ninety-B of the Naval Discipline Act, after the words "self-governing dominion" wherever they occur, there shall be inserted the words "or of India."

3. (1) This Act may be cited as the Government of India (Indian Navy) Act 1927.

(2) Sub-section (2) of section forty-five of the Government of India Act, 1919 (which relates to the effect of amendments and the printing of the Government of India Act), shall have effect as if herein re-enacted and in terms made applicable to the amendments of the Government of India Act effected by this Act.

The Royal Assent to the Indian Navy Bill was given on the 29th June 1927.

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INDIA ABROAD.

Jan.–June 1927.

Indians in South Africa

The Round Table Conference.

It was announced in April 1926 that the Government of India and the Government of the Union of South Africa have agreed to hold a Round Table Conference to explore all possible methods of settling the Indian question in the Union in a manner which would safeguard the maintenance of Western standards of life in South Africa by just and legitimate means. The Conference assembled at Cape Town on the 17th December 1926 and its session finished on the 12th January 1927. There was in these meetings a full and frank exchange of views which resulted in a truer appreciation of mutual difficulties and a united understanding to co-operate in the solution of a common problem in a spirit of friendliness and goodwill.

In both the Houses of the Legislature, the Govt. communique embodying the main points of agreement arrived at between the Union Government and the Government of India were read on the 21st February 1927 and the annexure giving in greater detail the terms of agreement were laid on the table. Mr. Bhore, in a short speech, made brief comments to help the members of the Assembly to follow the agreement more easily. The following are the terms of the agreement :—

Terms of Agreement.

(1) Both Governments reaffirm their recognition of the right of South Africa to use all just and legitimate means for the maintenance of Western standards of life.

(2) The Union Government recognises that Indians domiciled in the Union who are prepared to conform to Western standards of life should be enabled to do so.

(3) For those Indians in the Union who may desire to avail themselves of it the Union Government will organise a scheme of assisted emigration to India or other countries where Western standards are not required. The Union domicile will be lost after three years continuous absence from the Union. In agreement with the proposed revision of the law relating to domicile which will be of general application, emigrants under the assisted emigration scheme who desire to return to the Union within three years will only be allowed to do so on a refund to the Union Government of the cost of assistance received by them.

(4) The Government of India recognise their obligation to look after such emigrants on their arrival in India.

(5) Admission into the Union of wives and minor children of Indians permanently domiciled in the Union will be regulated by paragraph 3 of resolution XXI of the Imperial Conference of 1918.

(6) In the expectation that the difficulties with which the Union has been confronted will be materially lessened by the agreement now happily reached between the two Governments and in order that the agreement may come into operation under the most favourable auspices and have a fair trial, the Government of the Union of South Africa have decided not to proceed further with the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (further provision) Bill.

(7) The two Governments have agreed to watch the working of the agreement now reached and to exchange views from time to time as to any changes that experience may suggest.

(8) The Government of the Union of South Africa have requested the Government of India to appoint an Agent in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Govenments.

Details of the Agreement.

The following is the annexure containing a summary of the conclusions reached by the Round Table Conference on the Indian question in South Africa :—

I.—The Scheme of Assisted Emigration.

(1) Any Indian of 16 years or over may avail himself of the scheme. In the case of a family, the decision of the father will bind the wife and minor children under 16 years.

(2) Each person of 16 years of age or over will receive a bonus of £20. No maximum shall be fixed for a family. A decrepit adult, who is unable to earn his living by reason of physical disability may, at the discretion of the Union authorities, receive a pension in lieu of or in addition to the bonus. The pension will be paid through some convenient official agency in India out of a fund provided by the Union Government to such amount as they may determine. It is expected that the amount required will not exceed £500 per annum in all. In every case the bonus will be payable in India on arrival at the destination or afterwards through some banking institution of repute.

(3) Free passage including railway fares to the port of embarkation in South Africa and from the port of landing in India to the destination inland will also be provided.

(4) Emigrants will travel to India "via" Bombay as well as "via" Madras. Emigrants landing at Bombay will be sent direct from the ship to their destination at the expense of the Union Government. The survey and certification of ships shall be strictly supervised and conditions on voyage especially in respect of sanitary arrangements, feeding and medical attendance improved.

(5) Before a batch of emigrants leaves the Union, information will be sent to some designed authority in India at least month in advance giving (a) a list of intending emigrants and their families; (b) their occupation in South Africa and occupation or employment which they would require in India and (c) the amount of cash and other resources which each possesses on arrival in India. Emigrants will be (i) advised and so far as possible protected against squandering their cash or losing it to adventurers and (ii) helped as far as possible to settle in occupations for which they are best suited by their aptitude or their resources. Any emigrant wishing to participate in emigration schemes authorised by the Government of India will be given the same facilities in India as Indian Nationals.

(6) An assisted emigrant wishing to return to the Union will be allowed to do so within three years from the date of departure from South Africa. As a condition precedent to re-entry, an emigrant shall refund in full to some recognised authority in India the bonus and cost of passage including railway fares received on his own behalf and if he has a family on behalf of his family, a pro-rata reduction will, however, be made (i) in respect of a member of the family who dies in the interim, a daughter who marries in India and does not return and (ii) in other cases of unforeseen hardship at the discretion of the Minister.

(7) After the expiry of three years, the Union domicile will be lost in agreement with the proposed revision of the law relating to domicile which will be of general application. The period of three years will run from the date of departure from a port in the Union and expire on the last day of the third year, but to prevent abuse of the bonus and free passage by persons who wish to pay temporary visits to India or elsewhere, no person availing himself of the benefits of the scheme will be allowed to come back to the Union within less than one year from the date of his departure. For purposes of re-entry within the time

limit of three years, the unity of the family group shall be recognised, though in cases of unforeseen hardship the Minister of the Interior may allow one or more members of the family to stay behind. A son who goes with a family as a minor, attains majority outside the Union, maries there and has issue, will be allowed to return to South Africa but only if he comes with the rest of his father's family. In such cases he will be allowed to bring his wife and child or children with him. But a daughter who marries outside the Union will acquire the domicile of her husband and will not be admitted into the Union unless her husband is himself domiciled in the Union.

II.—Entry of Wives and Minor Chiidren.

To give effect to paragraph 3 of the Reciprocity Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1918 which intended that an Indian should be enabled to live a happy family life in the country in which he is domiciled, entry of wives and children shall be governed by the following principles :—

(a) The Government of India should certify that each individual for whom a right of entry is claimed is the lawful wife or child as the case may be of the person who makes the claim.

(b) Minor children should not be permitted to enter the Union unless accompanied by the mother, if alive, provided that (i) the mother is not already resident in the Union and (ii) the Minister may in special cases permit entry of such children unaccompanied by their mother.

(c) In the event of divorce no other wife should be permitted to enter the Union unless proof of such divorce to the satisfaction of the Minister has been submitted.

(d) Definition of a wife and child as given in the Indian Relief Act (No. 22 of 1914) shall remain in force.

III. Upliftment of the Indian community.

(1) The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilized Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities a considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people.

(2) It is difficult for the Union Government to take action which is considerably in advance of public opinion or to ignore the difficulties arising out of the constitutional system of the union under which functions of the Government are distributed between the central executive and provincial and minor local authorities ; but the Union Government are willing (a) in view of the admittedly grave situation in respect of Indian education in Natal to advise provincial administration to appoint a provincial commission of inquiry and to obtain the assistance of an educational expert from the Government of India for the purpose of such inquiry; (b) to consider sympathetically the question of improving facilities for higher education by providing suitable hostel accommodation at the South African Native College at Fort Hare and otherwise improving the attractiveness of the institution for Indians ; (c) to take special steps under the Public Health Act for an investigation into the sanitary and housing conditions in and around Durban which will include the question of (i) appointment of Advisory Committees of representative Indians and (ii) limitation of the sale of municipal land subject to restrictive conditions.

(3) The principle underlying the industrial Conciliation Act (No. 11 of 1924) and the Wages Act (No. 27 of 1925) which enables all employees including Indians to take their places on the basis of equal pay for equal work will be adhered to.

(4) When the time of the revision of existing trade licensing laws arrives the Union Government will give all due consideration to the suggestions made by the Government of India Delegation that discretionary powers of local authorities might reasonably be limited in the following ways :—

(1) The grounds on which a licence may be refused should be laid down by statute,

(2) The reasons for which a licence is refused should be recorded.

(3) There should be a right of appeal in cases of first applications and transfers as well as in cases of renewals to the courts or to some other impartial tribunal.

(4) The appointment of an Agent of the Government of the Union of South Africa to make representations to the Government of India to appoint an Agent in the Union or in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments. The Government of India will be willing to consider such a request.

Mr. Bhore's Speech.

Mr. BHORE, in commenting on the agreement, said :—The first point in the declaration by the Union Government that they firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people. This should dispel any apprehension that the maintenance of Western standards of life does not include upliftment of the Indian community to those standards.

As an earnest of their goodwill the Union Government propose: (1) To advise the Government of Natal to appoint a commission on Indian education; (2) to give attention to the provision of suitable hostsl accommodation for Indians at the College at Fort Hare and to consider sympathetically other proposals to increase the alternativeness of that institution for them and; (3) to investigate the position in respect of sanitation and housing in Peri Durban area where the problem is understood to be acute and possibly elsewhere, and to consider in consultation with local authorities the most appropriate means of dealing with the situation including (i) formation of Advisory Committees of representative Indians and (ii) limitation of available municipal land sold with restriction under Durban Land Alienation Ordinance No. 14 of 1922, and Natal Boroughs and Township land Ordinance No. 5 of 1923. These ordinances enable Municipalities in Natal to transfer with the consent of the administrator land belonging to them under restrictive conditions of a racial character as to occupation or ownership. It is hoped that as a result of this investigation the principle of consultation between the Indian community and local bodies in matters of Municipal administration affecting the former may be established and more Municipal land of a suitable nature be made available for Indians for housing purpose. Industrial laws like the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, and Wages Act of 1925, will be administered so as to enable Indian employees in Industry to take their place on the principle of equal pay for equal work.

The new emigation scheme.

The second point is the new scheme of assisted emigration which tee Union Government propose to organise for those Indians who may desire to avail themselves of it. The hon'ble members are doubtless aware that section 6 of the Union Act No. 22 of 1924 known as the Indians Relief Act provides for the grant of a free passage from any port in the Union to any port in Indian to any Indian who makes a written request for such passage and signs as a condition of the grant of such request a statement that he abandons on behalf of himself and his wife and all minor children (if any) all rights possessed by him or them to enter or reside in any part of the Union, together with all rights incidental to his or their domicile therein. This is an essential feature of the existing scheme of voluntary repatriation. Under the new scheme the Union domicile will not be lost except by three years continuous absence from the union in conformity with a proposed revision of law which will be of general application, and an assisted emigrant wishing to return to the union within a period of three years, will be allowed to do so on repayment of the bonus and the cost of passage including railway fare which he may have received on his own behalf, and if he has a

family on behalf of his family. Any objection that there might be to the existing scheme of voluntary repatriation on the ground that it requires of Indians wishing to avail themselves of it an irrevocable surrender of their union domicile is thus removed.

Another feature of the new arrangement is that each person of 16 years or over will be free to choose for himself whether he will or will not avail himself of the scheme of assisted emigration. At present for the purposes of voluntary repatriation from South Africa 21 years is treated as the age of majority, and the union domicile of a person under that age has to be signed away by the father, if the latter wishes to avail himself of the free passage to India. It will be observed that the agreement provides for scheme of assisted emigration to be organised "To India and other countries." The phrase is intended to cover emigration to Indians who may return to India from South Africa to Federated Malay State and Ceylon under scheme of emigration from India to those countries which are now operative.

Wives and Minor Children of Indian Residents.

The third point is that in regard to entry into the Union of wives and minor children of Indians resident in the Union, the principle underlying the reciprocity resolution of 1918 will be maintained and that prohibition of entry of this class of persons after the 1st August 1933 which was contemplated in the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (further provisions) bill is no longer envisaged.

Indian Representative in South Africa.

The fourth point is that in order to ensure effective and continuous co-operation between the two Governments, the Government of the Union of South Africa have requested the Government of India to appoint their agent in the Union. Direct relations between the two Governments will be permanently established if the Government of India accept the proposal, which is now receiving their earnest consideration.

Lastly, to inaugurate under the most favourable auspices the agreement which has now happyly been reached between the Government of India and the Government of the Union, the latter have decided not to proceed further with the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (further provisions) bill.

The Hon'ble Members will appreciate with what relief this decision will be received by the Indian community in South Africa. It is unnecessary to attempt an elaborate appreciation of the results of the Conference of which a brief summary has been given. The Hon'ble Members must judge for themselves. In doing so, it is hoped they would bear fully in mind the position as it was a year ago. The Government of India are of opinion that the agreement reached is eminently satisfactory and they have decided to ratify it. They are confident that the considered judgment of the Indian Legislature will be in favour of the action they have taken. The terms of the agreement reflect the utmost credit in our Delegation which negotiated it. The Government and the people of India owe a great debt of gratitude to the Delegation for the sagacity, skill, and expedition with which they accomplished a difficult and delicate mission. Nor must we forget the services of the Paddison Deputation whose admirable preliminary work made a Round Table Conference possible: but it will be readily admitted that these satisfactory results could not have been secured unless the Government of South Africa had entered the Conference in a spirit of friendliness and goodwill. In the reception which they gave to our delegates to the Conference and in the courageous and sympathetic statesmanship which their representatives brought to bear on the solution of the Indian problem in South Africa, we have received unmistakable proof of the earnest desire of the Government and people of the Union. The agreement which has to-day been announced to the house is a convincing proof of their goodwill. Let us treat it as such and endeavour to make it the basis of a lasting friendship between India and South Africa. It is not suggested that all outstanding questions between the two countries have been solved; but the Government of India are confident that if the spirit that prevailed at the recent Conference at Cape Town endures, the

ultimate solution of the Indian problem in South Africa in a manner that will be satisfactory and honourable to both countries is assured.

Dr. Malan's Speech.

On the same day, the 21st February, Dr. MALAN also made a statement in the Union Assembly on the South African Agreement. He emphasised that the agreement had been reached in the entire absence of spirit of bargaining and it had been a whole-hearted settlement. The results were not a diplomatic victory for either side, but there had been reached an honourable and friendly understanding. Naturally, South Africa had made reservations as to the just administration in the Union and Indians on their side had their own ideals. Both, however, had agreed to what, if not the ideal solution, was a practical and peaceable one and they had decided to give it a fair and reasonable trial. The Minister urged that the most important feature of all was that no stigma of racial inferiority was implied. South Africa could take all just and legitimate measures as to her western standard of civilisation and Indians conforming to those standards were enabled to do so. Indeed, the agreement indicated a lasting friendship and good-will between the great nations concerned.

Doctor Malan paid a tribute to the Members of Parliament, the Indian Press and the people of South Africa in creating an atmosphere which ensured the Conference being successful and this atmosphere had been so remarkable a feature of negotiations. The Minister concluded that now that the agreement had been published the expression of view could be expected, but he knew that once again he could rely on the good sense not only of Parliament but of the press and the people of the Union.

He paid a sincere tribute to the leader and members of the Indian deputation whose sincerity and desire for satisfactory solution had been the essence of statesmanship. Parliament and country hoped that success would crown their efforts for a new era both from the view-point of this country and the coutry which they served.

General SMUTS then asked that in view of the importance of the question the Government should give an opportunity for discussion. The Prime Minister willingly assented.

Debate in the Union Assembly.

The Assembly debate at Cape Town held from the 15th to 19th March was bitterly hostile to the Agreement, especially Natal. Mr. Patrick Duncan favourably supported it. But the ordinary members of all parties in the Assembly were hostile, though responsible leaders were sympathetic.

Mr. COLINS, Transvaal, opening the debate, stated that the whole white South Africa was grievously disappointed. The Union had been betrayed, surrendering eyerything and gaining nothing. The Agreement was entirely one-sided. No provision under it would effectively encourage Indian repatriation. The agreed statement between the two Governments upon this issue was useless, extravagant, and foolish from the Union viewpoint. The promise of trade licence denoted a tremendous concession. Indeed, it was a complete reversal of the current Transvaal policy. Mr. Tielman Roos had pledged the Nationalists Party to turn out the Indians. This Agreement kept them in the Union.

Mr. NEI, Natal, followed, saying that Indian delegates had cleverly jockeyed Dr. Malan into a funk hole. "We shall fight to the bitter end and win. We shan't run into the funk hole like the Minister of the Interior.

Dr. MALAN said that the clauses of the immigration scheme depended on the co-operation of the India Government. He hoped that nothing would be said to make that co-operation impossible. He paid a tribute to all sections of the community for keeping the whole question outside the party politics, but deprecated the speeches of Mr. Collins and Mr. Nel. He declared emphatically that

hothing had been given away and asserted that if the present arrangements were unworkable or unsatisfactory the Union would have the right at any future time to pass legislation dealing with the Indian question. What he said verbatim is as follows :—

"It will be obvious that the agreement which has been reached is more in the nature of an honourable and friendly understanding than of a rigid and binding treaty. By their decision not to proceed with the particular legislation which was contemplated last year, the Union Government has not in any respect or to any extent surrendered their freedom to deal legislatively with the Indian problem whenever and in whatever way they may deem necessary and jnst."

The New Asiatic Bill.

The points in the Agreement was embodied in a Bill styled the Immigation and India Relief (further Provision) Bill. This was laid on the table of the Assembly by Dr. Malan on the 12th April and introduced on the 9th May. On the latter day, Dr. MALAN, introducing the measure, stated that the Bill mainly implemented the Round Table Agreement with the Government of India. He detailed the provisions of the Bill and pointed out that 600 minor children were still entering the Union annually through the loophole left in the Indian Relief Bill, which allowed these children to enter unaccompanied by their mothers. Under the reciprocity agreement of the Imperial Conference of 1918, however, it was agreed between Dominion Governments and India that the children should be accompanied by their mothers. This was embodied in the new bill. A further anomaly was that owing to the decision of the Supreme Court registration certificates, even if fraudulently obtained, could not be cancelled. This would be abolished.

Mr. DUNCAN criticising the Bill suggested that the registration certificates already issued should not be disturbed by any raking up of the past, but a general amnesty should be called conducing to a favourable reception of the new immigration clauses.

Mr. ALEXANDER strongly supported the suggestion of amnesty saying that it would be a graceful act synchronising with the arrival of Mr. Sastri as Agent-General and leading to effective good-will between the two Governments and the people.

The Minister of the Interior Dr. Malan, noted the suggestion.

The Bill Passed.

On the 23RD JUNE there was a remarkable change of tone in the resumed debate on the Indian Bill. The second reading was passed practically unopposed, everyone being worn out.

Dr. Malan offered Transvaal amnesty in the matter of fraudulent entrants, letting byegones be byegones provided an assurance was given that such fraud would be prevented hereafter.

Mr. Marwick openly challenged Dr. Malan that, if the Indian Agreement was fully carried out, it would involve complete Indian citizenship.

Dr. Malan refused to take up the challenge, thereby implying that it was unanswerable. Dr. Malan paid the highest tribute to Mr. Sastri calling him the most honest, straightforward man he had ever met.

On the 25TH JUNE the bill passed the final stages (third reading) without amendments. The Ministers promised amnesty regarding the past fraudulent entrants into the Transvaal, provided the community guaranteed to do their best to stop illicit entry in future.

The Text of the Asiatic Bill.

The following is the text of the Bill "to amend the law relating to immigration and Asiatics" as drafted in accordance with the terms agreed

upon by the Round Table Conference between the Union and Indian Governments :—

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows :—

CHAPTER I.

1. Section two of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913 (hereinafter in this chapter called the principal Act), is hereby amended by the deletion :

(a) from sub-section (7) of the words "sufficient in the opinion of the Minister" and the substitution therefor of the following words: "fixed by the immigration officer, not exceeding one hundred pounds", and

(b) from sub-section (12) of the words "such amount as the Minister may determine" and the substitution therefor of the following words: "an amount fixed by the Immigration officer, not exceeding one hundred pounds."

2. Section three of the principal Act is hereby amended—

(a) by the addition of the following at the end of sub-section (2) :—

From the opinion of such superior court there shall be a right of appeal by the appellate or the immigration officer to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court.

(b) by the deletion from sub-section (4) of the words "if he is a person seeking to enter the Union for the first time" and by the addition of the following at the end thereof :—

In the event of an appeal under sub-section (2) to the Appellate Division the appellant shall lodge with the registrar such further amount as the registrar may determine for any costs that the Appellate Division may award against him.

3. Section four of the principal Act is hereby amended by the insertion in paragraph (f) of sub-section (1) after the word "rape" of the following words: "incest, sodomy."

4. Section five of the principal Act as amended by section three of the Indians Relief Act, 1914, is hereby further amended—

(a) by the addition at the end of paragraph (e) of the words "provided that such person, if born outside the Union, enters or is brought into the Union within three years from the date of his birth.";

(b) by the addition at the end of paragraph (g) of the words "and provided further that no child who is not accompanied by its mother shall be admitted unless its mother is already resident in the Union or is deceased, or the Minister in any special case authorises the admission of such child."

5. Section ten of the principal Act is hereby amended by the addition at the end thereof of the following new sub-section (2), the existing section becoming sub-section (1) :—

(2) Any such prohibited immigrant shall be dealt with in terms of section nineteen. It he is in possession of a registration certificate or a certificate of domicile, or any other document authorising him to enter, reside or remain in the Union or any province, it shall be competent for any Board to which he may appeal, if it is proved to the Board that such certificate or other document was obtained by fraudulent representations made by him or on his behalf, in order that such certificate or other document be cancelled and that he be dealt with in terms of this Act. Provided that if he does not appeal to a board, the principal immigration officer concerned shall cancel such certificate or other document."

6. Section thirteen of the principal Act is hereby amended by the deletion from sub-sections (3) and (5) of the the word "Minister" and the substitution thereof of the words "immigration officer."

7. Section fourteen of the principal Act is hereby amended by the deletion of the word "Minister" and the substitution therefor of the words "immigration officer."

8. Section nineteen of the principal Act is hereby amended by the addition of the following new sub-section :—

(3) Any person who—

(a) illegally enters the Union; or

(b) being a person deemed by the Minister in terms of paragraph (a) of sub-section (1) of section four to be unsuited either individually or as a member of a class of persons, llegally enters any province, and fails to appear before or notify an immigration officer of such entry within eight days shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

(4) If any person who was not born or is not domiciled in the Union—

(a) fails to declare on the prescribed form that he is suffering from tuberculosis; or

(b) is not reported on arrival by the master or surgeon of the ship which conveyed him to the Union to be suffering from tuberculosis; and

(c) is found, within six months from the date of his landing at any port in the Union, to be suffering from tuberculosis, the master, owner or agent of such ship shall be responsible for his removal from the Union without expense to the Government, and shall be liable for the cost of his maintenance in the Union and for such other expenditure incurred by the Government in respect of such person, to an amount to be fixed by an immigration officer, in all not exceeding one hundred pounds, to be paid on demand of the said officer.

9. Section twenty-two of the principal Act is hereby amended by the insertion of the word "or" at the end of paragraph (c) and by the addition of the following new paragraph after paragraph (c):—

(d) for any offence under section twenty.

10. Section thirty of the principal Act is hereby amended by the deletion of the definition of the term "domicile," and the substitution therefor of the following definition:—'domicile' shall mean the place in which a person has his present permanent home or present permanent residence, or to which he returns as his present permanent abode, and not for a mere special or temporary purpose; and a person shall not be deemed to have a domicile within the Union or any province (as the case may be) for the purposes of this Act unless he has lawfully resided therein for a continuous period of three years, otherwise than under terms of conditional or temporary residence permitted by this Act or any other law, or as a person under detention in prison, goal, reformatory or mental hospital, and a person shall be deemed for the purposes of this Act to have lost his domicile within the Union if he absents himself from the Union and does not re-enter the Union within three years from the date of departure therefrom, whether or not he is in possession of a registration certificate or a certificate of domicile or any other document issued under any prior law permitting his entrance to or residence in or recognising his domicile in the Union or any province thereof: Provided that in cases where a person proceeds abroad for a special or temporary purpose the Minister may authorize the issue of a certificate of identity under the provisions of sub-section (2) of section twenty-five allowing the person concerned to return to and resume his residence in the province named within the period specified in such certificate or any extension thereof, not exceeding ten years in all. Domicile in the Union shall be lost by any woman whose marriage has been dissolved during her absence from the Union.

CHAPTER II.

11. Section six of the Indians Relief Act, 1914, is hereby deleted and the following substituted therefor:—

"6. (1) The Minister may in his discretion cause to be provided out of moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose of financial assistance and a free passage from any place in the Union to any place outside the Union for any adult Indian (other than an Indian who is or may become entitled under Law No. 25 of 1891, Natal, or any amendment thereof, to a free passage to India) in respect of himself and his family (if any), provided that such Indian makes a written request on the form prescribed by regulation for such financial assistance and free passage and agrees in writing to the following conditions:—

(a) Such Indian shall, if married, be accompanied by his family (if any) upon departure from the Union;

(b) such Indian shall furnish to an officer designated by the Minister such means of identification as may be prescribed by regulation of himself and each member of his family;

(c) such Indian and his family (if any) shall not re-enter the Union within one year from date of departure from the Union, but may re-enter the Province of the Union in which he is domiciled after the expiry of one year from the date of departure, but not later than the date of expiry of three years from the date of departure from the Union. Provided that—

(i) all money paid in terms of this section to or on behalf of such Indian in respect of himself and his family (if any) are repaid in full to an agent of the Union Government duly appointed thereto, before departure from the country to which such Indian emigrated, and proof of such payment in such form as may be prescribed is produced on arrival at a Union port;

(ii) such Indian and his family (if any) excluding any member thereof who may have died in the interim and excluding any daughter who since the date of departure from the Union, has married a person not entitled to enter or to remain in the Union, shall re-enter the Union simultaneously. Proof of any such death or marriage to the satisfaction of the Minister must be produced. In case of unforeseen hardship the Minister may in his discretion exempt the Indian or any member of the family from re-entering the Union. In such cases, or in the event of the death of the Indian or a member of the family, the repayment in respect of the person concerned as provided in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph may be remitted;

(d) unless such Indian accompanied by his family (if any) or in the event of the death of such Indian, his family re-enters the Union as prescribed in paragraph (c) of this sub-section, he and all the members of his family (if any) shall be deemed to have voluntarily and finally abandoned all rights possessed by him or them to enter or reside in any part of the Union, together with all rights incidental to his or their domicile therein, and the fact that re-entry did not take place within the time specified in paragraph (c) of this sub-section shall be conclusive evidence of such abandonment.

(2) For the purposes of this section—"adult Indian" shall mean an Indian of either sex of sixteen years of age or over and an Indian women who is or has been married;

"family" shall include the wife of an emigrant Indian and all children of any emigrant Indian who were not adult Indians at the date of departure from the Union;

"date of departure from the Union" shall mean the date of departure from a port;

"port", shall have the same meaning as defined in section "thirty" (Act No. 22 of 1923).

CHAPTER III.

12. A registration certificate issued under the provisions of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act, 1907, of the Transvaal (Act No. 2 of 1907), or the Asiatics Registration Amendment Act, 1908, of the Transvaal (Act No. 36 of 1908,) may by an instrument in writing be surrendered by the holder to the Registrar of Asiatics, and such surrender shall be conclusive evidence that such holder has abandoned any right of or incidental to entry, residence or domicile in the Transvaal Province.

13. If an Asiatic who has failed to make application for registration in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (2) of section five of the Asiatics Registration Amendment Act, 1908 of the Transvaal satisfies the Minister that such failure was due to some good and sufficient cause, the Minister may, in his discretion, authorize the Registrar to receive an application for registration from such Asiatic, and the application shall be dealt with in all respects as if it had been made in accordance with the provisions of the said section and all the provisions of Act No. 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal as amended by this Act which would have applied if the application had been so made, shall apply accordingly.

14. Section seven of the Asiatic Registration Amendment Act, 1908, of the Tranvaal, is hereby amended by the deletion of the words "save as in the next suceeeding section is provided."

15. Section nine of the Asiatics Registration Amendment Act, 1908, of the Transvaal, is hereby amended by the deletion of the last sentence thereof.

16. Section thirty-four of the Chinese Exclusion Act No. 37 of 1904 (Cape of Good Hope), is hereby amended by the deletion of the words 'shall be deported" and the substitution therefor of the words "may, in the discretion of the Minister, be deported."

CHAPTER IV.

17. The Governor-General may make regulations, not inconsistent with this Act, for the better carrying out of the objects and purposes of this Act.

18. The laws mentioned in the schedule to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent set out in the fourth column of that schedule.

19. This Act may be cited as THE IMMIGRATION AND INDIAN RELIEF (FURTHER PROVISION) ACT, 1927.

Mr. V. S. S. Sastri's Appointment.

The following Government of India communique was issued on the 7th May 1927 :—"In the announcement made on the 21st February 1927 in the two Houses of the Indian Legislature regarding the Agreement reached between the Government of India and the Government of the Union of South Africa it was stated that the Government of the Union had requested the Government of India to appoint an Agent in South Africa in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments. The Government of India have decided to appoint the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., as their first Agent in South Africa".

Mahatma Gandhi's Views.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote the following article headed "Honourable Compromise" on the South African Settlement in the "Young India" :—

The Assisted Emigration Scheme.

Sir Mahomed Habibullah and his colleagues are to be congratulated upon having secured a settlement that is honourable to both parties. It is not the best that could be conceived, but it is the best that was possible. I doubt if any other deputation could have done more. The Class Areas Bill which brought about the Conference and round which the battle raged is dead and gone. The Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri who, when the deputation sailed for South Africa, was of all members the most communicative and had warned us not to expect much, did not conceal at the end of the labours of the Conference his satisfaction at the result. A perusal of the settlement warrants satisfaction; but like all compomises this one is not without its danger points. The dropping of the Class Areas Bill is balanced by repatriation re-emerging as re-emigration. If the name is more dignified. it is also more dangerous. Repatriation could only be to India, re-emigration can be to any country. The following sentence in the settlement clearly points to that interpretation :—"The Union Government, therefore, will organise a scheme of assisted emigration to India or other countries where Western standards are not required." This assisted emigration to other countries, I hold to be dangerous; for there is no knowing what may happen to poor ignorant men going to an unknown land where they would be utter strangers. Such countries as would take them would only be either Fiji or British Guiana. Neither has a good name in India. It is decidedly a disadvantage to have been a party to assisted emigration to any other part of the world. The good point about this assisted emigration is that whereas before the settlement repatriates lost their domicile, re-emigrants now retain it and lose it only if they absent themselves so long as to warrant the inference that there is no intention

to return to South Africa. How many assisted emigrants can hope to refund the assistance money they might have received or how many can hope to return with their families is a different question. The non-forfeiture clause is clearly designed not so much to guarantee a substantial right as not to hurt national self-respect.

Indians in Durban.

The annexure containing a summary of the conclusions reached by the Round Table Conference on the Indian question in South Africa is a remarkable document betraying in every paragraph a heroic attempt to reconcile conflicting interests and sentiments. An industrious reader will have no difficulty discovering the hopeful paragraphs. I shall, therefore, content myself with drawing attention to a para that is fraught with grave danger. The Union Government is to take special steps under the Public Health Act for an investigation into sanitary and housing conditions in and around Durban which will include the question of limitation of sale of municipal lands subject to restrictive conditions. I do not know what is aimed at in this paragraph but my suspecting mind (and my suspicion is based upon previous bitter experience of interpretations, warranted and unwarranted, that a strong party places upon agreements with a weak party to the latter disadvantage) conjures up all kinds of frightful consequences arising from this proposed committee and limitation. Already, the Durban Corporation has been invested with powers which it has utilised for the suppression of its Indian citizens. So far as I know, a committee can bring to light nothing that is not known to the Corporation or Government. The appointment of an Advisory Committee of Indians may be a simple padding. The Health Committee may bring in a historical report as a previous committee to my knowledge has done and limitation may be put upon the purchase of Municipal lands by Indians which may cramp the Indian community residing in Durban. Nor do I like the paragraph which seems to imply that provincial governments are at liberty to take any action they might against Indian settlers without reference to the Central Government. But the compromise is acceptable in spite of the dangers referred to by me, not so much for what has been actually achieved as for almost sudden transformation of the atmosphere in South Africa from one of remorseless hostility towards Indians to that of a generous toleration, from complete social ostracism to that of admission of Indians to social functions.

Indian Representative in South Africa.

Mr. Andrews sends me glowing accounts of the utmost cordiality with which Indian members of the Deputation were received alike by the Government and the people, how local Indians were able to gain entry to the most fashionable hotel in Cape Town without any let or hindrance and how Europeans in South Africa were flocking to him to know all about the Indian Deputation and the Indian question. If this atmosphere of goodwill and sociability is kept up and encouraged, the settlement can be used as a solid foundation for erecting a beautiful temple of freedom for Indian settlers in South Africa. But the success of the settlement very largely depends upon the selection of a Consul or Commissioner who will be selected to represent the Government of India. He must be a person of eminence, great ability, and strength of character, and in my opinion, he must be an Indian. The very fact of his being an Indian will strike the imagination of the European population and raise the Indian settlers in European estimation and will reach the heart of Indians in a way no Englishman, not even perhaps Mr. Andrews, can and if a man can be selected who will command equal esteem of the Union Government, we need not fear the future. Such a man, in my humble opinion, is Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. I cannot conclude this hasty survey of the settlement without placing on record my deepest conviction that the happy result is predominantly due to the ceaseless and prayerful labours of that godly, self-effacing Englishman, Charlie Andrews.

Indians in Fiji.

Early in January 1927 the Government of India published papers relating to the position of the Indian community in Fiji which formed the subject of representations made to the Secretary of State for Colonies by the Colonies Committee of the Government of India. It will be remembered that this Colonies Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Hope Simpson was sent in 1924 charged primarily with its Kenya Emigration Bill which was afterwards dropped. (See Register 1923 Vol. II, p. 353; 1924 Vol. I, pp. 297-372; 1924 Vol. II, p. 328). The Committee was charged at the same time with making representations to the Colonial Office regarding the position of Indians in Fiji. The following is the correspondence between the Government of India, the India Office and the Colonial Office all ending with the despatch of the Government of India dated the 27th May 1926.

The position as it presents itself after a perusal of the whole correspondence is this: that three out of twelve non-official seats in the Fiji Council are given to Indians who have now only one seat. Secondly, the question of municipal franchise would be examined by the Local Committee in Fiji on which Indians would be represented and a representative of the Government of India would be allowed to occasionally visit Fiji and make report upon specific questions under certain conditions. The correspondence started with the submission of a memorandum by the Colonies Committee setting forth the grievences of Fiji Indians.

Colonies Committee's Representations.

The Committee on the question of Indian political status, submitted that under the deed of cession Fiji was ceded as a possession and dependency of the British Crown subject to a condition among others that the rights and interests of the high chiefs should be recognised so far as is consistent with British sovereignty and colonial form of Government. The Colonies Committee appreciate that this implies that these interests must be maintained and have no desire to question this. But elective representation on the Legislative Council at present enjoyed by the European community is presumably regarded as not inconsistent with the terms of the deed of the cession and it can hardly be argued that the grant of a similar status to their Indian fellow-subjects would infringe those terms. Communal franchise as applied in the colonies where Indians do not form a minority community is regarded in India as a system which is intended to assign an inferior status to Indians as compared with their British fellow-subjects and to limit the growth of their political influence in the colonies. As the chief labour force Indians in the islands are playing a part essential to the prosperity of the colony. In the circumstances the proposal of the Indian deputation to Fiji that if communal franchise is adopted equal representation should be accorded to the European and Indian communities appears to the Committee to be fully justified. The Colonies Committee submit that the importance of the Indian community is not adequately represented by the number of seats which it is proposed to allot to them and that no measure which does not accord to the Indian community on a communal basis representation in the Legislative Council at least numerically equal to that already accorded to the non-official European community can be regarded as consistent with the principle of equality of status.

Regarding municipal franchise the Committee said that the Ordinance of 1915 which was a measure which resulted in the virtual extinction of Indian representation on municipal council for the last nine years required modifi-

cation. The Committee then objected to poll tax at one pound per head as a tax which would fall with severity on Indians and suggested modifications. Lastly, the Committee wanted appointment of an agent of the Indian Government in Fiji to keep them supplied with correct information and thereby dispel misunderstandings.

Reply from the Colonial Office.

The Colonial Office replied in March 1925 emphasising the position created by the deed of cession and emphasised that Indian representation could be provided only on communal basis. The Secretary of State for Colonies added: "It is proposed that the Fijian representation should be similarly increased to three. The Secretary of State further proposes that the number of European unofficial members should be reduced by one so that they will not have a majority over the Indian and Fijian representatives. It is understood that the members of the Commitee were agreed that the official majority must be retained and the number of official members will be increased accordingly to preserve the necessary majority.

"In connection with the question of Indian representation a further special consideration and one to which the Secretary of State is inclined to think that no sufficient weight has been given, arises from the fact that a very large proportion of the Indian residents in Fiji are entitled to repatriation to India at the cost of the Fiji Government. Of the total Indian population in the colony estimated at about 65,000 it is reckoned that approximately 49,500 are entitled to repatriation to India at the cost of the Fiji Government. In addition there are upwards of 3,000 Indians introduced during 1915 and 1916 who will, in course of time, become entitled to this privilege."

On the question of appointing an agent, the Colonial Office said that "when oral representation of Indians in Fiji have been reasonably met, Indians will have ample means of securing the adequate consideration and discussion of their views and interests without the intervention of the Government of India and that it is to their own representatives and not to the agent of another Government that they should look to express their point of view and to defend their interests. The Colonial Government will, however, invite the Legislative Council to provide the funds necessary for the appointment of a senior officer to take charge of Indian affairs with a seat on the Legislative Council and further in order that reliable information as to the present economic condition of Indians may be available, it is proposed that a committee should be immediately appointed on which the Indian community should be represented to enquire into the facts and report their findings to the Colonial Government who would publish the report and furnish copies to the Government of India."

The Government of India's Decision.

The Government of India renewed the request that Indians should be given the right to elect representatives equal to the number of Europeans. On the question of appointment of the agent, the Government of India said that they would be satisfied if a representative was allowed to visit the colony periodically and report the condition of Indians. But the Colonial Office found no reason to modify its views. The India Office thereupon informed the Government of India: "The present correspondence regarding franchise and other matters relative to the p sition of Indians in Fiji arises from the representations made by the Colonies Committee to the Colonial Office in 1924. The proposals made by the Colonial Office as a result of representations of the Committees are quite independent of the question of the resumption of Indian emigration to Fiji and is understood that the latter question has at any rate for the time being lapsed. This being the case, the Secretary of State considers that a welcome opportunity of improving the position of Indians in Fiji is offered by the Colonial Office's policy in regard to the franchise, the reception of occasional visits of a representative of the Government of India

and other important matters affecting their welfare which were dealt with in the Colonial Office letter of 20th March 1925. This policy, apart from its another aspects, would effect a material improvement in the political status of Indians by giving them three out of twelve non-official seats in the Legislative Council in which only one Indian seat is at present provided for. The Earl of Birkenhead regards these results of the action taken by the Colonies Committee in 1925 as a matter for congratulation and he hopes that the Government of India will now agree that the offers made should be accepted. He feels strongly that it would be undesirable by pressing again for additional concessions to cause further delay in giving effect to the policy and incur a risk of its not being adopted. In his view, the concessions now afford a reasonable basis of settlement and he would not feel justified in supporting a demand for further concessions."

The Government of India finally replied that they adhere to their opinion that "the representation proposed for Indians is inadequate. But as the Colonial Office are at present unable to move further in the direction advocated by them, they are prepared to acquiesce in the proposals made and would be glad if the Letters Patent can be amended as proposed in time to enable Indians to elect their representatives at the next election."

Indians in Australia.

That the position of Indians in Australia had considerably improved and their interests were well looked after is evident from a communique issued by the Government of India early in January 1927. It says :—

"By Acts which have recently been passed by the Commonwealth of Parliament, the British Indians in Australia have been admitted to benefits of invalid and old age pensions and maternity allowances. Old age pension is payable to men above 65 yeays of age or above 60 years if they are permanently incapacitated for work and to women above 60 years provided such persons are of good character and have resided continuously in Australia for at least 20 years. Invalid pension is obtainable by persons who, being above 16 years of age and not in receipt of an old age pension, have whilst in Australia become permanently incapacitated for work by reason of an accident or by reason of being an invalid or blind provided they have resided continuously in Australia for at least five years. Maternity allowance, which has been extended to the Asiatic mothers in Australia who are British subjects, amounts to £5 and is given to a woman for every child to which she gives birth in Australia provided the child is born alive and the woman is an inhabitant of the Commonwealth or intends to settle therein."

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The Anti-Colonial Congress.

The International Anti-Colonial Congress which commenced its sittings at the Palais D'Egmont, Brussels on the 10TH OF FEBRUARY 1927 and closed its sessions after six days of almost continuous sitting, marks a new chapter in the history of the world. It was the most representative gathering that had met in any town in Asia, America or Europe. It was international not only in spirit but also in representation. Unlike the other International Congresses held at Geneva, Washington and other European towns, it did not consist of delegates from only a few European Imperial powers, assembled to devise better and subtler means to maintain and promote separate national and class interests. Delegates from all parts of the world, from India, China, Syria, Arabia, Korea, Indonesia, Indo-China, Annam, Japan, South and North Africa, North and Latin America and almost every European State, turned up at Brussels, in spite of the short notice and insufficient press propaganda. No less than 175 mandatory delegates and 300 visitors were present. It was an impressive sight to see the black and the white, the brown and the yellow, delegates from Imperialist countries, from colonial and semi-colonial lands, representatives of national and labour organisations assembled in the large hall of Palais D'Egmont in the ancient and historic town of Brussels.

Mr. Nehru's Statement on Behalf of India.

On the day previous to the formal opening of the Congress the delegates of the important countries met the representatives of the Press and made separate statements. The following is the full text of Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru's statement to the press. Mr. Nehru was the delegate of the Indian National Congress to the Brussels Congress :—

"I am glad to have the opportunity to associate myself on behalf of the Indian National Congress and the people of India whom it represents, with the aims and objects of this International Congress. The Indian National Congress stands for the freedom of India; freedom for the poor and the oppressed from all exploitation. We welcome this International Congress because, as we understand it, it has been called together to further these aims and objects in the international sphere. We realise that there is much in common in the struggle which various subject and semi-subject and oppressed peoples are carrying on to-day. Their opponents are often the same, although they sometime appear in different guises and the means employed for their subjection are often similar. Contact between the various peoples will lead to a better understanding of each other's problems and difficulties and is bound to result in closer co-operation which must bring success nearer to all. The fabric of Imperialism looks imposing and appears to hold together, but any rent in it will automatically lead to its total destruction.

"The Indian National Congress is necessarily national and has nationalism as its basis, but as our great leader Mahatma Gandhi had said, our nationalism is based on the most intense internationalism. The problem of Indian freedom is for us a vital and urgently essential one, but at the same time it is not merely a purely national problem. India is a world problem and as in the past so in the future other countries and peoples will be vitally affected by the condition of India.

"To-day the strongest and the most far-reaching Imperialism is that of Britain and British Imperialism and policy always have had India as their corner stone. Both Egypt and other parts of Africa have suffered domination because British Imperialism wanted to strengthen its hold on India and to protect its sea routes to that country. The importance of India and her future for this International Congress is thus obvious.

"The Indian National movement has welcomed with the liveliest sympathy and hope the successes of the Nationalists in China. It has been a matter of shame and sorrow to us that the British Government should venture to send Indian troops to China in an attempt to coerce the Chinese. You are probably aware that the Indian National Congress has protested in the strongest language against this and the Nationalist members of the Indian Legislature wanted to raise this question in the Legislative Assembly, but the English Viceroy exercised his veto on the ground that it raised matters of foreign policy. Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian leaders have emphatically on behalf of the people of India expressed their ardent hope that the Chinese Nationalists will bring about the final enancipation of China. The Indian press have condemned the Government's action and mass meetings have been held in various parts of the country for the purpose. India to-day is with China, not only because she has every sympathy for her but because she feels that China's successful fight is the most hopeful sign of the future downfall of imperialism. As of old imperialism is trying to utilise one subject country to coerce another, but in spite of her weakness India is not so weak to-day as to permit herself to be employed as a pawn in the imperialist game.

"The attempts to use India against China make it all the more necessary for the forces of nationalism in the subject nations to co-operate together for their common good. And I trust that this Congress will help us to bring about this co-operation and will thus bring nearer the freedom of oppressed nationalities".

Opening of the Congress.

The Congress opened formally on the 10th evening, Mr. S. O. DAVIS of the British Miners' Association presiding. The President, in his introductory remarks, explained the close connection between capitalism and imperialism. He proved that the first always led to the second. This meant that, at an early date, earlier than the imperialists expect, the entire labour organisation in the imperialist countries is bound to lend its fullest support to the national movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The principal speakers of the evening were Messrs. Lian, representative of the executive of the Kuo Min Tang, Henri Barbuse, the well-known French author, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Katayama, the veteran Japanese social worker, Vasconcelas, ex-Minister of Education in Mexico and Fenner Brockway, the Secretary of the Independent Labour Party of England. Speaking on behalf of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Nehru gave a short but very clear exposition of the aims, methods and results of British imperialism in India. He pointed out that the Indian question was an international one, that neighbouring countries like Afghanistan, Burma, Persia, Mesopotamia were deprived of their independence by the English to safeguard their most prized possession—India. He also drew the attention of the Congress to the fact that Indian men and money were being used to fight the wars of a foreign imperialism, and to oppress other nations. Concluding, Mr. Nehru demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops of occupation from his country and the immediate recognition of Indian independence. Mr. Katayama urged the leaders of the national movements in the colonial countries and of the labour organisations in the oppressing countries to be uncompromising in their demands. He pointed out the efficiency of economic boycott for gaining national liberty. The ex-Minister of Education in Mexico, gave a lengthy account of that most terrible of all imperialisms, the imperialism of the United States, with its subtle methods, sometimes termed "policy of peaceful penetration" and at other times "Dollar Diplomacy." The United States, said the speaker, had been built through cruelty, and money, and this modern miracle was to-day threatening the whole humanity. The last speaker of the evening was Mr. Fenner Brockway of the Independent Labour Party. Mr. Brockway denounced the British rule of exploitation in India, condemned the policy of sending troops to China and assured the Indian and Chinese delegation, the fullest sympathy of his party in their struggle to emancipate their countries from the clutches of a foreign and oppressive imperialism.

The Proceedings.

During the busy days that followed the representatives of various countries spoke exposing the methods and aims of imperialism in the different countries. It was a curious fact, as Mr. Nehru pointed out in his statement to the press, that in all the oppressed countries, whoever the oppressors be, their aims and methods were similar. In other words, there was nothing to choose between the British Imperialism in India, the Japanese Imperialism in Korea, the Dutch rule in Indonesia and the French administration in their different colonies.

On the SECOND DAY of the Congress Mr. Lecloburg, member of the German Parliament, made a long speech urging the nations to maintain an united front and exposing the ways of the British Parliamentary Labour Party. He recalled another International Congress, the Stuttgart Congress. The Stuttgart Congress passed a resolution condemning the colonial administration of the Imperial powers and advocating the rights of every country for complete independence and self determination. Mr. MacDonald was one of these who had voted for the resolution. He then referred to the later development in Mr. MacDonald and how the Radical Socialist of 1907 became the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the first Labour Government. Another well-known man who was present at Stuttgart in 1907 and who had also voted on behalf of the resolution was Mr. Vanderweld who to-day is the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Belgium and who also refused the organisers of the Brussels anti-Colonial Congress to make a public demonstration through the streets of Brussels. The speaker asked the leaders of the Labour organisations in the imperialist countries, not to lose confidence, but to unite their forces with the national movements in the Colonial and oppressed countries in their fight against imperialism and class oppression.

Mr. Harry Pollit, speaking on behalf of the Left wing of the Labour movement in England, made a spirited speech in which he explained that the working classes in England were coming to realise at last that the British occupation of India and other Asiatic and African countries and the transference of British capital from the Home country to India and China, meant unemployment and lowering of the standard of life for the British worker. The fact alone was driving the Labour movement in England more and more to the Left. The desire to support India in her movement for independence was therefore not a matter of mere sentiment to the British worker. To him it was a question of his life and existence. In other words, to the large masses of working classes in England, the occupation of India by England meant only unemployment and misery. To them India was a losing concern and therefore they were ready to adopt every step to educate the public opinion in England to demand the recognition of Indian independence. He also explained that the revolutionary movement among the working classes was gaining strength every day. As an example he told the audience that, while the troops who were being shipped to China were parading through the streets of London, the members of his organisation distributed pamphlets calling on the soldiers not to shoot their Chinese fellow-workers in the event of a war. He further informed them that every soldier in the troopship sailing to China had in his hand a pamphlet explaining the nature of the struggle in China. The military authorities were aware of these activities of the British Labour organisation: but they recognised the strength of the working class movement and wisely refrained from taking any action. Referring to the sending of Indian troops to China, he said that the step was taken, more with a view to measure the strength of the national movement in India.

On the THIRD DAY of the Congress there were enthusiastic scenes when the President announced that the leader of the recent Syrian "revolt" on whom the French Government had passed a death sentence, and two generals from the Cantonese army had arrived. The whole audience stood on its feet for full five minutes and gave a tremendous reception to these distinguished arrivals. They explained the nature of the movements in Syria and China, showing how the movements in their countries were only part of the world-wide movement for national and social emancipation. Mr. George Lansbury who arrived on the fourth day, having been detained in London on account of the Chinese debate

in the House of Commons, in his fighting speech fully maintained his reputation both as an orator and a social worker. He pointed out the international significance of the Chinese movement, how it represented an essential step towards social progress of the whole world. This fact alone, in his opinion, made it the duty of every country to lend active support to the efforts of the Cantonese to free themselves from the bounds of foreign imperialism. Mr. Lansbury also pointed out that at the present stage a policy of pacifism was likely to prove of help only to the imperial powers. Finally, he drew the attention of the delegates of the countries to the dangerous and deliberate propaganda carried on in all the countries by the imperialist powers in order to mobilise the opinion of the world against Russia. At the end of his speech, delivered with much feeling, Mr. Lansbury warmly embraced the General of the Cantonese army. The whole audience felt the sincerity of that act, and spontaneously stood on its feet. Dr. Helene Stocker, the well-known German doctor editor of "The New Generation", who also maintains a nursing home in Berlin for unmarried mothers, in a short speech, explained the merits of Gandhi's doctrine of non-co-operation and passive resistance. She also classified women among the oppressed classes of the world and emphasised the need of emancipating the women in any scheme of social regeneration.

Almost the last to speak was M. Edo Fennen, Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Association, which is the most important and influential of all the labour organisations in the aid of statistics drawn from official sources how the employment of European capital in India and China was leading to unemployment and misery in Europe. In the 18th and 19th century, the colonies were a paying concern. But to-day things have changed. Capital being international, it was being quickly transferred to countries with cheaper labour. As an example, he mentioned the fact that more than half of the Chinese textile industry was in the hands of foreign capitalists. This industry alone employed more than three million hands. The hours of work in most cases extended to 10 hours per day, Sundays not excluded. Nearly 26 per cent of the workers were drawn from children. It was easy to understand the effects of these developments on the international labour market. The working classes in Europe were awakening to these facts and this explained why they were prepared to make common cause with the national movements in the oppressed countries. He also informed the audience that in Shanghai and other industrial towns of China, Chinese capitalists were less exploiting than the capitalists from the so-called "civilised countries." Speaking on behalf of an association which had the power of bringing the whole machine of modern industrial civilisation to a standstill, M. Fennen expressed his hope that a well-organised strike would bring them all to their final goal at an early date.

Resolutions.

1. China and India.

The last day of the Congress was devoted mainly to the passing of resolutions. Very nearly 40 resolutions were passed. Three of them are of special importance to India. The first was the resolution of the Indian delegation, moved by the Congress delegate, Mr. Nehru :—

"This Congress accords its warm support to the Indian National movement for complete freedom of India and is of opinion that liberation of India from foreign domination and all kinds of exploitation is an essential step in full emancipation of the peoples of the world. This Congress trusts that peoples and workers of other countries will fully co-operate in this task and will specially take effective steps to prevent the despatch of foreign troops to India and the retention of an army of occupation in that country. This Congress further trusts that the Indian National movment will base its programme on the full emancipation of peasants and workers of India without which there can be no real freedom and will co-operate with movements for emancipation in the other parts of the world".

2. Task of the Working Class Forces.

The delegations of British, Indian and Chinese nationalities made the following statement as to the task of working class forces:—

"We British, Indian and Chinese delegations consider that the task of all working class forces in Imperialist countries is (a) to fight for full emancipation side by side with national forces in oppressed countries in order to secure complete independence wherever such national forces so desire, (b) to oppose all forms of coercion against colonial peoples, (c) to vote against all credits, naval military and air, for maintenance of armed force to be used against oppressed nations, (d) to expose the horrors of imperialism to civil and military populations, and (e) to expose imperialistic policy in the light of the working class struggle for freedom".

3. The Chinese Situation.

"In relation to the immediate situation in China (1) we demand the immediate withdrawal of all armed forces from Chinese territory and waters; (2) we urge the need of direct action including strikes and imposition of embargo to prevent movements of munitions and troops either in India or China and from India to China; (3) estimates relating either to warlike preparations or to war shall be voted against; (4) in the event of armed intervention or open war, every effort shall be made within the labour movement to use every weapon possible in working class struggle to prevent hestilities; (5) we demand the unconditional recognition of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of unequal treaties and of extra-territorial rights and surrender of foreign concessions; and (6) finally, in the interests of trade union and labour movements in Britain, India and China, we pledge ourselves to work for their immediate close and active co-operation".

4. Indo-Chinese Relations.

A joint declaration was made by the Indian and Chinese delegates on the relations between India and China in the following terms:—

"For more than three thousand years the people of India and China were united by the most intimate cultural ties. From the days of Buddha, to the end of the Moghul period and the beginning of British domination in India, this friendly intercourse continued uninterruped.

"After the East India Company had secured its firm hold on the greater part of India, the English began looking for new resources of revenue and new markets. They not only introduced poppy cultivation into areas where food had previously been grown, but also thrust Indian opium on the unwilling Chinese people by force of arms. Since that infamous opium war of 1840-1844, Indian mercenary troops have been sent again and again to China in support of British capitalist brigandage in that country. For 87 years Indian troops have been permanently stationed as policemen in Hongkong, Shanghai, etc. Time and again, they have been used to shoot down Chinese workers and have thus created ill-will in China against the people of India. Even as we make this declaration, Indian troops are again on their way to China in an attempt to crush the Chinese revolution.

"With the strengthening of British imperialism, India was cut off more and more from intercourse with China, and in their cultural and intellectual isolation, the Indian people have now become completely ignorant of the condition of China.

"It is this extreme ignorance that makes it difficult to-day to organise effective means of preventing India's money and man-power from being used for the enslavement of the Chinese people. We think it urgent and essential that active propaganda should be carried to in India to educate the people regarding China and arouse them to the necessity of immediate action. We must now resume the ancient, personal, cultural and political relations between the two peoples. British imperialism which in the past has kept us apart and done us so much injury, is now the very force that is uniting us in a common endeavour to overthrow it.

"We trust that the leaders of the Indian movement will do all in their power to co-ordinate their struggle with that of the Chinese people so that by simultaneously engaing British imperialism on two of its most vital fronts China may receive active support in her present struggle and the final victory of both people may be secured".

5. Against Exploitation.

Perhaps the most important resolution of the whole Congress was the one moved by Mr. Beckett, M.P., on behalf of the Indian, Chinese and British delegation. This resolution runs as follows:

"We, the undersigned, British, Indian and Chinese delegations consider that the task of all working class forces in imperialist countries is:

(1) To fight for full emancipation side by side with the national forces in oppressed countries, in order to secure complete independence wherever such national forces so desire. (2) To oppose all forms of coercion against colonial peoples. (3) To vote against all credits, naval military and aerial, for the maintenance of armed forces to be used against oppressed nations. (4) To expose the horrors of imperialism to the civil and military population. (5) To expose imperialistic policy in the light of working class struggle for freedom.

In relation to the immediate situation in China—

(1) We demand the immediate withdrawal of all armed forces from Chinese territory and waters. (2) We urge the need of direct action, including strikes and the imposition of the embargo to prevent movements of munitions and troops either to India or China and from India to China. (3) That estimates relating either to warlike preparations or to war shall be voted against. (4) That in the event of armed intervention or open war every effort shall be made with the Labour movement to use every weapon possible to working-class struggle to prevent hostilities. (5) We demand the unconditional recognition of the Nationalist Government the abolition of unequal treaties and of extra territorial rights and surrender of foreign concessions. (6) Finally, in the interests of Trade Union Labour movements in Britain, India and China, we pledge ourselves to work for their immediate close and active co-operation".

The Congress also decided to open a permanent world organisation with its head office in Paris and branches in the various countries and then dispersed.

Full Text of Pt. Nehru's Speech.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, delegate of the Indian National Congress, rising to describe the effects of the British World Imperialism was greeted with stormy ovation by the Assembly. He said:—

With the greatest pleasure I bring the warm and hearty greetings of the Indian National Congress which has commissioned me to link our national movement with this International united effort to fight Imperialism. We in India have experienced the full strenth of Imperialism. We know accurately what it means and we are naturally interested in every movement which is directed against Imperialism. In fact, if you want a typical example that will help you to understand the nature and consequence of Imperialism, I think you will find nothing better than India. From the internal condition of India, as our President has said, it may be understood in what manner the English Imperialism represses and exploits the workers. In India you will find a wonderful instance of every phase of Imperialism that you may wish to study. Our problems touch us naturally very deeply but I may say to you all, whether you come from China, Egypt and other distant lands, that your interests are bound up with ours. And the Indian problem too is of interest and importance for you.

British Misdeeds in India.

I cannot tell you here the whole history of Indian exploitation—how India is maltreated, repressed and plundered. It is a long and very sad story. And all that I can do is to bring to your notice one or two of the most important factors which we have to consider particularly in this International Congress.

You have heard of various disturbances, massacres, and random butcheries and most of you have heard of the Amritsar incidents. Do not believe that because this affair has given rise to greater uproar than many others, it is in any way the singular and the worst episode in the history of India since the Britishers came to us. They came to us, as you doubtless know, by pitting one province against another until they finally established themselves firmly. During the whole period of their stay, they have followed the old policy of "Divide and Rule." I regret to have to say that they still follow this policy. The early history of their occupation is one of the most wildest and most shameless examples we have ever seen in the history of the world. Even the British Historians who are certainly not quite impartial admit that the early History of India under British Rule represents an epoch of predatory war,—a period in which free-booters prowled about and committed plunders and robberies in the land in an unbridled manner. You know perhaps also of the event which is known as the "Sepoy Mutiny" and which took place 70 years ago. It is called so but if fate had willed otherwise and the so-called rebels had been crowned with success, then to-day it would have been called the Indian War of Independence. What we have to say, in all this, is that Amritsar was absolutely nothing in comparison with what took place during the Sepoy Mutiny. But since then, such things have been constantly taking place; even to-day random firing is not infrequent. Numberless comrades and friends of ours are detained in prison without any accusation and without any trial. Many of our best comrades in India have made prison their real home, or they are in exile and cannot come back to their fatherland.

Exploitation in India.

This gives rise often to a little sensation but the real injuries committed by the Britishers in India—the real exploitation is much more severe than the shootings and hangings, which occasionally give rise to some disturbance, the systematic method in which the workers, labourers and farmers are being exploited and has made India what it is to-day. We read in history, not only of the ancient times, but also of the modern period of the riches of India. India has allured by her riches the most different peoples from different extremities of the world, but if now one goes to India, the most horrible poverty stares him in the face. There he sees most of the population do not know where they will get their next meal and frequently they do not get it at all. Everywhere one meets these hungry people or these half-fed people. This is the India of to-day. No statistics, facts or numbers are wanted to convince you of this that India has suffered terrible economic decline and that if definite steps are not taken to prevent this process India will altogether cease to exist as a nation. You know perhaps how years ago (immediately after their advent) the Britishers applied the most ruthless methods to tender their industries profitable for themselves. In those days, the new doctrine of guardianship over the Indian people was not mentioned, our repression was not less severe, but it was frank, we had a ruthless and open exploitation and suppression of all Indian industries. It was bad enough, but worse followed gradually inasmuch as our ancient system of education was destroyed and we were disarmed. In the most multifarious ways, the spirit of the Indian people was destroyed and it was attempted to take away from them, every capacity for active and constructive work. The conscious policy of the Britisher in India was to attempt to divide us. After they have disarmed us, now they say that we are not fit to protect our country. After introducing a system of education which has destroyed our ancient education and has set in its place something which is ridiculously meagre and which teaches us false history and tries to educate us in the hatred of our own country and in the glorification of England—after all these, they tell us now that we have not sufficient culture to be a free nation.

It is now being advertised in the English Press that the Indians fight among one another. It should also be noted in this connection, that it is extremely exaggerated, that it is also the policy of the British to bring about these disturbances and to sharpen them where they are in existence and to do everything

to keep them alive. This is the policy of Britain, however much she may now deny it. Now, what is the condition of India to-day? We are speaking of exploitation? We experience it very fully. Not a single exploitation but often a double and a treble exploitation. We have a part of India—the so-called 'Indian States' where under the protection of Britain the Feudal system obtains. Often the English point them out to us and other countries as well and say—look at these parts of India where a kind of Self-Government is in existence. Other parts of India are much more advanced, but the British forget to tell one thing. They forget to tell us that these States are under their care and that they themselves have hindered progress in them. It is the British who first enslaved them and now do not allow them to develop. Consider the case of the great land-owners. You have here again the land-tenure system which in a great part of India is a feudal system and has been brought to us and kept up by the British. It is altogether difficult to change it so long as the British Government is not willing to do it. In the policy of the British Government in India we must reckon even the Indian princes and great land-owners as their confederates, because a free India would lead to the liberation of the farmers from exploitation. Then again we often see a harmful agreement between the British Capitalists and Indian Capitalists.

British World Politics.

A study of the past history and accounts of the last few years will prove that the British world politics is in a great measure influenced by their Indian possession. Who can be deceived for a moment as to what will happen to Great Britain if she does not possess India? There would then be no British world-Empire. What will take place in future when India is once free? I cannot say, but it is certain that the British world-Empire will cease to exist. From their capitalistic and imperialistic points of view, the British try to do everything in their power to retain their possession of India. Their whole foreign policy is to a great part influenced by this aim; therefore they must build up a firm overlordship in India. The result is that India has suffered and still suffers. But that is not all. On account of india other lands have suffered and suffer still. You have heard of the last instance of the activity of British Imperialism in India —the sending of Indian troops to China. They were sent inspite of the sharpest opposition offered by the Indian National Congress. I must remind you of the fact—even to my shame. I must mention—that Indian troops were often used to repress other people. I read to you the names of the number of countries in which Indian troops have been sent by the English for their purpose. In the year 1840, they went to China for the first time, and in the year 1927, they are still going there and during this time, they have been used three times without number. They were in Egypt. Abyssinia, in the Persian Gulf, in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria, Georgia, Tibbet, Afghanisthan and Burma. It is a horrifying list.

A World Problem.

I would like you to understand that the Indian problem is not only a national problem, but it directly affects a great number of other countries and it is of world interest, because, it directly applies to the greatest and the most influential imperialism of our time. It is clear that such a state of things is insupportable for India. We can't tolerate it any longer, not only because Freedom is good and slavery is bad, but because it is a question of life and death for us and our country. You too who have come here from the different countries of the world cannot tolerate these dreadful chains which are also a great hindrance to your own freedom. For us in India, Freedom is a pressing necessity. But it is not less important for you if we win our freedom. The noble examples of the Chinese nationalists have filled us with hope and as soon as possible we wish to follow in their foot-steps. We want the fullest freedom for our country; naturally (of course) not only the internal but freedom also of making connections with our neighbours and oth lands as we wish. Because we believe that this our International Congress a ds a possibility of this combined work, we welcome it and greet it.

INDIA IN THE

International Economic Conference.

The following statement was submitted by Mr. N. N. Wadia, Sir Campbell Rhodes and Mr. L. K. Hydar, Members from India to the International Economic Conference, held at Geneva in May 1927:

"The economic condition of India and her relations with the outside world may be very briefly stated. She is a debtor country in the sense that British and other foreign capital is invested in her railways and irrigation works and in some of her industries in excess of her own investments abroad. On this capital large sums have to be remitted annually by way of interest, the official remittances, which are known as the "Home Charges" and which include pension and other sterling disbursements, amounting to between £30 and £35 millions annually.

"In order to find the credits necessary for the liquidation of these claims, both official and non-official, it is necessary for India to export every year goods of a higher value than the value of her imports; in other words, to maintain a favourable balance of her visible trade. This result is secured by the natural surplus of production over consumption within her own borders. Covering a vast area, the size of Europe less Russia, with a population which numbers one-fifth of the whole human race, the wants of her own people are simple and to a large extent satisfied by her own productions; indeed, local requirements are met chiefly from resources available within reasonably close proximity to the individual consumers.

Indian Exports.

"It will be apparent from this brief summary that the productive effort of India is centred far more on internal than on external markets. Agricultural exports of India, which in one form or another constitute nine-tenths of her total exports, represent at the same time only one-eleventh of her total production. In this respect, in her reliance chiefly on internal markets no less than in the volume and value of her local resources and the extent of her population and area, unhampered by inter-provincial trade barriers, India presents a picture more closely analogous to that of the United States of America than to that of European States. It is true that in India, as in Europe, the coal, steel and cotton textile industries endure their share of the prevailing depression. The depression is no less keenly felt because in all three industries productive capacity is greater than it was. Other industries also have developed in the absence of foreign competition and under the stimulus of high prices during the war.

Fiscal Policy.

"India has adopted a fiscal policy which seeks to foster and develop the start which was thus made under pressure of war conditions. Nascent industries, built up with local labour and capital from local materials to meet local needs, cannot be allowed to die under the competition of foreign goods, over-produced abroad and sold in Indian markets at cut rates. The advantage which might accrue to the Indian consumer from these low prices weigh but little in comparison with the necessity of building up local industries on a sure foundation. The protective policy of India aims at the development of such manufactures only, as will one day be able to meet world competition unaided, and protection, whether it takes the form of import duties, bounties or other forms of State aid, is granted only for a limited number of years to individual industries.

"Partly as a result of war and post-war conditions, and partly as a result of the adoption of a policy of discriminating protection, a change has occurred in the character of India's foreign trade. Manufactures account for a slightly

lower proportion of her imports and a slightly higher proportion of her exports. While, thanks to a succession of good harvests, agricultural production has increased, local consumption has in the main increased more rapidly than exports.

"As might be expected in a country where the population largely subsists on agriculture, Government revenues since the war have been raised chiefly through indirect taxation. Thus Customs and exercise receipts account respectively for 24 per cent. and 22 per cent. of the total official revenues of India, to which income tax contributes only 12 per cent.

Period of Deficits.

"During the years 1918-19 to 1922-23, revenue failed to balance expenditure and the aggregate of the annual deficits amounted to nearly 1,000 millions of rupees. Severe retrenchments and additional taxation have since restarted the financial equilibrium of the Government of India. The national debt has incresed since 1913-14 from 1,797 millions of rupee debt and £247 millions of sterling debt to 5,231, millions and £339 millions.

"The sterling value of the rupee, which during the earlier years of the current century had been stabilised as 1s. 4d. increased during the concluding years of the war and again during the trade boom which followed, until in the spring of 1920 it reached its maximum of 2s. 10-1-2d. Thereafter, as trade depression developed, exchange fell to approximately 1s, 3d. in 1921. Subsequently, as a result of successive good harvests and favourable trade balances, the value of the rupee appreciated. By legislation of March 1927 the ratio was fixed at 1s. 6d.

Rise in Prices.

India suffered no less than other markets of the world from the rise of prices which occurred during the trade boom of 1919-20 and from the subsequent slump. The economic life of India was affected in many ways:

(a) Although there is not the same problem of industrial unemployment in India as in European countries, yet the usual lag occurred by which the rise of wages followed instead of accompanying the rise of prices. When a subsequent fall of prices occurred and trade became depressed, a general reduction of wages was not found possible.

(b) For several years after the war a serious gap occurred between the prices of raw materials and the prices of manufactured goods. Although both sets of prices were higher than pre-war levels, manufactured goods had appreciated to a greater extent than raw materials. This tendency has had an important bearing on India's trade. Roughly three-quarters of her exports consist of raw materials, while the same proportion of her imports consist of manufactured goods. In other words, a greater productive effort was necessary to enable India to purchase the same volume of imports as prewar. In actual fact a compromise was evolved whereby exports increased (by comparison with per-war) during 1924 and 1925, while imports were relatively less.

(c) Fluctuations of price have been no less serious in India than in other markets. One result has been that stocks of staple goods are no longer maintained in the world's markets to the same extent as pre-war, for the risk of carrying stocks is enhanced through the uncertainty of prices levels. Producer and consumer are thus in closer relations with each other than they were in pre-war days, and the effects on prices of over and under-production are more quickly felt. To this cause may be attributed the growing tendency on the part of producers of tea, jute and similar products to organise the marketing of their goods in order to counteract those abnormal fluctuations of price which must inevitably occur when the absence of stocks permits the unrestrained impact of varying demand on varying supply.

And their Repercussions.

"From the point of view of India—a point of view doubtless shared by other great countries producing raw materials in common demand in the world's markets—the vicious circle from which she seeks to escape is one whereby fluctuations of price prevent the growth of confidence, thus militating in the consuming markets against purchases of her raw materials for stock. The absence of

such stocks makes itself felt in tendencies which exaggerate fluctuations of price and so further discourage the growth of confidence.

"Faced with not dissimilar difficulties, the manufacturing industries of Europe have been forced into conditions of closer and closer organisation. They have learnt that, in the present state of the world's markets, there is little hope of expanding sales unless and until costs are reduced. Reductions of cost are possible in any one or more of the following directions:—

(a) In the organisation of financial and industrial methods, affecting over head and distributing charges;

(b) In the removal of impediments resulting from Government action;

(c) By economics in labour charges;

(d) By reductions in the cost of raw materials.

Organisation and Efficiency.

"Organisation will undoubtedly play its part in the reduction of overhead charges. The manufacturer must look to Governments to realise the importance of removing all unnecessary impediments to trade. In regard to labour charge, while no actual reduction of wages appears in present circumstances to be either possible or desirable, the contribution of labour would take the form of the elimination of waste and of increased production as a result of increased efficiency.

Indian and World Prosperity.

"The fourth heading is that with which India as primarily a producer of raw materials and other countries similarly situated are chiefly concerned. Her contribution towards world economic prosperity can only take the form of progressive effort towards a reduction of agricultural costs, an improvement in the quality and quantity of the crops, and finally, the encouragement of orderly marketing. The effects of this policy will be beneficial not merely to the producer himself in financing him until his crop is finally disposed of and in securing him an increased profit by co-operative sales wisely supervised, but also to the world in general in more efficient methods of cultivation and, therefore, in greater productivity at equal or reduced cost.

The Co-operative Movement.

"The co-operative movement is a means towards this end, and its progress in India during the past twenty years has been striking. Only last year, a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate agricultural conditions in India. The commission has been instructed to explore possible extensions of existing activities in the field of research and demonstration, the introduction of improved methods of agriculture and the extension of rural credit facilities. It is at present engaged in prosecuting its enquiries, and its report is awaited with interest.

"It must be remembered, however, that, if real progress is to be made, the manufacturer must share with the primary producer the advantages of the cheaper and better production of raw materials. The demand for manufactured goods can only develop naturally and steadily, as it did in pew-war days, when world prices are stabilised, confidence is restored and equilibrium is again maintained between the costs and profits of producers and manufacturers. Failing such equilibrium, India and the countries at present concerned primarily with the production of raw materials are forced either to curtail their purchases of manufactured goods, at the expense of their general standard of life or, alternatively, to provide more and more for themselves those commodities which they have hitherto found it convenient to draw from abroad".

INDIA IN THE

International Labour Conference.

The International Labour Conference which commenced its session in Geneva on the 31st May took a bold and significant step in asking a representative of an extra-European country to take the chair at this session. This honour was conferred on Sir Atul Chatterjee, the High Commission for India.

An important item on the agenda was the question of Compulsory Sickness Insurance which it was proposed to deal with in the draft convention. The session was the most lively. About 45 States were represented and some delegations were singularly large as, for instance, the Japanese Delegation which consisted of about 30 members. There was all-round satisfaction at the fact that the Employers' Delegate from India was an Indian of Mr. Birla's type. Different committees were fairly active and a good deal of spade work was accomplished. Indian employers' view-point was expressed by Mr. Birla in an able speech which won him congratulations from the different sections of the Conference.

Mr. Birla's Speech.

Speaking on Compulsory Sickness Insurance, Mr. Birla said that although India is not hostile to the principle of such an insurance for labour it found itself in a position which rendered the adoption of the scheme embodied in the draft convention impossible. The present scheme was formulated with reference to European conditions and could not suit India whose industries were not in the same stage of development and could not consequently bear the same burden or strain. Then again, Indian labour whose wages were comparatively low would hardly favour the scheme which contemplated a contribution of part of their income to the insurance fund, established thereunder in India. This question had not even been discussed and time was needed to bring India into line with other countries, which had built up their present position, characterised by the individual strength given under protection afforded by the tariff wall over long periods, in some cases over forty years. He should do his best to bring the matter to the notice of the Indian Parliament which he hoped would take such steps in this direction as might appear justified in view of the country's special position, but for the present he must with due deference to the authors of the scheme say it did not suit India and was therefore unacceptable to them.

Speaking in a general discussion of the Director's Report Mr. Birla touched upon many important points, particularly, that of the establishment of a national correspondent of working hours by Japan.

Discussing the proposed appointment of a national correspondent at Delhi, Mr. Birla remarked that, while it was very essential to have such a correspondent in India, he doubted whether Delhi was the suitable place for that purpose. Calcutta and Bombay being more important business centres in India, Mr. Birla thought a national correspondent should be stationed at either of these places. He also maintained that, if they wanted to have the trust of Indian Labour, they ought to have a correspondent of Indian nationality, and to see that the literature issued from his office was not confined to the foreign language. Hindi was the most prevalent language in India, being spoken by one-third of its population and easily understood by the remaining population. He suggested that all literature should be issued primarily in Hindi.

Mr. Birla was glad that notice had been taken of the abolition of slavery in Nepal. He would draw the Director's attention to a slight mistake in giving its description. Nepal was not an Indian State as was generally understood from that descriptive title. Its status was higher, the ruler being termed His Majesty the King of Nepal. He hoped the mistake would be duly rectified.

Mr. Birla very much deplored that the Japanese Government had been putting off under one excuse or other the ratification of the Washington Working Hours Convention. He said that it was amazing to find in these days when there had been such a remarkable advance in other civilised countries in regard to Labour legislation that the Japanese factories were still working in many cases more than twelve hours a day. He thought at least for the sake of humanity, the Government of Japan should take immediate steps to give effect to the Washington Convention about the hours of work.

Concluding Mr. Birla said that he regretted that in the past Indian employers had taken little interest in their representation at the International Labour Conference. He very much appreciated the remark of the Credentials Committee last year that they desired to see countries represented by men of their own nationality. Indian employers were no less keen upon that point now, and he hoped that in future they would find them always ready to meet the desire of the Credentials Committee in this direction.

Mr. Giri's Speech.

Mr. V. V. Giri, in the course of his speech, expressed grateful thanks to Suzuki, the Japanese workers' delegate, for the noble fraternal sentiments he had expressed, especially, his reference to workers in India. He said Sir A. Chatterjee's chairmanship was an honour not only to India but to the East. He congratulated the Director of Labour Office and his colleagues on their wonderful work on behalf of the workers of the world though he declared the Labour Office had not devoted its time and energy to the investigation into and amelioration of conditions in Mandated Territories and countries like India. The living wages for workers was unheard of in India and the system of payment was most unjust to poorer workers. The hours of work in railways were from 12 to 14 and even 16 daily, With regard to the sickness insurance, it was in a sorry state. The Indian Government considered that any practical measure with regard to that question was at present impossible. Speaking on the freedom of association, Mr. Giri declared that even organised associations in India were particularly suppressed and gagged when the real issue between employers and employees arose.

Mr. Giri asked from the Conference for a clear statement as to what action the International Labour Office had taken in the matter of recommending to the countries like Kenya the abolition of forced labour. He wanted these countries to be informed to stop it if they had not yet done so.

Paying tribute to Japan for having retrieved the lost name of the East, Mr. Giri appealed to that country to improve the conditions of their workmen and show to the West that it would be second to none in ameliorating the hard lot of her teeming working classes that built the forture of the nation.

Mr. Giri congratulated the Director and his colleagues of the International Labour Office for the great work so far accomplished in the name and on behalf of the workers of the world. But while so appreciating, he said, he would not be true to himself or just to those whom he represented if he did not tender his humble but constructive criticism with a sincere desire to further the objects of the great international organisation. He brought to the notice of the Conference that, perhaps for reasons beyond control, the International Labour Office could not devote that attention and energy to the investigation of conditions, of workers in special countries which are given various names such as colonies protectorates, dependencies and spheres of influence etc., who have the misfortune to be ruled by European nations and where the workers have to fight the capitalists who are more often than not supported by their Government. The Conference, Mr. Giri submitted, should look to these problems more than to the emancipation of the European workers, as they were able to contend with their masters on equal terms and get their reasonable grievances redressed whether by honourable treaties or by means of legislation, without requiring any help from the Labour office.

Mr. Giri continued: "I appeal to my fellow delegates from these countries not to consider for a while that I have been making these statements in a spirit

of fault-finding but only to remind the International Labour Office that a good deal has yet to be done in the interests of the poor workers who have no national Government of their own. Failure to take great care of their interests will rob this organisation of its weight and prestige and will deprive it of its character".

Real Representation.

Mr. Giri then drew the attention of the Conference that subject nations were not properly represented at the Conference by their own men. For instance the Dutch, the French and the Belgian delegations had only one coloured representative as delegate or as adviser. The assumption that these delegations represented the colonies was based on a fiction. The Conference, he submitted, should insist on proper representation. Then the Conference could get a clear idea of the conditions prevailing in those special countries.

The International Labour Conference should insist on Governments such as the Union of South Africa to send from time to time a workers' delegate. The workers there are the natives of the soil and they outnumber the foreigners by at least five or six times. The representation of Mr. Clement Cadalli, the General Secretary of one of the biggest unions in South Africa should have been accepted. He should have been allowed to be a workers' delegate from South Africa.

The best way to solve these difficult questions was, said Mr. Giri, to appoint a small committee of enquiry to go to these countries and make a study of the conditions there with the help of the Government and workers of these countries. The organisation would then be in a position to judge for itself.

"Living" Wages in India.

Speaking on behalf of the workers of his country, he referred to the 'living wages' paid by the Railways in India to their employees which amounted from 8sh. to 14sh. per month on which they had to maintain a family of four to five persons. On the great economic principie of supply and demand the Government, as agent of the Railways, supported this scale.

In conclusion, Mr. Giri emphasised on the need for direct representation of labour in the Legislatures of the country and pleaded for an investigation into the condition of workers in jute, textile and other industries and for the providing of rudimental amenities of labour in those industries.

Dr. Paranjype's Speech.

Dr. Paranjype in the course of his speech expressed the gratification of the Government and the people of India at the high honour done to India by the selection of the Indian delegate to preside over the Conference. He hoped that this was only an indication of the great interest taken all over the world in the conditions of labour in India. He was glad to learn of the decision to appoint a correspondent of the Labour Office in India and he also strongly supported the suggestion of Mr. Birla, that the appeal of Indian workers should be made through the vernaculars of India.

He referred to the Asiatic enquiry, which was being conducted by the Labour Office, and said that it would be most useful if high officials, such as the Director, were to visit India personally.

Dealing with the internal organisation of Labour Office, Dr. Paranjype observed that the number of people from eastern countries were comparatively small and hoped that it would be possible to engage a few more people from India, China, Japan and other countries, with the object of increasing the usefulness of the Labour Office.

Replying to the criticisms of Mr. Giri with regard to the hours of work on railways, etc., Dr. Paranjype declared that no complaint had been made by the Legislative Assembly, that the Government of India was not observing to the letter and spirit the Hours Convention. The Government of India could hardly be blamed for non-observance of the conventions and recommendations of the International Labour Organisation by the Native States.

South African Indian Congress.

The South African Indian Congress opened at Johannesburg on the 12th March 1927. The full number of delegates were present, including those from places as distant as fifteen hundred miles. Great enthusiasm prevailed.

Opening the session Mr. Andrews bore personal testimony to the spirit of goodwill and good faith, which pervaded the Round Table Conference at Cape Town for which Gen. Hertzog and Dr. Malan were principally responsible. In conclusion he asked that not a single word should be spoken which might weaken the mutual trust already established.

The speeches of the President and the Chairman of the Reception Committee indicated hearty acceptance of the agreement as a thoroughly honest attempt at a friendly settlement. The Chairman of the Reception Committee said: "We meet in a more peaceful atmosphere to give a verdict on the Round-table Agreement. It is the privilege of the South African Indians to gratefully record the honest efforts of the Habibullah Deputation to accomplish a settlement. It is also our privilege to record the co-operation and sympathy of Gen. Hertzog and Dr. Malan, whose admirable attempts to understand the Indian viewpoint have equally contributed to bring about a happy change and friendly spirit."

Presidential Address.

Mr. GODFREY, President of the Congress, emphasised that the Indian community in South Africa approved the Agreement as a whole and accepted it in the spirit in which it was made. He felt the success of the Agreement would mainly depend on themselves. He stated that many points were still left undecided and much work of criticism would remain to be carried through. But, whatever was done, should be accomplished in the friendly spirit which pervaded the Conference itself.

Continuing, the President said "India sent us her most eminent men, sober with age, ripe in wisdom and experience. It is my duty to record the work of the Executive, Messrs. Kajee, Pather, Nursoo, Naidu and Ismail who rendered admirable service at Capetown with other chosen delegates. Generally speaking, we approve of the settlement though certain parts we must oppose, especially restrictions on the municipal land sales and the tacit refusal to restore our lost municipal franchise. We insist on 'no taxation without representation,' as our inalienable right. There are also many things undecided needing examination. To-day we are more concerned with the intention of the Bill than the actual wording. We recognise the change of heart and warmly welcome it. It is, as Dr. Malan says, an agreement in the nature of an honourable, friendly understanding. Therefore we, Indians, must regard it even more binding, for, if we depart from the honour, we are refusing to act as gentlemen, which is for us impossible.

"We believe that this agreement is an indication of South Africa's desire to do right by us. I am certain that, if our resolutions and criticisms are practical and useful, they will receive proper consideration from the Union Ministers. There is much in the agreement which commends itself, reflecting patience and courage of both the Governmen s.

"We wish, however, to emphasise the fact that, in future, as in the past, we shall be sober in our demands, just in our aspirations, persistent in our efforts and repudiate all legislation prejudicial to our honour. We are determined, as South Africans, to shoulder the burdens of our adopted country as well as claim the privileges. We want a definite political status and demand it.

"During the coming year, our Executive must supply the Agent-General with the necessary information enabling him to secure full implementing of the agreement."

The Annual Report.

Mr. Kajee, Congress Secretary, then read his annual report, showing remarkable ability and untiring energy. He mentioned the South Africa prayer-day as the foundation of the success achieved. "Apart from the efficacy of the prayer before the Divine Being, the quietening influence of such a great peaceful gathering is supremely important. If causes be looked for regarding the change in European opinion, prayer-day is the chief. When the Delegation came, we were privileged to obtain, on innumerable occasions, interviews and consultations of the highest importance. We could not have been treated better, and we would desire to record our gratitude to Messrs. Nursoo, Camay and Rasul, who represented Transvaal; Messrs. Ismail, Khangool and Mahomed Khan, the Cape Province; Mr. Naidu, Natal; Mr. Pather, the Treasurer of the Congress; Mr. Hawa, Vice-President; and also those present, and Mr. Godfrey. We had joint sub-committees with the delegates, entering into the minutest details. We, therefore, duly express our full satisfaction thanking specially the Hon. leader for his courtesy and kindness. It is a matter for pride to our community that the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri and Sir Pheroze Sethna were the guests of our esteemed colleague, Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee."

Mr. Kajee then thanked the Indian National Congress, paying a special tribute to Mahatmaji and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. The Congress then adjourned.

Next day, the 13TH MARCH, when the Congress met, there was remarkable unanimity regarding the acceptance of the Round Table Conference agreement and grateful appreciation of the work of the delegation with an earnest petition to the Viceroy to make Mr. Sastri the first Agent General.

Division of opinion only came concerning local issues, but a wise decision was taken to retain the Durban headquarters of the Congress and reappoint en bloc for the ensuing year all the Congress officers retiring. Johannesburg desired to be the headquarters, but Mr. Kajee. (Durban) had done such splended work that preferably the office remained there.

Resolutions.

The main resolution was follows: "The Congress accepts the Round Table Agreement as an honest attempt to find a solution and is prepared to work it as such, while reserving the right to protest against confiscation of the municipal franchise, the restriction on municipal sales of land and the penalising clauses of the Colour Bar Act. The Congress reserves the right critically to examine any new draft bill implementing the Agreement.

A second resolution recorded the heartfelt thanks and deep appreciation of the unparalleled services of the Delegation, creating a new friendly atmosphere and reaching a settlement honourable to both sides, which opened avennues of further development to the Indian community in South Africa.

A third resolution condemned the unauthorised and misleading cables from Durban concerning South African Indian settlement. The strongest language was used concerning this. The so-called Natal Vigilance Association, which was bitterly anti-Congress and ludicrously unrepresentive, was also condemned.

Another resolution earnestly asked Mr. Sastri to become the Agent General.

All these resolutions were passed unanimously, and cordially, with the strong support of each province.