

## VOTING ON BUDGET GRANTS

Mr. Abul Kasim opposing, amidst ironical Swarajist cheers, the rejection motion, uttered a note of warning, saying that the causes responsible for the failure of dyarchy in Bengal would persist even when autonomy was granted.

### SIR P. C. MITTER'S REPLY TO THE DEBATE

Sir P. C. Mitter, in reply, pointed out that the motion being against Dyarchy, he would not deal with the personal issues introduced. The main issue was whether they could get any good out of it. Could they get rid of dyarchy, to-day, to-morrow or even within the next three years? That was the main issue, and his answer was an emphatic "No" (Swarajists remarking: Yes, if you vote with us.) He had sat at the feet of Gokhale and Tilak (A voice: At the feet of Rowlatt).

Sir P. C. Mitter: Yes, I have, and since my friends are so anxious to remind me of that I might tell them it does not touch me.

The speaker said the lesson which he learnt from the lives of Gokhale and Tilak, was that he must try to extract some good out of Dyarchy, unsatisfactory though it might be. Replying to the charge of unworthiness, he mentioned his scheme of rural water supply committing the Government to a loan policy involving a crore of rupees.

Mr. Subash Bose: What about the Simon Commission?

Mr. K. S. Ray: What are your views on the Commission?

Sir P. C. Mitter: May I proceed Sir?

Mr. Sarat C. Bose: Let us have your views on the Simon Commission.

The Minister avoided the point and resumed his seat.

Mr. Moberly said that the vote would decide for the next twelve months whether there should be any Ministers in Bengal or not. Replying to the Swarajists' interjections, Mr. Moberly said if the motion was passed they would have no chance of passing a vote of "no-confidence." Ministers must have time to understand their work. Turn the Ministers out if incompetent, but let them have chance. He repudiated the suggestion that the Finance Member had power to turn down proposals or schemes of the Ministers.

Replying to the charge that the Governor had selected a Minister who had no following, he asked whether those who had a following were prepared to accept office permanently. Lord Lytton sent for Mr. C. R. Das, and Sir Stanley Jackson for the Leader of the Opposition. They wanted Ministers from those who had the support of the majority of the elected members. Referring to the constitutional issue raised, Mr. Moberly said there was one genuine and constitutional way and that was to go to the Simon Commission direct. (Voices: We have boycotted it). Mere negation, mere denial of the rights of Parliament, was not the way to get what they wanted. The best way was to tell the Commission exactly what they wanted.

The House by 51 to 50 votes carried Mr. Sarkar's cut motion of Rs. 100 amidst non-official cheers.

The Council then proceeded to discuss other grants. After passing the demands for the "Legislative Council" and "Justice," the Council adjourned.

### CENSURE ON JAIL ADMINISTRATION

On the 17th MARCH the treatment of political prisoners in jails was raised by Mr. J. L. Banerjee who moved a token cut of Re. 1 in the demand under jails and Convict Settlements.

Mr. B. K. Bose referred to the recommendation of the Jail Committee regarding political prisoners, and characterised them as most unsympathetic.

Mr. Banerjee's motion was carried by 44 to 41 votes, amidst thundering Swarajist cheers.

The Government sustained another defeat when by 48 to 41 the House censured the district Jail Administration of Bengal.

### POLICE CONDUCT ON HARTAL DAY

On the 19th MARCH the conduct of the Calcutta Police on the hartal day on the 23rd February, when the Simon Commission arrived in Bombay, was discussed for three hours when four motions for cuts in the Presidency Police demand were moved.



Mr. B. K. Bose, Swarajist, condemned the conduct of the Police in raiding educational institutions and arresting innocent persons.

Mr. F. E. James, a European non-official eye-witness of some of the incidents on the hartal day, declared that attempts were made to force the people to observe hartal. He did not blame the students who participated in the disorders because they had been exploited by a political party which excited racial hatred. The Police was subjected to continuous provocation, and they had been on duty the whole day without food.

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Swarajist, after giving instances of alleged Police highhandedness, said that Congress members and volunteers had nothing to do with the excesses on the hartal day. The Police Commissioner found tramcars and buses deserted and he had no justification to keep up the show, and make policemen guard the cars. He could have stopped the running trams and avoided many unfortunate incidents. Before declaring hartal, the leaders instructed the volunteers to observe non-violence. The Congress members knew that the crowd could not be controlled in the ordinary way, and had given definite instructions to the workers and volunteers. As regards exploitation of the students Mr. Roy observed that they had learnt it from the West. In every European country, students took a lead in political agitation and demonstration.

Mr. S. C. Bose said that Mr. James, for the sake of his own countrymen, should give up his attitude. As regards exciting racial hatred history stated that after the Mutiny racial hatred was first instilled by the Britishers. They taught Hindus that Moslems should be suppressed, for the part they took in the Mutiny. Again, after the Bengal partition, Sir Bampfylde Fuller taught that the Hindus should be suppressed. As to students taking part in politics, the Britishers were responsible for it. The discomfiture of Englishmen at the failure of their attempt to induce people to support the Simon Commission, led them to say that it was sedition to urge boycott. He could not understand what sort of exploitation Mr. James meant but he reminded him that Lord Curzon had said that administration and exploitation must go hand in hand. Congressmen were not ashamed of advising students to observe hartal. If students had been left to themselves on the hartal day, the Police would have found to their annoyance that the hartal had passed of peacefully. Many wrongs were being done in the name of peace and order.

#### GOVT. DEFEAT IN POLICE DEMAND

On the 20th MARCH the Government was defeated twice when two cuts were made in the Calcutta police demand.

Mr. A. N. Moberly, Home Member, expressed regret that the debate had taken a racial and communal turn. Regarding the riots of 1926, he said that during the riots the Police was abused by both the Hindus and the Mahommedans, which clearly showed that the police did not take sides. Referring to the remarks made by Mr. S. C. Bose that Lord Curzon in a speech had said that exploitation and administration should go hand in hand, Mr. Moberly said that Lord Curzon used the word "Exploitation" to mean development of the resources of the country for the benefit of the people and not in any sense of taking advantage of the people.

Referring to the charges of extravagance and inefficiency, Mr. Moberly said that the Police force in Calcutta was not excessive, but really inadequate in cases of emergency. If the demand was decreased, the Police would be incapable of dealing with riots. The Government were paying due regard to economy, wherever possible.

Regarding the hartal incidents, Mr. Moberly said the Government attitude was not to interfere with those who observed hartal voluntarily. They interfered only when persons forcibly urged others to abstain from doing their usual work. The police had no interest in breaking peaceful hartal or in causing injury to men. The police knew well what dangerous consequences would ensue the disturbances. Inoffensive persons when mixed up with the crowd were treated as rioters and this happened in every country. No one regretted more than the Government the hartal incidents.

The motion urging reduction of Rs. 100 in the Calcutta police demand in which the question of inadequacy of Mahomedans in the force was raised, was carried by nine votes.

Another motion urging a cut of one rupee in which the question of hartal was raised was carried by a majority of eleven votes.



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## THE NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION

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There was another motion refusing the demand of one lakh under the head "Criminal Investigation Department Secret Service," which was negatived.

### CALCUTTA PORT SERVICE

The Swarajists defeated the Government by a large majority on the motion reducing the demand of Rs. 5,91,000 under the head "Ports Pilotage" by Rs. 100.

Mr. S. C. Bose (Swarajist) urged the Indianisation of the Port Trust Service, and said that they did not object to the appointment of Englishmen, who made India their home. They objected to "itinerant colonisation" by Europeans. The Calcutta Port Trust existed to find a market for British manufactures, he declared.

The Finance Member, replying on behalf of the Government, said the Calcutta Port Trust was administered by 19 elected Commissioners and the Government had got very little control over the Port Trust.

The motion was carried, 61 voting for and 40 against.

The Council next took up the demand of Rs. 12,89,000 under "Education" reserved, and discussed the token cut of Re. 1 in the demand for non-Government primary schools for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Discussion was not over, when the Council adjourned.

### "NO-CONFIDENCE" MOTION LOST

On the 21st MARCH, in a full House with overcrowded galleries, the Maharaja of Mysenahgar moved his "No-Confidence" motion against the Ministers.

The Maharaja, at the outset, assured the House that his views towards dyarchy remained unchanged. He knew that this form of Government was only transitory, and that they would lose nothing by working this transitory form of Government. The present Ministry was formed with Ministers from different parties with no definite policy. He did not accept the suggestion that no new Ministry could be formed.

Mr. B. K. Bose (Swarajist) said that they did not believe in dyarchy. They were not going to be deluded by the guilded political show styled Reforms. Dyarchy was a transitional measure and unworkable. Put into office by white bureaucrats the Ministers had no following. He next raised the issue of the Simon Commission, whose boycott was supported by prominent Liberals all over the country. Was Sir P. C. Mitter, Minister for Self-Government, willing to abide by the decision of his party?

Mr. Travers, a non-official European member, said that they had always considered it their duty to see that the constitution functioned, and they had always tried their best to support the Ministry and was doing so now, because the biggest party in the House was making one more effort to wreck the Ministry and because they (the Europeans) had confidence in the present Ministers. They were tired of the small groups which always were shifting and changing. If this Ministry was driven out, they (Europeans) would not be able to support the next Ministry if it was formed. Unless there was a stable ministry, there was no hope of good work being done in the nation-building departments.

Prof. Jitendralal Banerjee (Swarajist) after saying that they were bound to wreck Dyarchy, observed that he doubted the *bona fides* of to-day's motion. The sponsor of the motion had never voted with them previously, and was anxious to get into power.

Nawab Musharaff Hossain, Minister, stated that during his five months of office, he had completed the Primary Education and the University Bills.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta repudiated the charges against the mover by one who owed his seat to the Government. The Ministers, he stated, had not the support of the elected Indians. He did not care from what motive the motion was moved. As Congressmen they were bound to support it. The Minister was supported by the Europeans and the officials.

Mr. S. C. Bose (Swarajist) dissociated himself from the remarks of Mr. Jitendralal Banerjee about the mover of the motion.

Sir Provash Chandra Mitter, Minister, said that they had done nothing against the interest of the country. The Ministers advanced the cause of the country under very great difficulties. They could not proclaim their policy till it was accepted by Government as a whole. True, he had condemned dyarchy before; but he had always said that, however unsatisfactory dyarchy was, it was possible



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[CALCUTTA

to extract some good out of it. He could not understand why the non-Swarajists were emulating the Swarajists in supporting this motion.

The Council rejected the no-confidence motion against Sir Provash Chandra Mitter by 65 votes against 60.

The Council next rejected the no-confidence motion against Nawab Mosharuff Hussain, by 66 votes against 60.

THE EDUCATION DEMAND

On the 22nd MARCH the Council discussed motions for the reduction and refusal of Budget demands under European Education. All "cut" proposals were negatived and the demand of Rs. 12,89,000 under this head was granted.

On a demand of Rs. 1,16,33,000 under Education (Transferred), a motion refusing the salary of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University (Rs. 17,500 for seven months) evoked much discussion.

The mover Mr. Saral Kumar Dutt said that since the creation of the post 70 years ago, it had been honorary. There was no necessity for a salaried Vice-Chancellor for the latter would be under the control of the Government and hinder the growth of the University.

Dr. Banerjee objected to a paid Vice-Chancellor on the ground of economy. It would bring the University into the quagmire of party politics.

The Education Minister opposed the motion and said that the idea of a paid Vice-Chancellor originated from the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. The other Universities had paid Vice-Chancellors.

Sir Abdur Rahim opined that the proposal would bring the maximum amount of friction in the working of the University.

Mr. J. E. James wanted to know the exact nature of the emergency for the proposal for a paid Vice-Chancellor.

Eventually the motion was carried.

The next motion was for a token cut of Re. 1 in the demand under "grants" for the Calcutta University. The object of the motion was to draw attention to the inadequate grant made to the Calcutta University.

The Minister replying said that the Government were enquiring into the needs of the Calcutta University, after which the exact amount of grant to be given would be fixed. The House then adjourned.

On the 26th MARCH, further discussion on the education demand was resumed and after two cut motions have been lost and one withdrawn, the entire demand of Rs. 1,16,33,000 as amended in the Council was put to the vote. The motion was carried, 43 voting for and 40 against it.

MEDICAL GRANT.

The Hon. Sir Provas Chunder Mitter then moved that a sum of Rs. 48,91,000 be granted for expenditure under the head 'Medical'.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sircar on behalf of Dr. Kumud Sankar Roy moved that the demand of Rs. 6,19,000 under the head Medical Settlement be reduced by Re 1.

The motion was lost 38 voting for and 40 against.

Dr. Kumud Sankar Roy moved that the demand of Rs. 24,17,500 under the head Hospitals and Dispensaries be reduced by Re 1. He drew the attention of the Government to the two important problems (1) beggar problem and (2) Tuberculosis problem which carried away a lakh of people every year.

The amendment was lost and the main demand was carried.

RURAL WATER SUPPLY

An important announcement outlining the scheme of rural water supply in Bengal was made by Sir Provash Chandra Mitter.

The debate arose out of the demand moved by the Hon. Minister for a sum of Rs. 37,14,003 for expenditure under the head "Public Health".

Mr. J. N. Chakravarty moved for a token cut of Rs. 7,82,000 under the head "Public Health Establishment."

The token cut was lost and the House agreed to the original demand.

The House was discussing the demand under the head "Agriculture," when it adjourned till the next day, the 27th MARCH when after several reduction motions have been lost the original demand was granted.



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### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

On the 27th MARCH the remainder of the Bengal Budget demands were granted by the Council without discussion.

A token cut of Re. 1 to the Industries demand was moved, urging the establishment of industrial schools in every district for the education of young men which would solve the unemployment question.

The Minister, replying, said the Government were considering important schemes relating to industries and it was hoped to present a budget next year, which would help the advance of the industrial development of Bengal. He was prepared to start experimentally a polytechnic but no industry would succeed, unless it stood the test of competition. The amendment was lost and the original demand that a sum of Rs. 12,36,000 be granted was carried.

### SIMON COMMISSION RESOLUTION WITHDRAWN

On the 28th MARCH a resolution which was to have been moved by the Hon'ble Maharaja of Nadia with regard to the Simon Commission was withdrawn for the present and the Council was prorogued.

The Hon'ble Maharaja said that in view of the fact that different groups of the House had approached the Government, and also in due deference to the wishes of the various groups, the resolution standing in his name would not be moved at present. In order to give them sufficient time to consider the question the government decided to withdraw the resolution and not to move the resolution this session. He however stated that the Government would bring forward the resolution at the earliest possible opportunity at the next session. "The resolution has not been moved. I have the command of His Excellency the Governor to announce that the Council stands adjourned".

The resolution which stood in the name of the Hon'ble Maharaja of Nadia ran thus:—  
 "That this Council recommends to the Government that steps be taken to give effect to the proposal of the Statutory Commission that a Committee of the Legislative Council be appointed to assist the Commission."

## The U. P. Legislative Council

The spring session of the United Provinces Legislative Council commenced in the new Council House, Lucknow on the 22nd FEBRUARY 1928 with the Hon. Rai Sita Ram Bahadur, President, in the chair. In view of an exciting and interesting debate which was expected to ensue on the Simon Commission boycott resolution which appeared in to-day's agenda in the name of Pandit Badri Datt Pande (Swarajist), all the galleries intended for visitors and strangers were fully occupied and the special gallery reserved for ladies was particularly overcrowded.

There was a record attendance of members. Out of 121 members who could possibly have attended, as many as 115 were present. This was entirely due to the fact that the first item on to-day's agenda was a resolution standing against the name of a Swarajist member to the effect that the present constitution and the Statutory Commission were wholly unacceptable to this Council and it would have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage and in any form. It was anticipated that there would be a keen debate on the resolution. It was, however, a sad disappointment to the expectant visitors to hear, immediately after the question time, the statement from the Swarajist benches that they had decided not to move the resolution of the boycott of the Commission to-day. This announcement was followed by the withdrawal of the Swarajist members from the hall and the emptying of the visitors' galleries.

### ENQUIRY INTO JAIL ADMINISTRATION

One of the resolutions to-day urged the appointment of a committee of nine,



of whom six should be elected non-official members to enquire into and report upon jail administration in general and the treatment of prisoners, ordinary or political, with a view to suggesting measures of reform. An amendment was proposed by Mr. Ahmed Shah to the effect that the Committee should contain a strong non-official element, but its numerical strength and composition should be left in the hands of Government.

The Nawab of Chattari, Home Member, opposed the resolution, but approved of the amendment. He pointed out that Government were of their own accord introducing considerable improvements in jail administration. Vocational education had been introduced in certain jails and everywhere special attention was being paid to the condition of the prisoners' health. If the Council wanted a committee to examine the matter in detail he would gladly agree, but in fairness to him the Council should leave the choice of the Committee's personnel to Government. Soon after the Home Member's statement the resolution was withdrawn and the Council adjourned for the day.

On the 23rd FEBRUARY the Council had a very short sitting during which two nonofficial resolutions were carried against Government opposition. The first related to the extension of Muharram holidays from seven to ten days in all civil courts and the second urged the necessity for penalizing the sale of adulterated Ghee. There were two other resolutions on the agenda which were deemed to have been withdrawn in the absence of Babu Kishori Prasad and Pandit Shri Sadayatan Pande, who had given notice of their intention to move them. The attendance of non-official members was rather thin, the Swarajists being absent. Only half a dozen Swarajists were present when the Council met but they walked out immediately after question-time, which took less than ten minutes.

#### BOYCOTT OF SIMON COMMISSION

On the 24th FEBRUARY the commission boycott resolution was moved in the Council, but the final decision on the question was postponed till the next day when the debate was resumed and the resolution voted upon. Every inch of space in the visitors' galleries was occupied.

Among the distinguished visitors were the Maharaja of Mahmudabad and Raja Sir Rampal Singh and the Nawab of Karnal.

#### DEPUTY AND ASSISTANT POLICE SUPERINTENDENTS

Earlier in the day the Council discussed a non-official resolution at some length and eventually rejected it by 43 votes against 34, the Swarajists taking no part.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani moved that the Governor-in-Council should take steps to amalgamate the cadres of Assistant and Deputy Superintendents of Police, and to remove, as far as possible, the invidious distinction between those two classes of officers.

The mover's contentions were that the distinction between Assistant and Deputy Superintendents of Police, was based mostly on racial grounds. It was not possible for the Local Government to decide the issue on their own authority, and that was the reason why he asked them to take the necessary steps.

Kunwar Jagadish Prasad, Chief Secretary, and the Nawab of Chattari, the Home Member, both opposed the resolution pointing out that no racial discrimination was involved, but that the differences were due to one being an All India Service, and the other a Provincial Service. These differences existed in other branches of the Executive services as well. As for amalgamation, it was a matter for decision by the Secretary of State and not by the Local Government. The resolution, as stated before, was pressed to a division, and rejected by the House.

#### THE BOYCOTT RESOLUTION

Mr. Mukandilal, Swarajist Deputy President, then moved the boycott resolution, which was word for word a repetition of the Assembly resolution, and advanced six grounds for total non-co-operation with the Simon Commission.

The resolution ran as follows:—

"That this Council recommends to the Government to inform the Governor-



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# THE BOYCOTT RESOLUTION

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General in Council and His Majesty's Government in England, that the present constitution and scheme of the Statutory Commission are wholly unacceptable to it, and that it will have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage and in any form."

The mover's principal arguments were that Briatin had since 1919 turned a deaf ear of India's legitimate demands and aspirations, that self-determination was the birthright to India, that the Commission was only an eyewash, the British Cabinet having already arrived at certain conclusions regarding India, and that the Commission was out only to widen communal and other differences which already existed to the misfortune of India, and finally that India's only reply to Lord Birkenhead's insolent threats was utter indifference to the activities of the Statutory Commission. Mr. Mukandilal's appeal to the Muslim members was that the Hindus and Muslims in India could expect much more from each other than from the all-British Commission.

He was followed by Mirza Sajjad Ali Khan (nominated), who failed to see any reason why an impartial Commission of enquiry should be boycotted, purely because of its composition. In his opinion it was difficult to have a Commission truly representative of India's numerous interests.

Pandit Badri Dutt Pande (Swarajist) was firmly of the opinion that if any section of the community aspired to gain small benefits by co-operating with the Commission, it would not only mar the prospects of India as a whole, but also ruin its own bigger interests. For the benefit of the Muslim members who had issued a manifesto against boycott, Mr. Pande mentioned the part played by Britain against Morocco, Tripoli, Egypt, Turkey, Persia and Iraq.

The Hon'ble Mr. George Lambert advised the Council not to take hasty decision in regard to its attitude towards the Statutory Commission. As affairs stood at present, he would advance no arguments for or against the resolution. His only suggestion was that no decision be taken on the matter just at present, because there was no occasion for it. This Council would not be asked to select any committee to sit with the Commission until August or September next. Further developments might take place between now and then. In the world of politics, the unexpected did happen now and again. Why should this Council bind itself in any shape or form just at present? He would not assert, but thought that the resolution had been tabled in haste in furtherance of a movement which had its origin outside the Council. He was afraid the discussion of the resolution at this stage was not fair to the members of the Council. If, however, the bulk of the elected members were firmly of the opinion that whatever might happen, however much things might alter within the next five months, they would not, under any circumstances, co-operate with the Commission, then, of course, the resolution might as well be discussed now. But that was not, so far as he could judge, the attitude of the majority of Indians. Why then should the Council commit itself now?

The Council was adjourned at this stage, and the debate postponed.

On the 25th FEBRUARY the debate was continued till late in the afternoon, when closure was moved and accepted. The House divided, with the result that 56 members voted for the resolution and 55 against it.

The President declared in the beginning that the resolution was lost, the division figures being 56 against and 55 for.

The announcement was received with cheers from one section of the House; but immediately afterwards the President corrected himself, and announced the correct result. There was an uproar. Some Swarajist members raised the cry of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai", and the cry was echoed and re-echoed not only from the Opposition benches but also from some of the visitors' galleries. For full ten minutes there was practically no order in the Council chamber. The President rose repeatedly, and eventually order was restored.

An analysis of the voting was as follows :—Ayes 56, Noes 55; Neutrals 5 and absentees 5. Two of the three Ministers\*, namely, Rai Rajeswar Bali and Thakur Rajendra Singh observed neutrality; while the third Minister, Nawab Yusuf voted against the resolution. There was considerable heat and tension in the debate. The Council then adjourned.

\* As an aftermath to this the two Ministers resigned. See p. . . 322



# THE U. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

[ LUCKNOW ]

On the 27th FEBRUARY two non-official resolutions were discussed. The first resolution recommended to the Government to appoint a Committee consisting of three non-officials and two official members of the Council, to collect statistics of middle class unemployment, and to enquire into its causes and suggest ways and means to relieve it.

Rai Rajeswar Bali, Minister of Education, stated that the problem of unemployment among the educated classes was receiving the careful attention of the Government and a Committee consisting of certain departmental head was already making detailed enquiries. There was at present no necessity for appointing another Committee. The resolution after some discussion was passed without a division.

The second resolution urged upon the Government to introduce bills to amend the existing District Boards and Municipalities Acts, with a view to remove the control exercised over local bodies by the Divisional Commissioner and the District Magistrates.

Nawab Yusuf, Minister for Local Self-Government, opposing the resolution, pointed out that under the provision of the existing Acts, Divisional Commissioners and District Officers had very little control over local bodies. The control was limited only to matters of routine inspection and emergency that were absolutely necessary and essential for the welfare of the local bodies themselves.

The resolution was pressed to a division, and rejected by 34 votes against 21.

On the 28th FEBRUARY hardly 30 no-official members were present. It was purely an official day, the primary business being the voting of supplementary demands for the current financial year and the consideration and passage of the Bill to amend the U. P. District Boards Act of 1922.

Supplementary estimates under different heads aggregating to over 25 lakhs, of which nearly 18 lakhs were for Irrigation Expenditure not charged to revenue, were voted by the Council.

The only token cut of the item concerning the Government Printing Press was adopted as a protest against the Government's refusal to comply with the request of the House Committee of the Council that all Government publications, should be supplied free of cost and postage to every member of the Council. The token cut was adopted by 29 votes against 21.

The Bill to amend the District Boards Act of 1922 introduced by Rai Rajeswar Bali, Education Minister, was passed unanimously.

The Bill makes it obligatory on the part of District Boards to constitute Education Committees to exercise, discharge and perform all powers, duties and functions of the Boards in regard to educational matters with some exceptions relating to Budgets.

At the conclusion of the official business the Council adjourned.

## THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1928-29.

On the 3rd MARCH the Hon'ble Mr. George Lambert, Finance Member, presented his first budget. In doing so, he first dealt with the financial position of the Province in the current year and the year before. In 1926-27 there was a large difference between the revised estimate of the year and the actual expenditure finally reported. The revised estimate of 1926-27 assumed that the current year 1927-28 would open with a balance of just under 16 lakhs. The actuals on the contrary showed a deficit of nearly 46 lakhs. In other words, the opening balance of 1927-28 was 62 lakhs less than what was anticipated when the current year's budget was prepared. Secondly, according to the revised estimates of the current year, receipts were better than the budget estimate by 25 lakhs, while disbursements rose by 63 lakhs. The net result was that the closing balance of Rs. 126 and half lakhs forecasted in the original budget of 1927-28 had, according to the revised estimate, fallen to about Rs. 27 lakhs. With this balance the figures for the budget year 1928-29 were: total revenue Rs. 12,47,49,000 and debt head receipts for capital outlay Rs. 2,91,15,000. These two items together with the opening balance of Rs. 26,93,000 brought up the grand total of revenue and the receipts in 1928-29 to Rs. 15,66,57,000.

On the expenditure side the figures were Rs. 12,43,83,000 for revenue charges, and Rs. 27,83,34,000 debt head disbursement. In other words, the total disbursements amounted to Rs. 15,22,17,000 only.

The budget for 1928-29 provided for a closing balance of Rs. 43,40,000. This



balance was composed of Rs. 20,00,000 belonging to the Famine Insurance Fund, and Rs. 23,40,000 belonging to the ordinary revenue balance. The expenditure in the budget included Rs. 51,60,000 on account of contribution to the Central Government. Should this be remitted, as had been proposed in the Assembly the closing balance would go up to 95 lakhs. In the event of a total remission of the contribution to the Central Government materialising, it was proposed to utilise part of the available balance for the items of new expenditure. The total sum allotted for these new items amounted to just over 22 lakhs would go to the Transferred Departments.

### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET

On the 10th MARCH when the Council re-assembled after a week's holiday fitting reference was made to the late Lord Sinha.

Khan Bahadur Moulvi Fasihuddin then opened the general discussion of the Budget. He thought that Mr. George Lambert's Budget Statement was characteristic of himself—intensely terse and outspoken. The speaker was glad that for once the United Province's Budget was really a revenue surplus budget, the closing balance being also satisfactory. After several years some contribution had been made to the Famine Insurance Fund. The Provincial Budget might be a mere gamble on the rains, but that did not in any way justify a gambling spirit in the Finance Department. Unless it was reckless gambling, there was no explanation for the wide divergence in the estimates and actuals of the 1926-27 Budget. In regard to the Budget under discussion, its dark phase was its expenditure side. Reserved expenditure showed a substantial increase, while there was an actual cutting down of Transferred items.

Mr. E. M. Souter congratulated the Finance Member on his first Budget. He suggested the enhancement of the stamp duty and of court fees.

Several other members also approved of the Budget. Babu Shyam Lal regretted that the Transferred Department had been treated in a step-motherly fashion.

Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayet Hussain advocated the creation of a revenue reserve fund. The departments of Agriculture and co-operative credit, he said, should be amalgamated. He emphasised the necessity of paying greater attention to rural reconstruction.

Sheik Abdullah was afraid that education was being treated worse in the Reformed regime than before.

Babu Mohanlal felt that from the point of view of the villager the Budget was not at all satisfactory. Pandit Iqbalnarin Gurtu said that a stop must be put to the policy of borrowing money for unproductive purposes except in emergencies. Instead of borrowing for revenue purchases, it would be better if the Government went to the Council and asked for extra taxation.

The Deputy President adjourned the Council for want of a quorum.

On the 12th MARCH Mr. George Lambert, as leader of the House, made touching references to the death of Sir Ludovic Porter. The Council then proceeded with the discussion of the Budget.

Thakur Hanuman Singh laid stress on the education of girls and the improvement of rural sanitation.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan demanded more money for the Transferred Departments. The Police alone consumed more money than Agriculture, Industries, Medical and Public Health. Agriculture, which was of vital importance, received less than 2 annas per acre.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani said that it was not Mr. Lambert's fault if the financial prospect was more gloomy than bright. He had come to the present office only recently, therefore the responsibility for anything unsatisfactory in the financial situation could not be laid at his door. Mr. Lambert had, on the contrary, given evidence in his statement of qualities which bade fair to make him a success. The Budget statement did not suffer from lack of ability or lack of candour.

The speaker regretted that the Finance Member had used somewhat incautious and indiscreet language in his statement when he spoke of yielding to Ministerial pressure. He had thereby drawn upon himself strong criticism—in the speaker's opinion most unfair and undeserved criticism—from a well known quarter.

Rai Rajeswar Bali, Education Minister, said that the Transferred side of the Government had received a fair share in the matter of expenditure, but he and his colleagues had not obtained from the Finance Member all they wanted.



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Even if he had not received all he wanted, he must acknowledge the sympathetic attitude of the Finance Member and the courtesy of the Finance Secretary in making serious efforts to meet the Ministers' wishes.

Nawab Mahomed Yusuf, Minister of Public Works and Local Self-Government, expressed gratitude to the members for their acknowledgment that the road building scheme had proved successful.

The Nawab of Chattari, Home Member, referred to the criticism against the expenditure of borrowed money on police buildings. Most of the thanas were located in dilapidated buildings of the old Moghul or Mahratta days. Some of them were too risky to live in. As a matter of fact 18 such buildings were condemned by the P. W. D.

Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, Finance Secretary, referred to the old provincial loan. He pointed out that two-thirds of it had already been paid, and the balance would vanish within the next five years. In regard to borrowing money for the repair of irrigation works damaged by the floods of September 1924, the reason was that the damage had to be repaired before next June, otherwise there would have been a heavy loss in irrigation revenue. He did not fall in with the view that the Council had no control over debt head disbursements. As a matter of fact any member could propose a "cut" in respect of a particular item of debt charges.

Mr. George Lambert, in winding up the debate, agreed with Mr. Chintamani that his remark regarding severe Ministerial pressure was perhaps unhappy. It had given rise to all sorts of misunderstandings and conjectures. Wild talks of differences within the Government and interference by the head of the Province all owed their origin to an innocent pleasantry. The Government had a firm hope that the contribution would be totally remitted by Sir Basil Blackett and the entire Budget, including the addendum, had been prepared on that assumption.

He was in agreement with his critics that borrowings should be limited only to productive or emergent expenditure. Borrowings for police buildings and roads were only in continuation of the policy agreed upon by the Council two years ago. The only new debt was Rs. 33 lakhs for two hydro-electric schemes, which would certainly pay.

VOTING ON BUDGET GRANTS

On the 13th MARCH voting on Budget grants commenced. Kunwar Rajendra Singh, Minister, moved a grant of R. 33,07,205 under the head "Agriculture."

The Minister gave details of the activities of the Agricultural Department and said that different agricultural tracts had been formed into agricultural circles under Deputy Directors. The Government had recently appointed three Deputy Directors, who were residents of the United Provinces. They had received a post-graduate training overseas. There had been a considerable increase in the number of aided private farms run on modern lines. In 1927 there were 725 such modern farms against 405 in 1924. Some of those farms were utilised by the Department for the production of improved seeds.

During the last three years grants-in-aid aggregating to about Rs. 1 and one-fourth lakhs had been given to private farms in return for their undertaking to supply about 50,000 maunds of improved seeds for distribution among the tenants. During the current year nine central seed stores were opened.

In 1927, 225,000 maunds of seeds were distributed from 148 stores in 46 districts against barely 50,000 maunds in 1924. There had been a similar improvement in the number of the implements distributed.

The cattle heads maintained in the two cattle-breeding farms increased considerably. The number of bull studs was 597 against 374 in the preceeding year. Arrangements were nearly complete for the establishment of a third cattle-breeding centre. The Bulandshahr Agricultural School was now an established success with a roll of 100 students. A new school at Gorakhpore would shortly come into existence.

Several reduction motions were discussed and all with the exception of two were withdrawn. One motion regarding a reduction in the provision for poultry shows was rejected, while the other for a reduction of nearly Rs. 6,000 in respect of the provision for two new Assistant Registrars of Co-operative Societies was carried.



## VOTING ON BUDGET GRANTS

### THE MEDICAL DEMAND.

On the 15th MARCH the Council discussed a demand for Rs. 31,41,201 under the head "Medical."

Presenting the demand, Rai Rajeswar Bali, Minister, stated that there was no denying the urgency of providing more medical relief in towns and villages alike. Every District headquarters had a Sadar dispensary, but in villages dispensaries were few and far between.

The Minister regretted the deterioration of some Sadar hospitals owing to trouble between District Boards and Municipal Boards regarding the relative share of the cost of upkeep of those hospitals. A solution was reached in many cases, the Government proposing to give larger grants-in-aid for their upkeep.

Mr. S. M. Habibullah moved several reductions with a view to omitting the provision for the development of indigenous systems of medicine. The mover characterised the Minister's anxiety in promoting the growth of antediluvian systems as mere sentiment, and helping them would be a retrograde step.

Several members, including the Minister, opposed Mr. Habibullah's motion, pointing out that the Unani and Ayurvedi systems had a scientific basis and were cheaper, more popular and sometimes more efficacious than Allopathy.

The reduction motions were rejected.

Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu moved a token "cut" protesting against the reservation of 13 posts of Civil Surgeons for I. M. S. officers. All those 13 districts had cantonments with military doctors. The mover understood that the Local Government's hands were tied by the orders of the Secretary of State and protested against interference by the Secretary of State.

Mr. Govindballabh Pant, Swarajist leader, supporting the "cut" said that recruitment to posts in the Transferred Departments by the Secretary of State was a direct encroachment on the legitimate authority of the Ministers. Such reservation was made at the cost of qualified Indian graduates.

The token "cut" was adopted without a division, the Minister agreeing to forward the report of the debate to the Government of India. The Council then adjourned.

### PUBLIC HEALTH & POLICE DEMAND

On the 16th MARCH the Council discussed demands for grants for public health and police.

Presenting the demand for Rs. 2,365,061 for public health, Rai Rajeswar Bali, Minister, briefly narrated the activities of the department during the current year. The Minister referred to the extension of the District Health Scheme with its anti-epidemic activities, and to the improvement of general sanitary conditions in certain selected villages. Local bodies and district officers alike spoke appreciably of the work already done under the scheme. Reference was made next to the publicity work of the department. Three exhibitions were held during the year. Departmental films regarding cholera, small-pox and other epidemics were shown in the cities, villages, and fairs. Nearly 15,000 lectures were delivered during the year by the departmental officers. Several lakhs of posters and pamphlets were broad-casted. Malaria-ridden places were rendered almost free of malarial epidemic. During the last Kumbh fair at Hardwar, for the first time in the history of Kumbh fairs, no cholera epidemic was reported.

The public health demand was voted entirely. All reduction motions, except one, were withdrawn.

The motion concerning Rs. 5,500 relating to Bovine lymph depot was pressed to a division and rejected by 37 votes to 34. The supporters wanted the removal of the depot superintendent on the ground of incompetence and further urged the appointment of a committee of enquiry into the allegation against the superintendent.

The Minister refused to appoint a committee.

### DISCUSSION ON POLICE GRANT

Over 100 cuts had been tabled in the Police demand but only two were discussed and both were rejected. The entire demand was voted.

The Home Member moving the grant referred to the slight increase in Police expenditure. The increase was due to circumstances over which the local Government had no control. The Police department budget figure was 5 lakhs above the



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actuals in 1924-25 but over 10 lakhs less than the figure for 1921-22. The present increase was the result of over-economy during the last four years. Half of the increased expenditure was met by economy. Increased provision also resulted in improvement of police work. The figures for 1927 compared with the figures for, 1924 showed a remarkable decrease in number of serious crimes such as dacoity, robbery, and theft. The efficiency and morale of the police had considerably improved. The Government were taking serious steps to prevent corruption. Several prosecutions were launched recently in addition to dismissals. The Budget figures compared favourably with figures for the provinces of Bengal and Madras, whose population was nearly equal to that of U. P.

Thakur Humuk Singh moved for the total rejection of the demand on the ground that there was harassing of innocent people by the police. The custodians of law and order inspired dread in the hearts of the masses.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani moved a reduction of 3 lakhs pointing out that the United Provinces Police accounted for 13 1-3 per cent of the total provincial expenditure. In the Central Provinces it was only 10 per cent, and only 10 and three fourth in the Punjab, and 11 and half per cent in Madras. Regarding efficiency, Mr. Chintamani quoted the figures of 1925-26 giving the percentage of property recovered. The U. P. figure was almost the lowest in India. The department, if so inclined, could economise to the extent of 3 lakhs, and release that amount for beneficial purposes.

Khan Bahadur Masadul Hasan opposed both the reduction motions. He said that the best remedy against corruption and misuse of power was bringing more educated men into the force, which would mean a larger budget provision.

Mr. S. M. Habibullah also opposed Mr. Chintamani's motion. All the reduction motions were rejected, and the entire demand was voted by 58 votes to 35. The Council then adjourned.

## THE EDUCATION DEMAND.

On the 17th MARCH the Education demand was discussed. The agenda contained over 200 reduction motions, 32 of which were disposed of on this day. The total Education expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,97,12,594.

Rai Rajeswar Bali, Education Minister, in presenting the demand detailed some of the developments in the Department during the current year. The Agra University was established in July 1927. Stress was laid on the expansion of primary education in both rural and urban areas, and the promotion of physical training in schools.

Mr. Dharamsir Singh (Swarajist) moved a reduction of Rs. 2 lakhs in respect of university education. The mover thought that the Government were spending over much on university education which, in a way, was a luxury. More money should be spent on technical and primary education.

The reduction motion was rejected without a division.

Mr. Bhagwat Narain Bhargava moved a reduction of Rs. 10,000 in the item concerning grants to European schools. The mover's grievance was that the provision for grants to European schools was about Rs. half lakh above the current year's revised figure. For less than 60 schools, maintained only for a handful of Anglo-Indian boys, the Government spent nearly Rs. 10 lakhs more. He quoted figures to compare the expenditure on European education in the United Provinces with that of some of the other provinces. Those schools would have nothing to do with Indian boys, although they were run at the cost of the Indian tax payer.

Mr. A. H. Mackenzie pointed out that the Department spent less than 5 per cent. of the total education expenditure on European schools. The percentage in 1926-27 was just over 5 and in the Budget it was a little above 4 and half. That showed conclusively that the Government were not spending more and more, but on the contrary less.

The motion after Mr. MacKenzie's reply was withdrawn.

Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu moved a token reduction urging the Government to make provision for grants to the Benares and Aligarh Universities.

Mr. George Lambert winding up the debate made it clear that he would not take shelter behind the beaten argument that Benares and Aligarh, being central subjects the Local Government had no responsibility for their welfare. He would admit that both universities deserved the Local Government's support. The difficulty was where to find the money.



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He would make no promise, but if towards the end of the calendar year it was found that there was no heavy loss to irrigation revenue, or if the receipts showed improvements, he would consider the question sympathetically.

Mr. Lambert was complimented by Mr. Govindballabh Pant, the Swarajist Leader, for his reasonable attitude, and the reduction motion was withdrawn. The Council then adjourned.

On the 19th MARCH discussion on the Education demand was resumed in the Council. A token cut was carried on the motion of Professor Habib, who emphasised the necessity for securing adequate Muslim representation on Universities' bodies.

The mover made it clear that the motion was not to be understood as one of lack of confidence in the Education Minister.

The motion was supported by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, leader of the Nationalists, Mr. G. B. Pant Swarajist leader, and several others, and was carried. The Education demand less one rupee, was then voted.

## THE FOREST DEMAND

On the 21st MARCH discussion of the Forest Budget was resumed in the Council.

Mr. Mukandilal moved a token reduction motion under General Direction. Criticising the Government's forest policy, he said that Kumaon members wanted all the civil forests taken over by the Government since 1911 to be given back to the people of Kumaon. They would never agree to fresh taxation.

Mr. H. A. Lane, Secretary, replying, said that there appeared to be misunderstanding about the action the Government proposed to take in regard to the forests in Kumaon. The report of the special officer deputed to study the Madras conditions was not yet before the Government. Previous to taking any action on the report the Government would certainly ascertain whether it would be possible to recover from the Kumaon people the cost of the special staff required to work the communal system of forest management.

The Nawab of Chattari, Home Member, winding up the debate, made it clear that the Government were as yet committed to no particular scheme.

The motion was then withdrawn.

Mr. G. B. Pant, moving a token reduction, pointed out that the Government made a net profit of about Rs. 50,000 by the sale of fire wood for charcoal.

The motion was withdrawn.

The Finance Member next moved a demand of Rs. 29,40,394 under the head Irrigation Works charged to Revenue. The demand was voted entirely. The Council then adjourned till March 27.

## LOANS AND ADVANCES.

On the 27th MARCH Mr. G. B. Lambert, Finance Member, moved a grant of Rs. 15,49,000 under the head "Loans and Advances" by the Local Government.

Thakur Hanuman Singh moved a reduction of Rs. 1 lakh in respect of the item concerning a loan to Lucknow for road construction. He said that the Lucknow Board was taking large loans year in and year out. He doubted if the Lucknow Municipality was in a position to pay off accumulated debts which, in the aggregate, was a huge amount. Further, the Board was systematically giving contracts to non-Indian firms for its road reconstruction. The Board must be asked to give its contract works to Indian firms, in preference to non-Indian agencies.

Moulvi Fasih-ud-Din, opposing the motion, said that some of Lucknow's roads were simply abominable. If anything, the Government should give larger loans to Lucknow to keep her roads respectable.

Nawab Yusuf, Minister for Local Self-Government, assured the mover that the Government never advanced money to any Board, unless they were fully satisfied with the scheme submitted by the Board, and unless the finances of the Board permitted such an advance. In regard to contracts, the Boards had the privilege of selecting their own contractors. The roads in Lucknow needed to be improved because of growing trade and increased traffic.

Pandit Rashbehari Tewary, member for Lucknow City, admitted the necessity of improving the city's roads, but was of opinion that preference should be shown to Indian firms by the Board.



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Sir Ivo Elliot, Secretary in charge, said that the debt charges of the Lucknow Board were Rs. 335,000 and the proposed loan would add to it another Rs. 21,000. The Government were satisfied that the present loan would not embarrass the Lucknow Board. The motion was withdrawn.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani moved a token cut in protest to the Government's ungenerous attitude towards the Allahabad Municipality in the matter of loans and grants for its water works reorganisation. The Government's attitude was all the more uncharitable when it was taken into consideration that the Minister of Local Self-Government, Nawab Yusuf, was himself a citizen of Allahabad.

The speaker had ascertained that the Allahabad Board had originally drawn up a comprehensive scheme with a view to re-organising its waterworks, but the Government had indirectly curtailed the scheme by reducing the loans proposed to be given to the Allahabad Board.

Sir Ivo Elliot, Secretary, replying to Mr. Chintamani, said that the present scheme of reorganisation was determined by the Allahabad Municipal Board over three years ago and the Government decided that it would not be possible for the Board to spend Rs. 30 lakhs on it.

The scheme was modified and the estimate of expenditure was later reduced to Rs. 18 lakhs. The Government had contributed Rs. 3 half lakhs as a grant, and the balance was being given by way of loans. The Government had to wait and see how the present reorganisation worked before they could embark on a larger project.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani was not satisfied at Sir Ivo Elliot's reply. He said that the Government had year after year condemned the Allahabad Municipal Board for its defects in connection with its waterworks, and when it asked for financial assistance the Government adopted a niggardly attitude.

Nawab Yusuf, Minister, replying, said that the reconstruction scheme was restricted to Rs. 18 lakhs purely on financial grounds, bearing in mind that the municipality had to repay the loan.

Mr. Chintamani pressed his motion, which was rejected by 48 votes to 28.

Mr. Chintamani next moved a token reduction in respect of the provision for Lucknow road construction and pressed for fair and equal treatment to all major municipalities in the Province in the matter of road reconstruction. Lucknow seemed to be the pet of the Government.

Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh wanted to know how the Government ascertained the capacity of the different Boards to repay the loans taken by them.

Sir Ivo Elliot explained the principle on which the financial stability of a board was judged before loans were given.

The reduction motion was lost without a division.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan moved a token "cut" in order to "impress the necessity of giving a loan to the Muzaffarnagar Board to execute certain drainage schemes."

Mr. G. B. Pant supporting the motion wished to know why no provision was made to finance the Almora waterworks scheme.

Nawab Yusuf said that the Muzaffarnagar Board's application for a loan for its drainage scheme came too late this year. The motion was withdrawn and the House adjourned.

DEMAND UNDER ADMINISTRATION, JUSTICE

On the 30th MARCH the Council discussed the demand for Rs. 62,03,755 under "Administration, Justice". A Swarajist motion urged total omission. Mr. Dharamvir Singh, the mover said that the present system of justice encouraged corruption. He favoured the abolition of the system of lawyers arguing cases for litigants who, in his opinion, should present their own cases.

The host of lawyers promoted and encouraged litigation, he said and "we don't fear the British Army so much as we fear the British courts. These courts demoralize us". The motion was rejected.

Two token cuts were adopted. One urged that the office of the Registrar of the Allahabad High Court should be thrown open to members of the Provincial Judicial Service, and another urged better pay and prospects in the establishment of the Allahabad High Court.

In addition to voting demands the Council elected four non-official members to the Committee on Public Accounts and eight members to the Finance Committee for 1928-29.



The 31st MARCH. Discussion on the demand was continued on this day, when K. B. Hafiz Hidayat Hussain pointed out that the demand included an item concerning the Simon Commission. He wanted the President to put that issue and then divide the House, but the President pointed out that under the rules no issue could be put after five, but the House had the option either to reject the grant or the particular demand in entirety. The demand was put, the Swarajists shouting "No," but it was voted without a division.

Mr. Mukandi Lal next moved a token reduction urging establishment of Civil Courts in Kumaon, where the Magistrate and Collectors decide, not only criminal cases but civil and revenue cases.

Mr. Lambert, replying, said the question was under the consideration of the Allahabad High Court. Kumaon had come under the jurisdiction of the Allahabad High Court only since April 1, 1926, and the High Court should be given some time to enquire into the matter before making any recommendation to the Government.

Thakur Sadho Singh, moving a token reduction, recommended that the Government should hold another Mukhtarship examination to enable plucked candidates to try a second time. Mr. Lambert opposed the motion, and it was rejected.

K. B. Hafiz Hidayet Hussain in another token motion urged that Mofussil lawyers should be given a chance to become High Court Judges.

Mr. Lambert, replying, said that the claims of Mofussil lawyers were always considered previous to making the appointment of High Court Judges. The motion was withdrawn.

Mr. Mukandi Lal expressed the opinion that there were too many Judges in the Oudh Chief Court, where there was not enough work for them.

Mr. Lambert assured the mover that the Chief Court Judges had anything but an easy time. The motion was withdrawn.

K. B. Hafiz Hidayet Hussain proposed a token reduction, and suggested that practising lawyers should occasionally be appointed deputy Legal Remembrancers.

Mr. Lambert pointed out that that post was hitherto always filled by members of the provincial Judicial Service, and it would be unjust to take it away from them. The motion was withdrawn.

Moulvi Fasih-ud-Din proposed another token reduction urging that some practising lawyers should be appointed sessions Judges. Mr. Lambert pointed out that eight posts of sessions Judges had been, since 1921, open to other than members of the Indian Civil Service. Of those eight posts one was given to direct recruitment of a practising lawyer and the remaining seven posts were reserved for members of the Provincial Service.

After minor discussions the demand was voted and the 26 guillotined demands were put and carried, the Swarajists persistently crying "No." The House then adjourned *sine die*.

## THE MINISTERS' RESIGNATION

THE following correspondence that passed between Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Governor of the U. P. and the two Hindu Ministers, viz, Rai Rajeswar Bali and Thakur Rajendra Singh clearly shows how the Ministers were forced to resign as they declined to co-operate with the Simon Commission.

The Governor in course of a letter to the Ministers pointed out that in accordance with the instructions of the Government of India the Local Government should submit their memoranda to the Simon Commission. In the preparation and submission of this memoranda Sir Alexander held, the Ministers should either co-operate or resign as he could not think the Local Government could disobey the orders of the Government.

The Ministers in course of a joint reply pointed out that under the present form of Government the Ministers were responsible to the Legislature. As the U. P. Legislative Council by a substantial majority, had decided that the Government had nothing to do with the Simon Commission, the Ministers did not think they could go against that



decision. Further they were of opinion that there was no provision in the Government of India Act by which the India Government could force them to carry out their order. The instructions by the Government of India were for the Governor-in-Council and not, as Sir Alexander held, for the Governor acting with his Ministers.

As the Governor could not share the views of the Ministers they resigned. In this connection it would be relevant to give a short history of the U. P. Ministries here. During the Non-co-operation days, after the first elections under the 'Reformed' constitution, when Congressmen did not stand, the then Governor Sir Harcourt Butler appointed Messrs. Chintamani (Editor of the "Leader"), and Jagat Narain (a well-known Lucknow lawyer) as his Ministers. They pulled on very well with the Governor, who had plenty of tack and knew the art of managing affairs. He kept his Ministers in good humour, and realised that they were working in the teeth of the opposition of their own people with non-co-operation rampant all round. Then came Sir William Marris as the Governor and troubles soon began. The weakening of Non-co-operation outside, weakened the Ministers' position inside as well. The Ministers resigned, the immediate cause being that Sir Claude de la Fosse of the Department of Education, filed a defamation suit against Pandit Iqbal Narain Sastri, a noted liberal politician, without taking the sanction of Mr. Chintamani, his official superior as the Minister for Education. The Chief Secretary and the Governor upheld Sir Claude and Mr. Chintamani resigned. Mr. Jagat Narain, acting on the principle of joint ministerial responsibility, also resigned. Non-co-operation being on a low ebb and no necessity being felt for hooking politicians the offices started going to vested interest. The Nawab of Chattari and Raja Parmanand became the next Ministers. Raja Parmanand dying while in office, Rai Rajeshwar Bali succeeded him. The Nawab of Chattari later became Home Member—being a convenient tool in the hands of permanent officials—and a curious Ministerial crisis became apparent. While no trouble arose when a Muslim succeeded a Hindu Minister in the first instance now there was insistence that a Muslim alone must succeed a Muslim. The Governor not knowing what to do, appointed two Ministers to succeed one, though there was not enough work even for one. And a Muslim Nawab (Muhammad Yusuf) and a Hindu Kumar (Rajendra Singh) along with the already existing Rai Rajeshwar Bali became Ministers. All were of a colourless variety, and created no scenes and no situations as the first Minister Mr. Chintamani used to do.

They did not worry over any principles of Joint Ministerial responsibility and such unimportant things. They troubled themselves now and then over their own communities, and for the rest they were pleased with themselves and the world around them. The small number of Swarajists and the large number of factions and parties in the Council kept them safe from all harm. Then came the Simon tangle and the Hindu Ministers helped directly and indirectly the Council to vote against the Commission by the majority of one. There was much jubilation, and the Ministers were much praised and applauded, and there were dinners and mutual congratulations in galore. But they evidently counted without their host. The Governor Sir Alexander Muddiman was not likely to take things lying down. What did he care for the Council and its member's and their votes? Though Nawab Muhammad Yusuf, as the Minister acting against the wishes of the Council, ought to have gone, he made up his mind that the other two, who were with the Council ought instead to go". (*From Forward*)

#### THE TEXT OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

On the 30th May, Rai Rajeswar Bali and Kumar Rajendra Singh in a joint letter to the Governor among other things wrote that, at a meeting of the whole Government on the 25th May, His Excellency observed that as their attitude towards the Simon Commission had remained unaltered, there would be no option for him but to ask them (Ministers) to resign. Since then they had no communication from the Governor on the subject. They were waiting for it.

#### THE GOVERNOR'S REPLY

In reply to this joint letter the Governor wrote that from the commencement of his term of office the two Ministers' attitude towards the Commission has caused him much anxiety and embarrassment. The announcement made by Rai Rajeswar Bali on his own behalf and that of Kumar Rajendra Singh to the Council on the



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31st March clearly indicated a wide difference of opinion between the Ministers and the rest of the Government on the vital question concerning the Government as a whole. That the public announcement of the two Ministers' attitude to the Commission made the position more difficult and he (Governor) expected that the two Ministers would resign immediately thereafter. The reply in the Council and the subsequent conversations seemed to show that the Ministers were able to draw a subtle distinction between the preparation and submission of memoranda to the India Government and their preparation and submission to the Simon Commission direct. He (Governor) did not press the matter then as he still hoped that the Ministers were considering whether the various announcement by Sir John Simon would enable them to reconsider their attitude. This, however, was not the case. The India Government recently ordered this Government to send its memoranda to the Simon Commission direct and on this they (Ministers) noted that they were unable to furnish memoranda to the Simon Commission. The Commission had now announced that they did not propose to make any further change in their procedure. He (Governor) had therefore lost all hope that a way could be found out of the difficulty without a change in the Ministry. It was impossible for the Governor acting with his Ministers to disobey orders of the India Government on a matter clearly within their powers. It was impossible for him to prepare a proper memorandum for the Commission without the active support and assistance of the whole Government. "In fairness to the province, to the rest of the Government and to myself I feel bound to endeavour to obtain active co-operation in that task by all such means as are open and since you and your colleague adhere to the position which unfortunately debars me from your advice and assistance in this arduous task, I have no option but to intimate that I shall feel bound to accept your resignations when tendered."

## THE MINISTERS' REPLY

Replying to this letter of the Governor, the Ministers wrote as follows :—

"Partition of the domain of the Provincial Government into two fields has been devised to make a beginning towards responsible Government and while the Governor-in-Council is still primarily responsible to Parliament for the discharge of his duties and responsibilities, Ministers are responsible to the Council except for carrying out the duties that have been specifically assigned to them by the constitution. In other words, except in matters in which their discretion has been specifically restricted by the Act or Rules and such restriction has been purposely confined to specific matters without any general saving clause to cover matters not so specified, their relations with an responsibility to Council are precisely on the same footing as they would be in case of a Minister *vis a vis* his legislature in any self-governing constitution. We regard this as the most essential and valuable part of even the present half-hearted constitution, for, we feel that after all a Minister would not be in the Government but is as responsible to the legislature for carrying out the wishes of the people as expressed by their representative therein and we do not think that except in specified cases he can divest himself in the performance of any public act of his responsibility to that body. Now in the present case the Council of our provinces decided by a majority to have nothing to do with the Commission so long as its present scheme of procedure remained unaltered. Not only was the majority absolute, but if the official bloc is excluded very substantially, fifty six elected members were for and 32 against the resolution, and even if the nominated non-officials are included the resolution was carried by a majority of 20 votes. The result of voting was not due to any spasmodic outburst of emotion or ill-conceived and hasty judgment but was the reflection of the public mind which has been deeply agitating over this question for several months.

Under such circumstances, it is the duty of a Minister in our judgment to obey the considered mandate of the legislature or if he disagrees, to resign. As we agreed, we undertook to carry out their wishes. In our view if those who are returned to the Council cannot perceive the effects of their votes given over in the conduct of Ministers it is difficult to see the differences between them and the Executive Councillors or between the legislature of pre-reformed type and the present one. But in a letter which the Education Minister wrote to your Excellency early in March and in a statement which he read to the Council on our behalf in reply to questions asked, it was made clear that while we proposed to carry the



wishes of the Council, we were ready to supply all information to the India Government which they required.

Your Excellency referred to in your letter to subtle distinction which we are thus drawing but as we have said above our responsibility to the Council is subject to definite statutory obligations which we accepted when we agreed to work this imperfect constitution. It was only lately that the India Government changed their mind and now they want the Local Government to send the material direct to the Commission. What is at best a matter of minor convenience to the commission involves for the Ministers, circumstanced as we are, a principle of great constitutional importance.

Your Excellency has been pleased to observe that it is impossible for a Governor acting with his Ministers to disobey the orders of the Government of India on a matter clearly within their powers (namely, that the memoranda should be submitted direct to the Simon Commission). We do not feel quite sure whether the matter is within their powers so far as the Ministers are concerned. If Your Excellency be pleased to tell us any provision to that effect we shall be quite prepared to give the matter a fresh consideration. We have no intention to disobey the India Govt. in their exercise of the powers entrusted to them by the Act or Rules. It was due to this consideration that we agreed to supply them the required information and have approved the number of the memoranda for submission to them, but we have not been able to find any provision by which the Govt. of India have powers to give to the Ministers direction of this kind. We, therefore, think that their recent orders to the Local Govt. cannot be interpreted to refer to the Governor acting with his Ministers. They can only be intended for the Governor in Council. In fact the subject of inquiry into the working of the Reforms has all along been treated as a reserved one in these provinces.

Your Excellency has referred to the wide difference of opinion between ourselves and the rest of the Govt. on the vital question concerning the Govt. as a whole and to the fact that you should not have been surprised if we tendered our resignations immediately after the public announcement of our attitude towards the Simon Commission. We may be permitted to discuss the point at length in order to vindicate the line of our conduct which may otherwise be said to involve a serious breach of constitutional propriety. In the first place our attitude towards the Commission was and is conditional and the same as the position of the Council. It is true that so far the Commission has not announced any substantial changes and that Sir John Simon has been reported to have stated that there will be no change in the procedure. But on our part we have not yet lost all hopes. We have yet faith in British statesmanship asserting itself which on numerous occasions unsettled many settled facts. We are not so pessimistic as to believe that no way will be found out of the present impasse and that the task of constitution-making for this country will be done without the co-operation of, to say the least, a very large majority of thinking Indians. But graver issues of far-reaching consequences and affecting seriously the position of the Ministers are involved in the question.

We are aware of the established practice that when a Minister differs from the majority of his colleagues in the Cabinet on any important question he resigns. If we had a constitution here which gave us a unitary form of Government we would have resigned immediately on such difference arising and not waited till the matter came up for discussion in the legislature. But in a dyarchical constitution, with its clear division of responsibility between the different founts of power, it is inevitable for the view points of the two sides of the Govt. to differ on important issues and to differ at times fundamentally. Perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that the graver the issue the greater the divergence is likely to be. With the best will on both sides to avoid them such differences have been and must continue to be a normal feature of the dyarchy which is expedient for carrying through anxious and confused period of conflict between divergent principles and aim. That this has happened frequently in every province and in relation to many public questions of first rate importance hardly needs elaboration. It may be said that this particular issue concerns the local Government as a whole during our tenure of office and in the case of one of us it extends over nearly 4 half years and in the other over 2 half years. We have had occasions to discuss the questions which substantially affected both sides of the Government, but it has never happened



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that in the case of a difference of opinion the will of one side of the Government has been imposed on the other or the responsibility for the decision shared jointly by both.

In a durbar speech at Allahabad the late Governor said, "While preserving the practice of consultation and discussion between both sides of the Government, I stood for a clear cut and not a blurred division of responsibilities and powers. It was always held that this practice was in accordance with the view of the Joint Parliamentary Committee which thought that it could not allow to confuse duties or obscure the separate responsibility which will rest on the two sides of the Government."

The existence of this essential feature of dyarchical system, as it has been worked, was recognised by the Reforms Committee over which His Excellency presided. We may also refer to the fact that in the matter of submitting U. P. reports on the working of the Reforms to your Committee in 1924 and to the Government of India in 1927 (and the matter concerned the Government as a whole as much then as it does now) the responsibility was solely exercised by the Governor in Council. Therefore, the constitution having been worked in the manner we have described, we feel that the salutary convention by which the members of the Government resign on their disagreeing with the majority of their colleagues has no place here, more so on an occasion when the dissenting colleagues happen to be Ministers ready to respect the views of the legislature: nor has it ever been expected under the present constitution of the members on the reserved side to resign when they happen to differ with the majority of the whole Government (including the Ministers). At least there have been no instances of either the Ministers or of the Executive Councillors doing so.

These are the reasons which have kept us back so far from tendering our resignations in so far as the administration of the departments is concerned. We feel we are still enjoying the full confidence of the Council and we believe we shall not be wrong in presuming that we enjoy your Excellency's confidence also. In the matter of the Simon Commission we are carrying on the wishes of the legislature while complying with all that the Act and Rules demand of us. But if, after giving consideration to the points mentioned above, your Excellency wishes that we should tender our resignations we shall readily do so."

## THE GOVERNOR'S REPLY

The letter of the Ministers was followed by the following letter dated the 7th June from His Excellency to Rai Rajeshwar Bali:—

"I have given the joint letter or yourself and your colleague the careful consideration that any communication from such a source is entitled to receive, but I remain of opinion that the preparation of the memoranda for the Simon Commission needs the active co-operation of all sections of the Government and that I am bound to endeavour to obtain that assistance by all means open to me.

I am convinced that your experience and knowledge would have been a valuable contribution to the solution of the different problems that must arise, but as that is denied, I must seek help elsewhere. In the circumstances, I have no option but regretfully to ask for your resignations."

*The Ministers resigned immediately after the receipt of this letter.*





## The Punjab Legislative Council

The Budget session of the Punjab Legislative Council commenced at Lahore on the 20th FEBRUARY with K. B. Saheb-ud-din in the chair, but no important business was transacted and the House adjourned till Wednesday, the 22nd instant.

After a two hours' sitting, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, Revenue Member, introduced the Punjab Medical Registration (Amendment) Bill, which being a non-controversial measure, was taken into consideration and passed.

### PUNJAB PREEMPTION LAW AMENDING BILL

The Revenue Member next introduced the Punjab Preemption (Amendment) Bill which was referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. Gokalchand Narang strongly opposed the introduction of the bill and its reference to a select committee, saying preemption was an extraordinary law having its origin in Islam. There was no such thing in non-Mahomedan countries, and he urged for its total repeal. This law was introduced by Mahommedans, on account of the purdah system in the villages. He did not see any reason why with the breaking up of purdah in modern times, such a law should be allowed to remain on the Statute Book. The judges of High Court in his opinion were in the best position to judge regarding the defects in the law. It was not at all necessary to propose amendments to the law. As it was, the law was stringent enough. He thought the amendment would lead to mischievous results and would prolong litigation.

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain replying said that the bill did not propose any change in the law, but only wanted to remedy defects by means of which clever people brought in devices to defeat the object of the law. To defeat the object of the law of preemption, a man had only to split up his transaction into two parts, purchase one land on the first day, and the balance on the second day. If a suit for preemption was brought in respect of the second sale by the village proprietors, he could successfully defend the suit on the ground that he acquired proprietary rights in the village one day prior to the second purchase. This meant that virtually the Punjab Preemption Act stood repealed. The amending bill wanted to remedy that defeat.

### PRESIDENT DISALLOWS MOTION ON REFORMS ENQUIRY

Sardar Ujjal Singh, gave notice of the following resolution for discussion in the Council, which however, was disallowed by the President.

"This Council recommends to the Governor-in-Council to convey to His Majesty's Government (a) that the Committee of the Legislature to be constituted to work with the Statutory Commission on reforms be given equal status with the Commission; (b) that the said Committee be given power to summon, to lead and to examine witnesses; (c) that the said Committee be given access to all papers to be dealt with by the Statutory Commission; (d) that the said Committee be given the right to submit a separate report from the one to be submitted by the Statutory Commission, in case of disagreement."

The reasons for disallowing the resolution were as follows, according to the President:—

"Firstly, because there is yet no official information that the Punjab Council is going to elect a Committee to work with the Statutory Commission; secondly, because the resolution is not consistent with Section 84-A of the Government of India Act, inasmuch as it is only the Commission that can submit a report, and not the Committee of the Council; and thirdly, because the resolution relates to a matter which is not primarily the concern of the Local Government".

### ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDIGENOUS MEDICINE

On the 22nd FEBRUARY, the Council devoted fully four hours to the discussion of non-official resolutions.



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The unfinished debate on Lala Mohanlal's resolution urging encouragement of Unani and Ayurvedic systems of medicine was then resumed, and after a lively discussion, the resolution was carried.

Sir Abdul Qadir then moved a resolution recommending that the course of studies in the Amritsar Medical School be extended to five years from four: but finding only a feeble support from the non-officials, the mover withdrew the resolution after a short discussion.

### INCOME-TAX AND SMALL LAND-HOLDERS

Chaudhuri Chhoturam, (ex-Minister), next recommended to the Government that the policy of applying the principles governing the levy of income-tax to the assessment of land revenue should be adopted as the goal to be reached within the next 40 years. A beginning should be made as soon as possible, preferably in the present Land Revenue Bill, to afford relief to the class of small holders.

Sir Fazli Hussain said that the total amount of salaries of the highly paid officers amounted to about 20 lakhs. How would this suffice to make up the deficiency of crores? None had greater sympathy with the holder of small lands than the Revenue Member; but he failed to see how he could accept the resolution.

Sir Fazli Hussain had not concluded his speech, when the Council adjourned, till the 23rd FEBRUARY when after an animated debate in which the official members contributed some illuminating speeches, the resolution was put to the vote and declared carried.

Sir Fazli Hussain, Revenue Member, challenged the division which resulted in the rejection of the resolution, 20 voting for and 34 against it.

Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, Finance Member, pointed out the fallacies, dangers and evil effects of the resolution and added that the mover, instead of promoting the welfare of the poor zamindars and creating a paradise for them, was leading them to Fools' Paradise and digging the grave for them.

Mr. Emerson, Chief Secretary said that if a large number of zamindars ceased to pay land revenue they would be deprived of their right to vote. The mover, by his resolution, was retarding the political progress of the country. Moreover, the adoption of the resolution would mean economic and fiscal revolution.

The Council then adjourned till the 25th when the Provincial Budget was presented.

### BUDGET PRESENTED

On the 25th FEBRUARY Sir George De Montmorency, Finance Member, presented the budget estimates of the Punjab for the year 1928-29.

The total revenue expenditure which stood at 10.69 lakhs in 1921-22, stated the Finance Member, had increased by a crore, while there had been marked decreases under direct demands, miscellaneous and contributions, resulting in the re-adjustments of expenditure, by which expenditure in the case of beneficent departments had increased by 150 lakhs.

The Finance Member then reviewed the more salient features of his proposals for new expenditure now presented to the Council, and said that there was provision for the further development of the criminal tribes department's work, and a scheme for the re-organisation of the police as a result of the recommendations of the Provincial Police Committee.

Referring to the provision for education, the Finance Member said for the first time in the budget, while liberally providing for maintenance and expansion in the backward areas, definite provision was also separately made under the head Compulsion for 450 teachers and for conversion of 400 primary into lower middle schools, and of 40 lower middle schools into upper middle schools. As a result of this financial provision, education could now not only spread, but also at the same time intensify. Under the head Medical, new expenditure was provided for the provincialisation of a number of Tahsil hospitals, and improvement in hospital buildings and equipment. A provincial school for training lady sub-assistant surgeons was to be established. Yearly 70 new rural dispensaries were to be started.

Under agriculture, provision had been made for progress with the five-year programme for research into important crops and crop diseases and for the development of seed farms. Under industries the main features were a considered



scheme for improving the equipment of industrial schools, and a project for establishing a modern efficient sugar mill factory in South-east Punjab.

Referring to the capital account, the Finance Member said that they proposed to incur expenditure to the extent of 183 lakhs or 23 lakhs less than in the revised budget of the present year. They were considering the Sutlej Valley Irrigation project, and the Uhl Hydro-Electric scheme. During the current year the head works at Ferozepore had been opened, and capital expenditure on it in the future would be small. By the end of the year, it was hoped that all the main canals, with the exception of the Panjnad canal, would be completed and many of the branches would be ready.

Regarding the Uhl Hydro-Electric project, the sanctioned estimate amounted to 420 lakhs, and the estimated expenditure upto the end of 1927-28 would be 61 lakhs. The budget estimate for 1927-29 was 46 lakhs.

### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET

General discussion on the Budget commenced on the 29th FEBRUARY. Non-official members from all sides of the House, while congratulating the Finance Member on his lucid budget, said that it was disappointing from the point of view of the tax-payer, in that he had failed to give relief to poor Zamindars by remission of taxation.

Chardri Chhoturam, Ex-Minister, quoted figures to show that Government always under-estimated the revenues and over-estimated expenditure. Year after year, heavy sums placed at the disposal of Departments remained unspent. Their assets at the end of 1928-29, he said, would be 288 lakhs, and not 79 lakhs as stated in the financial statement.

In view of this miscalculation every year, was the Government justified, he asked, in saying that the remission of taxation would imperil the progress of the province? He advised the Government to be more charitable and generous and not to take advantage of the ignorance of poor people who though not organised were silently watching the activities of the Government. If these people got excited the result would be disastrous.

Members also criticised the holding of the summer session of the Council at Simla, and said that in last year Rs. 40,000 was spent for only two sessions in the hills.

Mr. Afzal Haq attacked police expenditure, and said that if the Police Department was abolished, there would be more peace in the country and less corruption. The Council then adjourned.

On the 1st MARCH, after every side of the house has criticised the Budget, members of the Government and the Ministers replied to the various criticisms.

Sir Fazli Hussain said that the Government fully respected the wishes of the Council and out of 11 resolutions passed by the Council, action had been taken on 9 resolutions and Government had incurred very great expenditure in improving the water-logged tracts to save those areas from poverty.

Malik Ferozekhan Noon, Minister, gave detailed information to the House about the improvements made in the Department of Public Health and the steps taken by the Government to eradicate malaria and to arrest the course of epidemics and the provisions made for improving rural sanitation. He said that there were no less than 891 dispensaries in the Punjab. The Local Self-Government Ministry had decided to allow town committees to have non-official presidents.

Mr. Manoharlal, Education Minister, said that the Government was in full sympathy with the appeal of the members regarding compulsory education. In 1926 compulsion was in force in 451 rural areas. In 1927 the figure stood at 1,600. He said that the rate of progress had been most gratifying, and it had been a matter of encouragement to him that the proposed experiment of intensifying compulsion had the generous approval of the members. Their rapid expansion of primary education and increased application of compulsion had been the object of envy in other provinces of India. Last year, high educational officers from Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces, visited the Punjab and everyone went back greatly appreciating the work the Punjab was doing in the domain of education. Regarding education of the depressed classes, he had personally, during the last two or three months, devoted considerable attention to the question, and the Director of Public Instruction had examined every device by means of which they could promote education among the depressed classes.

Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency, Finance Member, speaking last, expressed thanks



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for the very useful suggestions made by the members. They were of enormous value to the Government and he welcomed especially the many concrete schemes put forward by the members, which would be examined and studied with the same spirit in which they were offered. The proposals would be considered sympathetically by the Government. The whole of their financial position, said the Finance Member, would be clearly explained to the Simon Commission. Another important matter which would be laid before the Commission was that while money was spent on development, nothing came back in solid cash to the Local Government, but went to the Government of India in the shape of income-tax and railway receipts.

Referring to Sir Basil Blackett's statement in the Legislative Assembly extinguishing the provincial contributions for all time, the Finance Member said that the House would like to express gratitude to Sir Basil for bringing the financial position of the Government of India from a difficult and unstable position to such a state of stability. As regards the methods in which the recurring remission of provincial contribution would be employed by them, Sir Geoffrey said the whole position would be gone into again, and no portion of that remission would be devoted to any recurring or non-recurring purpose till the Council had an opportunity of discussing the question.

Regarding the members' criticism of the Simla session, the Finance Member said that the Government did not attach special importance to holding sessions in Simla. If members did not wish to hold a session in Simla, they would consider the matter. If the session could be held in Lahore in May before the Government moved to the hills, there would be a real saving.

The Budget discussion then concluded and the House adjourned.

## VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS.

Voting on Government's demands for grants commenced on the *2nd MARCH*. At the outset Sir Fazli Hussain, Revenue Member, moved for the grant of the demand under the head "Land Revenue."

Notices of nine amendments for reduction of the grant were given by a number of non-official members, but only three amendments were disposed of on this day.

The first amendment moved by Mr. Mahomed Hussain for a cut of Re. 1 from the demand for Rs. 220 being the proposed increase in the pay of Tahsildars, raised a stormy debate in which Sir Fazli Hussain, Pandit Nanakchand, Mr. Sewakram and Mr. Mahomed Sadiq took a prominent part. The President had to call several members to order, and had to ask the mover to stop.

Regarding the distribution of copies of a pamphlet alleged to have been handed over to the mover of the motion by the Secretary, Tahsildars' Association, the President said that if on enquiry he found that it has been distributed by a member of the House, he was afraid he might have to take action against him. It was not proper, he said, to distribute any papers in the Council Chamber without the permission of the Chair. He ruled that it should not be referred to at all in the speeches and that whatever had already been said on its basis should be expunged from the proceedings of the Council.

Later, during the debate, Mr. Abdul Ghani, a nominated member representing Labour, in his speech, said that he was the legal adviser to the Tahsildars' Association, and that he was authorised to inform the Government that the Tahsildars did not want the increase proposed by the Government in their pay.

On this Sir Fazli Hussain, Leader of the House, drawing the attention of the President, said that if that was the wish of the House, he was ready to accept the amendment, and thereby stop further increment in the pay of the Tahsildars. He pointed out that the non-official members had no right to put larger demands before the House for sanction than what the Government put before them. It was up to the House to reduce the demand but not to increase it.

An important administrative point was also involved in it, said Sir Fazli Hussain. If non-official members of the House in the matter of individual services were going to make recommendations to Government, it was creating a position which the administration would find hard to deal with, unless it was dealt with firmly and seriously.

To this speech of Sir Fazli Hussain, strong exception was taken by Pandit Nanakchand, Mr. Sewakram and Mr. Mahomed Sadiq, who protested against the threats of the Leader of the House.



Sir Fazli Hussain replying said that he never meant any threat to any member. The amendment was eventually withdrawn and the House adjourned.

On the 3rd MARCH five more amendments were moved urging cuts in the demand for land revenue, four of which were withdrawn after the Government members had given full information on the points raised by the debate, and one was ruled by the President as out of order.

The amendments that were withdrawn wanted to discuss the colonisation policy of the Government, the pay of Patwaris and the Government policy in connection with sales by auction of Government waste land.

#### QUESTION OF INTRODUCING PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Chaudhuri Afzal Haq's amendment for a reduction of the total grant by Re. 1 to urge for permanent settlement in the Punjab, was ruled out of order by the President on the ground that so long as the Punjab Land Alienation Act was in force the Government had no power to introduce permanent settlement. The right course, he said, was to take steps to have the Act amended to that effect, and not to criticise the Government for what it could not possibly do under the law in force. So long as the Punjab Land Revenue Act was on the statute book, the duty of the Government was to administer the Revenue Department in accordance with that Act; and if it failed to do so its acts were open to criticism for its failure. The motion as it stood went beyond the Act and was therefore out of order. It was open to the mover to bring a Bill with the previous sanction of the Governor-General or to move a resolution asking the Government to make necessary modifications of the law.

#### THE EXCISE DEMAND.

Sardar Jogendra Singh, Minister for Agriculture, next moved demand No. 2, requesting a grant of Rs. 14,42,500 under "Excise."

Notices of three amendments had been given by Chaudhuri Afzal Haq for a reduction of the total grant by Re. 1 to urge on the Government the necessity of pursuing a policy of partial or total prohibition. Before the member could move the amendments, the President ruled that all amendments were in his opinion out of order. He said that until the present Excise Act was amended, the Council could not discuss the policy of total prohibition, as the policy could be charged only by changing the law.

The total demand under "Excise" was then opposed by Mr. Afzal Haq who criticised the excise policy of the Government, and asked the Minister to amend the present law, and bring about prohibition as quickly as possible.

A number of non-official members supported the demand, and pointed out that the prohibition would increase illicit consumption of liquor and that temperance reform should begin at home, and that the local Opium Act should be more vigorously put into operation by the Municipalities. The Council then adjourned.

#### MOTION FOR CUT IN FOREST GRANT

On the 5th MARCH, the sitting of the Council was more or less dull not only because most of the amendments were ruled out of order by the President, but also because many members who had given notice of amendments were not in their seats when the time came for moving those motions.

The demand under Stamps was carried without a discussion, and so were demands under Forest (Capital), Registration, Irrigation and Debt services.

Chaudhuri Ram Singh's amendment for a reduction of the total grant by Re. 1 in the demand under Forests raised a discussion on the general policy of the Government in regard to administration of forests.

Several non-official members, supporting the amendment, criticised the forest policy, and asked the Government to abolish the cattle tax.

The Revenue Member assured the House that the Government was administering the Forest Department in the interest of the people of the province, and that the cattle-tax was not meant to fill the coffers of the Government.

The amendment being pressed by the mover was put to the House and declared lost by the President.

A division was then challenged. The President declined to divide the House,



pointing out that the object of the motion was to discuss the general policy of the Forest Administration, and that the purpose being served there was no necessity for putting the motion to vote.

The demand was then put to vote and carried.

Chaudhuri Choturam, who moved an amendment for reduction of the total grant by Re. 1 (one) in the demand under Irrigation (Capital), drew the attention of the Government to the absence of any budget provision for undertaking the execution of the Bhakra Dam scheme and requested that the scheme be put into operation without delay.

Sir Fazli Hussain assured the mover and the House that both the Governor and himself were anxious to complete the scheme, and that they were approaching the Government of India for sanction. The mover withdrew the motion, and the demand was carried.

#### GENERAL ADMINISTRATION DEMAND.

The demand under General Administration (Reserved) was under discussion, when the Council adjourned.

The first amendment under this demand moved by Chaudhuri Choturam for Re. 1 cut to urge the abolition of Divisional Commissioners was ruled out of order by the President. The second amendment moved by Pandit Nanakchand for a cut of Rs. 100 from the item—Commissioners—to urge upon the Government the necessity of abolishing the establishment of Divisional Commissioners was allowed by the President after a lengthy debate in which Mr. Manoharlal, Education Minister, gave a lucid exposition of the rules prevailing in Parliament.

On the 7th MARCH Government sustained the first defeat of the session when Mr. Afzal Haq's motion for a token cut in the demand under General Administration (Reserved), urging separation of the Judiciary from the Executive, was carried despite strong Government opposition.

The mover made a lengthy speech, pointing out that people could not expect justice so long as the Judiciary and the Executive were not separated, and referred to several cases where the High Court had passed severe strictures on magistrates for not taking an unbiassed judicial view and consulting the Police prosecuting agency in deciding cases. Non-officials from every side of the House supported the motion.

Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency, Finance Member, explaining why no action was taken on the recommendation of the Committee appointed in 1921, said that there was financial stringency at that time. Later, there was an extraordinary wave of crime in the province. The Government did not consider it advisable to weaken the power of the Executive, though it considered the separation of functions as an obviously right principle. They had to face facts and not to take comfort with high sounding theories. The Government was primarily responsible for law and order. If crime was a negligible factor in the Punjab, they could experiment with theories, but that was not the case. The Police administration report showed no decrease in crime.

Sir Geoffrey then referred to the wave of communal disturbances in the Punjab since the Multan riots of 1922, ending with the Lahore riot last May, which was still fresh in memory. He thought that only the action of the District Magistrates and the co-operation of officials and non-officials checked outbreaks, and kept the situation under control after the riots. At present it was difficult for the Government to accept the theory of separation of functions.

A non-official member, speaking next, said that the Government should not take advantage of communal disturbances. This was the one argument Government was advancing whenever popular demands were put forward, and that was the reason why they did not want the Simon Commission. The Commission would give the same reply as the Finance Member had given to-day.

Sardar Bakhtawar Singh said that it was better if the Punjab were put under martial law than that they should have courts where people could not get justice.

The motion was put to vote and carried, the Government not challenging a division.

The next amendment moved by Mr. Afzal Haq for a token cut urging the Government to give Government advertisements to all newspapers having a circulation of one thousand or more, was lost, the majority who opposed it characterising



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the Punjab Vernacular Press as most irresponsible and as fomenting communal ill-will.

Before the Council adjourned, the President referred to Lord Sinha's death, and said that the loss was a loss to the whole of India. He was sure Lord Sinha's death would be universally mourned.

On the 8th MARCH the demand under General Administration (reserved) was carried in the Council with only a cut of Re. 1. effected yesterday.

Of the two amendments moved on this day one was withdrawn after the mover protested against the meagre representation of Zamindars particularly in South East Punjab among Extra Assistant Commissioners and Tahsildars.

The other cut, which was lost, urged the Government to give more facilities for keeping arms.

Five amendments were ruled out, and the total grant though opposed by a section of the House, was carried.

The next demand under General Administration (transferred) was carried without any discussion.

## DEMAND UNDER JUSTICE

When the demand under "Justice" was moved, Mr. Mahomed Saddique urged a token cut to discuss the system of recruitment of Sub-Judges by the High Court. He asked the Government to recruit them from the members of the Bar and from different communities on the basis of population for a number of years, and to give a fair proportion in the service to all the communities. Discussion on the amendment had not concluded, when the House adjourned.

On the 9th MARCH full four hours were devoted for discussing two amendments urging token cuts in the demand "Administration of Justice" to request the Government to note that while recruiting Sub-Judges the proportion of the representation of the various communities should be fixed in order to avoid excessive representation of one particular class in the Judicial service and that Zamindar Sub-Judges be recruited 25 per cent in excess of the proportion fixed by the Punjab Government resolution of 1/19.

The debate took a lively turn during the latter part of the day. Mr. Nanakchand spoke strongly against those who encouraged communalism in the services, and warned the Government of the danger of the communal poison spreading and asked for a definite declaration of policy regarding communal representation. They were, he said, on the eve of examination by the Simon Commission whether they were fit or unfit for self-government, and the House must give a clear reply.

Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency, Finance Member, observed that the communal basis once adopted could not be applied to one service alone. The question would be asked why it should not be extended to all the other services under the Local Government. In view of the importance of the subject he gave the history of the origin and growth of representation in the services since the days of the Company rule. When the East India Company came to India, said the Finance Member, they found monopoly of services. Ministerial appointments lay in the hands of a certain class and they considered it unfair. That led to the well-known statement of policy made by the Governor-General in 1833 before the assumption of the Government by the Crown that there should be no governing class whatever in British India. Other tests of qualifications should be adopted in the public services. The same thread was taken up in the Queen's declaration and later by the Public Services Commission of 1911. After a few years in the Central Legislature a private member brought a motion, which was accepted by the Government as a correct statement of the case, that one community or class should not over-weigh the scale in the matter of the services, but that as far as possible, the claims of all the communities should be considered. This question was taken up by the Punjab Government resolution of 1919, in which they found that at that time the Zamindar class was numerous in the province, paying a large part of the taxes. Later they came to certain conclusions. Efficiency was the first consideration. It was decided that recruitment to the services should be so made as not to exclude any one class. The adoption of a rigid communal proportion, opined the Finance Member, was retrograde. It tried to destroy the original declaration of 1833, because the Govern-



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ment was a government for all and not for one class. The cut motion was eventually withdrawn. Another cut was negatived by a majority of one vote.

The whole demand under "Justice", when put to vote was opposed, and declared lost. On a division being challenged by the Government, the demand was carried by 36 to 27 votes. The Council then adjourned.

### PRESIDENT WITHDRAWS PREVIOUS RULING

At the commencement of the sitting, the President announced that he found on going through the debates of the Punjab Council during the past seven years, that while, discussing demands for grants, the Council had discussed matters involving legislation in a number of cases. Though his ruling, that during the budget session while demands for grants were under discussion the matters involving legislation could not be discussed, was constitutionally quite sound and in accord with Parliamentary practice, in view of the fact that a convention and practice had already been established on the point, he did not propose to follow it in future.

### TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

On the 12th MARCH the Government sustained a second defeat when a token cut moved by Mr. Afzal Haq, demanding better treatment of political prisoners, in the demand under "Jails and Convict Settlements" was carried, the Government not challenging a division. More than half a dozen members, who had jail experience, spoke on the motion, relating the harsh treatment meted out to political prisoners and the humiliations they had suffered for political offences not involving moral turpitude.

Other non-officials supported the motion and asked the Government not to treat them worse than European prisoners and convicts.

Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency, the Finance Member, replying on behalf of the Government, informed the House about the recent rules regarding special class prisoners, and regretted that there had been cases where these rules were not followed. Where special class prisoners did not receive the treatment they should have received under the rules, this fault, he said, could be removed by official inspection or by non-official visitors. He assured the House that if non-official visitors brought to his notice any case in which special class prisoners were not treated according to the rules, he would give that case his immediate attention. He added that he should be only too happy to see the day when there would be no so-called political prisoners. He was glad that there were in the Punjab only very few of them at the present moment. He hoped that the House would not think that the Government was unsympathetically inclined or had any bias against these prisoners. The desire of the Government was that they should be fairly treated, and he would exert all the efforts in his power to see that they received humane treatment, which the rules entitled them to receive.

Other cuts were withdrawn, and the total demand minus one rupee was put, and carried.

### THE POLICE DEMAND.

The Finance Member then moved the demand under "Police."

Mr. Ferozuddin Khan moved an amendment for the reduction of Re. 1 in respect of the item of Rs. 62,23,340, being the total pay of the establishment and to raise a discussion on the lack of efficiency in the Police. The discussion on the amendment was not concluded when the Council adjourned.

On the 13th MARCH voting on Government demands for grants concluded after the House had voted the police demand. At the end of a lengthy debate in which lack of efficiency in the police was criticised by non-officials from every side of the House and references were made to the alleged high-handedness of the police in Lahore in dispersing the crowd of demonstrators on the day of the Simon Commission's arrival in the city, guillotine was applied at 5 p.m. by the President and the remaining demands were put and carried.

During the debate on the cut proposed by Rana Ferozuddin in the demand under Police, reference was made by several non-official members to the police interference while the boycotters were demonstrating on the day of the Simon Commission's arrival in Lahore and to the excesses committed outside the Lohari



Gate the same evening, when some prominent Congress and Khilafat leaders were belaboured with lathis and one Congress worker was thrown into a dirty drain and also beaten.

Mr. Emerson, Chief Secretary, replied on behalf of the Government. For many weeks past, said the Chief Secretary, the police in Lahore were having an extremely trying and arduous time. Almost every night there was a meeting. There had been no prohibitory order whatsoever issued by the Government. Although from the reports he had seen daily there had not been a single meeting at which one or more speakers had not made speeches which rendered them liable for prosecution under the Criminal Law, the Government deliberately refrained from prosecution, because they did not wish to prevent those who opposed the Simon Commission from giving expression to their opinions. The greatest possible latitude had been given. On Friday last a large meeting was held outside the city, and it was decided to hold another meeting inside the city the next day and take a procession largely composed of people summoned from outside Lahore. There was again no proclamation by the District Magistrate or anybody else, that such a procession would be forbidden nor was the procession actually forbidden. It was doubtful whether the procession could safely be taken through the city having regard to the feelings of all the communities. The majority of shopkeepers were against such a demonstration; and eventually it was considered safe to take the procession through the city under police protection. The police protected the boycotters from the shopkeepers who might otherwise have come into collision. (Raizada Hansraj: Thank you.) Again, in pursuance of the policy of giving those opposed to the Statutory Commission an opportunity of registering their personal protest, every facility was given to the demonstrators gathered at the Railway Station on Saturday. Under very great provocation, the police showed wonderful patience.

Referring to the allegations of the vernacular press, that the Deputy Commissioner gave an assurance to certain members of the crowd outside the railway station, that the Simon Commission would pass that way, and at the last minute by a ruse the Commission was taken another way, the Chief Secretary said the Deputy Commissioner and other police officers assured the demonstrators that if they obeyed orders and spread themselves in an orderly fashion along the Empress Road, the members of the Simon Commission would pass that way, and that they would have an opportunity of demonstrating their disapproval. But in defiance of the orders of the police a small band insisted on staying inside the station yard, and they were prevented from making a demonstration. Had they acted according to the promise of the Deputy Commissioner and other police officers, they would have been given, as the rest of the demonstrators were given, every opportunity for recording their protest. He knew the desire of most of the members of the House, that the Government should avoid repressive measures as far as possible, and thought that every reasonable member of the House would agree that the Government in following that policy carried toleration and forbearance to the utmost limit. Every credit was due to the police for loyally carrying out the policy of the Government under great provocation and in trying circumstances keeping their temper and avoiding breach of the peace.

The Finance Member replying to the debate referred to the incident on Saturday near Mr. Lachmandas's house, and said he had not yet seen the official report on the subject, and reserved judgment until he had seen that report. He assured the House that he would make enquiries regarding the incidents outside the Lohari Gate.

The cut was lost, and the total demand for police was voted.

#### THE REFORMS ENQUIRY

On the 14th MARCH there was tense excitement in the Council when it reassembled to transact official business. The visitors' gallery was crowded by European ladies and attendance in the House was almost full.

The unusual interest was due to the motion on the agenda paper by a member of the Government that the Council do proceed to elect a committee of 7 representatives to take part in the joint conference with the Indian Statutory Commission. Sir John Simon and the Commissioners who were expected to be present as visitors did not come.

The President read out the notice of an adjournment motion which was



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given by Mr. Mahomed Sadiq to discuss the alleged objectionable treatment meted out to an honourable member of the House by the Deputy Commissioner, Jullunder. He announced that the adjournment motion would be taken up after interpellations.

When Sir Fazli Hussain rose to move the election of a committee by the Punjab Council to take part in the Joint Conference with the Statutory Commission, Sardar Labh Singh rose to a point of order, saying that according to the Standing Orders, seven days' notice was required for a motion, whereas notice of this motion was given to the members of the House only the previous day at 4 p.m. He knew that the President had discretionary power to allow a motion even without notice or with short notice; but considering the controversial nature of the motion and its importance, he asked the President not to allow the motion.

Sir Fazli Hussain said he thought every member of the House had ample occasion to study the important question long before notice of the motion was given to the House; and he hoped the attempt to prevent discussion of this important question would not be successful.

Dr. Alam said that no time was given to the House to move amendments to the motion as according to Standing Orders two days' notice was necessary. How could they move amendments when notice of the motion was given only the previous day at 4 p. m?

The President said that the point had been considered by him before and he had agreed to the motion being put on the agenda paper. He had instructed the Secretary of the Council to take notice of amendments to this motion from the members and if any member wanted to move an amendment he could do so till the motion was disposed of. But if the honourable members did not want to discuss the motion, he would refuse permission to the Leader of the House to move the motion. The President then took the sense of the House which was in favour of discussing the motion forthwith, and he therefore allowed the discussion.

SIR FAZLI HUSSAIN'S RESOLUTION

Sir Fazli Hussain then moved that the Legislative Council do proceed to elect a committee of seven representatives to take part in the joint conference with the Statutory Commission. He said he did not want to rush the motion, but was prepared to elect a committee even in the May session of the Council, according to the wishes of Raja Narendranath, Leader of the Hindu Party. His motion, if adopted, would not force the Council to elect a committee forthwith.

At this stage, Mr. Afzal Haq moved that the debate be adjourned. He made a lengthy speech in Urdu criticising the manner and haste in which the Government were trying to elect a committee.

On the conclusion of his speech, the motion was put to vote and lost by 14 voting for, and 55 against. The debate on Sir Fazli Hussain's motion was then resumed.

Mr. Mahomed Sadiq (Nationalist) said the Governor could not ignore the will of the nation outside the House, by offering a sop to the members. It was much better to die with honour than to live with dishonour. The appointment of the Commission was an insult to India. He asked the Government to withdraw the motion.

Mr. Bodhraj (Congress) said that there could be no greater insult to the manhood of India than the appointment of the all-White Commission. All the political parties in the country and the Legislative Assembly, and some local Legislatures had declared that they would have nothing to do with the Commission; and though the party to which he belonged was in a minority, they would also express their want of confidence in the Commission. There was no necessity for the Commission to take the trouble of coming to India, as the report they would submit must have already been prepared.

Sir Fazli Hussain: Have you seen a copy of the report?

Mr. Bodhraj said his heart told him that the report must be ready, and they all knew what that report would be.

Captain Sikandar Hayat Khan (National Unionist) said that refusal to co-operate with the Commission would be wrong, as the status of the Committee of the Legislature would be the same as that of the Commission. They should do their best to put their case, and get as much out of the Commission and Parliament



# THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

[LAHORE

as possible. If the Commission did not do justice to India, even after obtaining their co-operation, the British public would have to bear the brunt of the criticism of the civilised world.

Pandit Nanakchand (National Reform Party) supported the motion. He said that no Indian was appointed when Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford made their enquiries in 1919. Every help was given to them. He did not see any reason why they should not put their case before the Simon Commission, as he was sure that due weight would be given to Indian opinion. It was ridiculous to say that the report was already prepared. From past experience, they would have found that non-co-operation was not a sound policy. Lord Reading had said that there were two ways for attaining self-government, either to take the sword or to act with the co-operation and good-will of the British Parliament. If they could not take the sword they must accept the good-will offered by the British people. The problem of self-government would be solved, he said, when the question of minority and majority rights were settled. No indication had been given by the All-Parties Conference in what way the interests of the minorities would be safe-guarded. He, as a member of the minority community of the Punjab, refused to accept the solution given by the Madras Congress and later ratified in Calcutta. How the rights of the minorities would be safe-guarded, was the most vital question. No serious attempt had been made to solve it. Without entering into the details of these difficult questions, they could not give a definite answer as to how India would be treated under the Swaraj Government. He being a Punjabee, had to live near the Frontier; and he must make adequate safeguards for the defence of minorities. Moreover, communal representation, which was the root cause of all the communal riots in India, must go. This system of representation was responsible for all the communal differences and for communal ill-will.

Dr. Alam (leader of the Nationalist Party) who spoke for one hour opposing the motion, said that the decision of his party was not to co-operate with the Simon Commission under any circumstances. He considered it a moral success, that in the last division 14 or 15 members, notwithstanding temptations and fears and hopes of prizes and rewards, opposed the Commission.

Their only duty was to non-co-operate with the Commission. It came to decide *ex parte* between the British and the Indian people. Referring to Pandit Nankchand's views. Dr. Alam contended that the personal views of members did not count and challenged a referendum to the people outside the council. He said that it was the duty of United India to defend India unitedly. He pointed out the futility of magnifying little differences. Concluding he said: "I say, it is decidedly against our honour and we cannot accept the motion. It is a gross insult to India. Whatever privileges might be granted to the Committee, it cannot have equal status with the Royal Commission. Nobody can say that the Committee will have equal status with the Commission appointed by Parliament. I submit that these committees are of no value. Under the circumstances, I appeal to the House to stand by the country and to stand by the honour of this province. Let not the people be deluded by false delusions and false hopes. Our only duty at the present moment is to oppose this resolution and reject it. Members who will vote for the Opposition side will go to add to the strength of future India. If we are not going to defeat the motion to-day, we are going to win to-morrow."

Chaudhuri Zafarullah Khan said that the matter was most important not only to India, but to the whole of the British Empire. He protested against Dr. Alam's suggestion that the members of the House supporting the motion would do so out of fear and temptation. He did not like to go into the history of British domination. They had to face facts. The British were in possession of the country, which was a solid fact. It was a grievous mistake not to have taken Indians on the Commission. No makeshift of legislative committees would take away that objection. He urged the availing of the opportunities placed before them to enable them to assert their rights.

Sardar Buta Singh exhorted the majority of the Council to join the majority of the people outside the Council and defeat the Government. Had the people acted on the advice of Gandhiji, Swaraj would have already been got. He warned the Zamindar members of the Council not to be lured by the Government. The time would come, he said, when they would require the help of the House when their rights were attacked by the Government.



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## GOVERNMENT'S REPLY TO THE DEBATE.

At 5-45 closure was applied to the debate.

Sir Fazli Hussain, replying to the debate, said that the question had been discussed in the Central Legislature, and in some local legislatures and in the public press. They might all have read Sir John Simon's letter to H. E. the Viceroy. The reports of the Committees of the local legislatures would be added as appendices to the report of the Commission. He added that the Government had no desire for such a Committee. He was simply carrying out the wishes of the Chairman of the Commission that the local legislatures should elect Committees to work with the Commission. This Council was a reflex of various schools of thought; and the Council could only be truly representative, if it reflected the views of all classes of people. One aspect of the debate, he said, hurt him. It was alleged that the Government as a whole were offering temptation of all sorts to the members. He trusted, that the views of the House were not what the member who said so held. If the Opposition leader wanted to carry the House with him, he should not have dubbed the supporters of the Government as dishonest. The Opposition consisted of three distinct parties, Congress, Khilafat and Nationalist. The minority was entitled by all means to put their case to the Council with the fullest liberty possible.

## MOTION CARRIED

The motion was then put and carried the Opposition not challenging a division. The Council then adjourned.

## ALLEGED INSULT TO M. L. C.

On the 15th MARCH a motion for adjournment regarding the alleged objectionable treatment meted out by the Deputy Commissioner, Jullundur, to Chaudhuri Abdul Rahman, member of the Punjab Council, was taken up. Speeches were made demanding prompt enquiry by the Government into the allegation referred to in the motion.

Dr. Mahomed Alam remarked that it was adding insult to inquiry. The Government should issue instructions making such things impossible in future.

Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency, speaking for the Government, said that the dignity of the members of the House was as dear to the Government as to any others in the House. On that account, the Government had not taken exception to the motion. He agreed that all officers of Government should show courtesy to the members of the Council.

Mr. Emerson, Chief Secretary to the Government, speaking later, read out a letter from the Deputy Commissioner bearing on the incident of 24th January, 1928, in which the Deputy Commissioner had stated that the action of the Hon'ble Member and his colleagues was objectionable, and had stated that he had not used any objectionable word except some plain speaking as the head of the district.

Pandit Nanak Chand, having listened carefully to the debate, contended that if the allegations were true, serious notice should be taken. He agreed that the matter should not be dropped, and urged an inquiry.

Chaudhury Zafarullah Khan suggested that the matter should not be dropped. The Council had before it two statements, one against the other.

Sir Geoffrey said that he was ready at all time to receive members of the Council and others, and there should be no mis-apprehension.

The motion was put to vote, and declared carried. After this supplementary grants regarding different departments were voted.

The Punjab Adulteration of Food (Amendment) Bill was introduced, and referred to a Select Committee, consisting of eleven members. The House then adjourned till the next day, the 16th March, when after a short sitting the Council was adjourned *sine die*.



## The Assam Legislative Council

The Assam Legislative Council commenced its Budget session at Shillong on the 28th MARCH 1928. His Excellency the Governor addressing the Council said:

Mr. President, and Gentlemen,

I have come to address you to-day because the list of the agenda for the ensuing session includes several matters of primary importance to the province and about some of them I wish to state the attitude of the Assam Government so that there may be no misunderstanding.

### THE SIMON COMMITTEE

You will be asked to elect a committee consisting of seven members of your Council to assist the Statutory Commission so far as this province is concerned. His Excellency the Viceroy and Sir John Simon, Chairman of the Commission have already clearly stated why they wish such committees to be appointed and what their functions will be. You have also doubtless read in the papers the arguments for and against any such co-operation with the Commission. There is no need for me to repeat all these details now. I can only tell you that the people in England, with whom in the last resort must rest under the existing conditions India's future, regard the attempted boycott of the Commission as essentially a symptom of irresponsibility. Why I ask you to elect a committee is that I believe in the interests of the province and its future developments. It would be of real advantage not merely to the members of the Royal Commission but to you yourselves, that there should be a definitely arranged opportunity for the intimate discussion of the various problems which will come before the Commission. Some are peculiar to this province, as for example, the fact that including the State of Manipur an area of roughly two thirds of the province as at present constituted, is either held by the Native States or is a frontier tract or is populated by the hill tribes who at present are under a special form of administration.

Another special problem is the retention or transfer of Sylhet and the possible further developments that might follow the return of that district to Bengal. Should Cachar or a part thereof follow what would be the fate of Goalpara.

I saw it stated in some papers to my surprise, since I had never received a letter about it or written a word upon the subject to the Government of India, that there was a proposal to constitute a North East Frontier Province. Now though the Assam Government has never suggested or contemplated or been asked to consider any such arrangement, it is of course possible that in the evidence to be placed before the Commission this suggestion might be made. A committee of the kind proposed would certainly facilitate the discussion of any such proposal if put forward.

A third special feature of the province is that it is, as compared with the neighbouring provinces of Bengal and Bihar, undeveloped. Assam to-day and for some years to come must attract immigrants as she was in the past. It may be, therefore, that in the discussions of our future constitution some may wish to have special provisions for the future of these immigrants as for example by allowing the creation of more constituencies when waste lands come under plough and villages replace jungle. Others may be equally anxious to see that the interests of the present population of Assam are safeguarded. There is also the question of expenditure on the Frontier and the maintenance of that fine corps, the Assam Rifles.

### PROBLEMS OF ASSAM

These are all the problems special to Assam. Others we share with the other provinces such as the representation of minorities, a separate or combined electorate, financial arrangements with the Central Government, the conditions of public services and appointment of ministers or members and the like.



Surely a committee, representative as far as may be of the various places and interests in this province, can give the Royal Commission useful advice on the evidence placed before them. Surely this is an opportunity which should not be missed. Even if there is, as there well may be a difference of opinion as between the different members of the committee elected by this Council, a discussion with the Commission should clarify the issues, give them a useful means of testing the evidence offered and possibly point the way to the reconciliation of divergent interests or at least to the best compromise that the situation affords.

Sir John Simon and his colleagues will, as experts, be examining a system of Government introduced from the United Kingdom. They will wish to find out how far it has adapted itself to the Indian requirements, what further steps can safely be taken, whether any safeguards may be necessary against racial, communal or predatory legislation, or any precautions to ensure financial stability. They will welcome a free discussion with the seven members of this Council who as local experts, can tell them how in their opinion the various proposals will work out in practice, whether and if so, why any of the evidence is in their opinion unreliable or whether any of the theories advanced are impracticable under the present conditions in Assam.

What is wanted now is a recognition and frank discussion of facts rather than the propounding of theories. It is difficult to see what practical purpose can be served now by an exhibition of discontent with the present form of Government or by voicing utterly impracticable demands such as total independence. We do not want to waste time discussing what might have been but to recognise what has been. It is very easy to create a glut of ideology but it could only serve as a smoke screen to obscure the real difficulties to be faced. I said just now that we have our own special problems. Yet, it is true, that Assam in miniature reflects very much British India as a whole.

Just over 100 years ago—and a century is not a long time in the history of a nation—much against their will the British Government in Calcutta decided to undertake the Government of this province. Let me quote you an extract from Sir Alexander Mackenzie's book "The North East Frontier of Bengal". "Nothing could have been more wretched than the state of Assam when the Valley was first occupied by our troops. Thirty thousand Assamese had been carried off as slaves by the Burmese. Many thousands had lost their lives and large tracts of country had been laid desolate by wars, famines and pestilences which for nearly half a century had afflicted the province. The remnant of the people had almost given up cultivation supporting themselves chiefly on jungle roots and plants. Nobility and priestly families had to return to Goalpara or other refuges in British territory, often after losing all their property and with them had gone crowds of dependents, glad to escape from the miseries of their native land. We found the Assam Valley surrounded north, east, and south by numerous savage and warlike tribes whom the decaying authority of the Assam dynasty had failed of late years to control and whom the disturbed condition of the province had incited to encroachment."

Such was Assam as we found it and as a result of peaceful development under British Rule in 1921, the population totalled close of eight millions. To-day I am told it may be approaching ten millions whose future happiness will depend to no small degree on the outcome of the report of the Statutory Commission. A benevolent despotism replaced the chaos and it has been replaced in turn by modified form of democracy which is now to undergo examination. It lies with you, gentlemen, to decide whether recognising the facts of the past and the actual condition of the present as they are to-day not as you would like them to be you will give such assistance as may be in your power to the Royal Commission in the hope that the next century may witness even a greater peaceful development under the form of Government which will differ almost as markedly from its predecessor of 1826 as that the Government did form various rulers, whom they replaced. Here in Assam, we know as a fact that if to-morrow the claim for National Independence was granted and the British cleared out of Assam and took no further part in her administration or in guaranteeing her security under the British flag, the province would speedily revert to conditions of a century ago and instead of our sitting here to discuss whether we should continue to charge higher fees for litigation, there would be only one form of taxation in the province and that a poll tax collected by a head-hunter. I suggest to you that concerted



endeavour to improve the existing constitution is likely to be of greater practical benefit to the province than a renunciation of the existing form of Government or the propounding of wild theories. When I last addressed you I was new to the province. Since then I have tried to see as much of it as I could and have visited all the districts except three, all subdivisions except four. Everywhere I have been received with great kindness and courtesy. Everywhere requests were made for assistance, schemes for improvement produced and discussed and the local needs ventilated. In the Budget and in the two resolutions which will be placed before you, an attempt is made to meet some of the requirements so far as the funds permit.

I do not propose to anticipate the speech of the Hon'ble Finance Member but I would like to refer to one or two matters. First then, as regards the opium revenue. I have seen it stated in fact, I have also been told that the Assam is not really in earnest in trying to discourage the consumption of opium and that we are reluctant to forego the revenue. Gentlemen, such is not the case. No one could pass through Assam without recognising the harm that opium has done and is doing. The Government are as anxious, as you are to stop it, but enquiries I made convinced me that contraband opium finds its way into Assam, that it is on the increase and that a mere restriction of issues from Government Treasuries without an increase in the preventive staff would simply result in the transfer of the Revenue from Government to the smuggler, and probably an eventual increase in the amount of opium consumed. We have therefore put before you the request for revival of the post of Excise Commissioner for increase in the staff and we propose to pay generous rewards for detection and conviction of smugglers. If these proposals are accepted, we shall at once take steps to restrict the issues of opium and do all in our power to discourage consumption. You will of course realise that the reduction in the issue of opium as demanded by this Council, will necessarily give direct impetus to the traffic in illicit opium. I, therefore, ask you to give us funds necessary for the staff to deal with smuggling.

Next as to Communications. Everywhere I went there were complaints about roads or the absence of them. I believe it is a fact that at certain seasons of the year the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur would be compelled travelling by rail road and river to take as long to go to his subdivision of north Lakhimpur 60 odd miles away as he would have to go to Bombay. I have seen your roads and I have travelled over some of them. There is no doubt whatever that their state at present means that everyone who attempts to use them pays in effect a heavy transport tax, that their condition, absence of bridges, their inability to carry motor traffic is a very serious handicap to trade. Also we need more railways especially in the east and north.

You will see that the two resolutions have been tabled, one for loan to facilitate the improvement of main lines of communication and another to guarantee the E. B. Railway against the loss, if they extend their railway from Tangla to join up with the Tezpur Balipara Railway. We hope that this extension will be continued in due course up to North Lakhimpur and we believe that even if at first this extension does not pay its way the further extension would be development of an area now very badly served in the matter of communications, bring an increase of land revenue which would exceed any payment we might under our guarantee be called on to make.

Last matters to which I wish to refer are, water supply and milk supply of the province. Since you agreed to the chancement of Court Fees some ten lakhs of rupees has been spent on the improvement of water supply in rural areas, the expenditure being so restricted by the desire of the Legislative Council. Meanwhile the urban areas demand improved water supply. Somewhere water works already exist as at Garhathi, Jorhat and Sylhet. Others like Silchar, Golaghat, Dibrugarh, Sunamganj, wish to start water works. I have not had the request made which is not fully justified by needs of locality. But unhappily we have not funds to meet the recurring charges which scheme for regular improvement of urban water supplies would entail. Each municipal board wants not merely loan but also grant in aid. We also need an expert staff to prepare schemes. We are asking you, therefore, to consent to an increase in the Stamp Duties sanctioned by this Council as a temporary measure being placed permanently on the Statute Book. I can give you an assurance that the increased revenue so obtained will be placed at the disposal of two Hon'ble Ministers for expenditure on the Transferred Departments and I trust



that a fair portion thereof will be devoted to the improvement of water supply not only in rural but in urban areas.

As regards the milk supply, will you pardon my saying that the Assamese cattle in the matter of lactation are worst I have come across in India. There is in many places a dearth of milk in the districts, even where large grazing grounds exist. In some of the hospital only milk for patients comes from tins. Children rarely taste it. We hope in due course to receive the recommendations of the Royal Agricultural Commission on this matter but meanwhile we have started a small dairy farm with good breed of cattle at Khanapara and I am told that in Gauhati a Co-operative Dairy Society has been formed. I hope many others in due course will follow and I can assure you that the Government will do all they can to assist. What we chiefly need at present is expert advice as regards breeding and feeding. Given thus, we can work out schemes and come to you in the hope that you will supply the necessary funds. This leads me to mention the vexed question of grazing reserves. There are those who think that free grazing and an extension of the already large reserves would solve problem. I have in my tours visited some of those reserves and my enquiries lead me to believe that the findings of the committee over which Mr. Bentinck presided are correct. We collect fees on a scale much lighter than that prevailing elsewhere, but the absence of inspecting authority results, I fear, in some people paying who should not pay whilst others who should escape. We are again suggesting to the Legislative Council that the grazing superintendents should be appointed. If you do not agree to this I shall accept your decision and the whole question will be reconsidered. One point I would like to make quite clear. You cannot forego the revenue which can be obtained from these lands and you ask, and quite rightly, for funds for the Nation-Building Departments. But if you want them you cannot afford to starve the Revenue Producing Departments. Gentlemen, if anyone asked me what was my policy in Assam, I should say that the Provincial Governor is primarily concerned with the administration and that his policy necessarily is that of the Government of India. But given your assistance within limitations of our present constitution such policy, as I can have, may be stated in six words, viz., less opium, more milk, better communications. The extent to which these hopes can be realised must largely depend on your assistance and this I earnestly invite."

#### BUDGET STATEMENT FOR 1928-29

After the Governor's address the Hon'ble Mr. A. W. Botham introducing the Assam Budget for 1928-29, said that for the year 1927-28 he estimated the opening balance at Rs. 61,20,000, the total receipts at 288 lakhs and the total expenditure at 283 half lakhs. Subsequently the provincial contribution of 15 lakhs was remitted (about half permanently and about half temporarily), while the supplementary demands for Rs. 1,41,000 were voted by the Council. Allowing for these modifications the budget estimate of expenditure was 212 lakhs in the revised estimates. The total receipts were placed at 270 lakhs instead of 266 lakhs and the total expenditure at 265 half lakhs instead of 269 three-fourth lakhs. On the whole they were better off than was expected to be by about 24 lakhs, of which 15 lakhs represented the remission of provincial contribution, 2 half lakhs difference in opening balance, 2 lakhs due to improvement in revenue and 4 half lakhs due to savings under the expenditure.

It was expected to start 1928-29 with an opening balance of 68 lakhs. They placed the total receipts at 280 lakhs. The Budget provided for an expenditure of approximately 208 lakhs. Of this 287 half lakhs are on Revenue account and 8 half lakhs on capital account. Out of the total expenditure on Revenue Account the cost of carrying on the administration, as it stands, may be taken at 243 lakhs whilst 27 half lakhs more were required for completion or continuance of incomplete works projects in hand. Thus the obligatory expenditure amounted to 270 lakhs as against the receipts from revenue heads amounting to 278 lakhs. On the new projects they proposed to spend about 17 lakhs involving a technical deficit or an excess of expenditure charged to revenue over revenue by about 9 half lakhs, but since owing to the necessity for further liberal distribution of loans in areas affected by floods, there was also an excess of expenditure on capital account over the receipts on capital account. The provincial balance would altogether be reduced by about 16 lakhs or from 88 lakhs to about 52 lakhs. The new recurring commitments were proposed to the extent of Rs.



1,46,000 on reserved side and Rs. 2,15,000 on transferred side. The total expenditure proposed on the new projects during 1928-29 in addition to the revision of pay of Ministerial and Menial Officers came to Rs. 5,28,000 on the Reserved Side, and Rs. 9,70,000 on the Transferred side. The Finance Member concluded: "Final remission of Provincial Contribution marks an important stage in the history of our provincial finance. We have accumulated a reasonable balance of about half a crore and were relieved of the burden of contribution to the Central Government. We can reckon on small surplus being available each year for new schemes of expenditure."

### STAMP AND COURT FEES BILLS.

In sharp contrast to the dullness of yesterday when the Governor Sir Laurie Hammond opened the Council in a very thin house, the Swarajists and most of non-official Indian members having abstained, considerable liveliness marked the proceedings of the 29th MARCH when the Swarajists and Nationalists attended in a body to oppose the passage of the Stamp and Court Fees Bills.

To-day the proceedings began amidst tense excitement as the fate of the Stamp and the Court Fees Bills which had formed one of the main planks of Council politics for the last 8 years was hanging in the balance. Public opinion expressed itself unequivocally against the measures but Government tried to carry the day by a flank movement by limiting the period of extension to 3 years.

An amendment to the effect was sent by Maulvi Manowar Ali but Babu Paresch Lal Shome who had taken the lead in the matter objected to the amendment as being out of order and time barred which the President upheld. The rejection of the amendment settled the fate of the bills. The Hon'ble Mr. Botham the Finance Member moving the consideration of the Stamp Bill said that the bills did not operate as a serious hardship on the toiling millions. He was supported by Col. Smiles who opened that the rejection of the bills would only benefit the lawyers.

Congress benches.—Oh.

Babu Brajendra Narayan Choudhury opposing the bills examined the financial position of the province in detail and showed how the Government by over-budgeting and manipulation of the figures kept a large surplus in abeyance and showed a deficit which afterwards actually turned into surpluses. He hoped the Finance Member would give his figures with more accuracy and honesty.

President: The Hon'ble member should not question the honesty of the Finance Member.

Brojendra Babu: I do not question the personal honesty of the member but the financial honesty of the Finance Member.

Referring to the decrease in opium revenue he pointed out that revenue on Ganxa and country liquor showed an increase of 2 lacs annually.

Babu Paresch Lal Shome:—Do you welcome that increase?

Brojendra Babu: It is not a question of my likes or dislikes. It is the choice of the Minister. If the Minister wipes off the entire excise revenue we are ready to provide for a taxation that is necessary.

Rai Bahadur Amar Nath Roy (nominated) said that he would support a 3 years' bill but not a permanent measure but as Mr. Manowar Ali's amendment was not before the house he would oppose.

Rai Bahadur Sadananda Dowerah (nominated) said that he would support only a three years' Bill if the proceeds were earmarked for water supply only.

Babu Hirendra Chandra Chakrabarti, S.J. Bardoloi, Leader of the Congress Party and Mr. Bishnu Borah opposed the motion. The last speaker said that though he supported the Bills in 1925, he would now oppose them in response to vehement public opposition in his constituency.

Maulvi Manowar Ali said that he would not support the bills as permanent measures.

The Hon'ble Mr. Nichols Roy, Minister, referred to the advantages derived by the country from the proceeds of the bills and said that as the fall in opium revenue would be about 3 half lakhs this amount must be found from somewhere and he appealed to the members to come to his rescue and help him in trying to get from the ordinary revenue as much as the Council would like him to have.

Babu Paresch Lal Shome:—But not to taxation.

The Hon'ble Mr. Botham in reply stated that Government was willing to agree to extend the bills for 3 years on condition that the proceeds be at the disposal of



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## THE BUDGET DISCUSSION

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the Transferred Department but as the amendment had been ruled out he appealed to those members who were not avowedly obstructionists like the Swarajists to support the Bill. The motion being put to vote was declared lost by 25 to 15.

The Court Fees Bill was next moved without a speech but the Finance member pleaded for the admission of Moulvi Manowar Ali's amendment for 3 years' extension, but on objection being taken by Babu Paresh Lal Some the President ruled the amendment out of order.

The Hon'ble Mr Botham then wanted to withdraw the bill which was objected to by Babu Paresh Lal Some and Gopendra Lal Dhar Choudhury. The motion was then put to vote and declared lost, the Government not claiming any division. The House then adjourned.

On the 30th MARCH the Council took up general discussion of Budget and continued it on the next day. Maulavi Munawar Ali who commenced the discussion regretted the absence of the Swarajist members from the House on the occasion. Commenting on the budget proper he characterised it as a prosperity budget but criticised lack of adequate provision for the Transferred Departments.

Lt. Col. Smiles who followed also regretted the absence of the Swarajist Members from the Council and said that such action, especially when their proceedings were going to be examined by the Statutory Commission, was not in the true interest of the country. He also emphasised the need for improving communications in the province.

Maulvi Sayidur Rahman congratulated the Finance Member on the budget but he would have liked to see vigorous policy pursued to increase activities of nation-building departments.

Mr. Kasinath Saikia, pleaded for more funds to be allotted for the improvement of dispensaries in the province. The House then adjourned.

On the 2nd APRIL the Council re-assembled in an atmosphere of excitement. Swarajists attended in full strength and after interpellations Babu Paresh Lal Shome Choudhury asked for leave to move a motion of no-confidence on the Hon'ble Rev. J. J. M. Nichols Roy, the Minister for Local Self-Government in as much as he does not possess the requisite qualifications under the Assam electoral rules. The President asked the sense of the House when 16 members rose in their seats signifying their approval of the motion and the president declared that the mover had the leave of the House to move the motion of no confidence and fixed to-morrow the 3rd April at 11 A. M. after questions as the time for discussion of the motion. Rev. Nichols Roy is not a British subject and is native of a Khasia native state and his case had been engaging the attention the local Government and the Government of India on the questions raised by some members in the council during the last July and September sessions.

### RY. EXTENSIONS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Botham, Finance Member proposed a resolution for guaranteeing against loss in working the extension of the Eastern Bengal Railway eastwards towards Tanga on condition that such extension shall connect with Tezpur Bolipara Railway. Srijut N. C. Bardoloi and other Assamese members wanted the proposed railway to pass through Mangaldai town. The resolution was carried *nem con.*

### ROAD DEVELOPMENT.

The Finance Member next moved a resolution sanctioning the programme of the board for road improvement to be financed mainly by a loan so calculated that annual charges for repayment with interest shall not exceed five lakhs. It was stated that the programme of road improvement of about 2000 miles of road would be finished within 10 years with loan of Rs. 75 lakhs which would be repaid in 38 years. The Swarajists opposed the proposed loan as the country was more in need of primary education, sanitation and water supply and questioned the bonafides of Government in bringing this proposal for a loan when last week they wanted unsuccessfully to impose an additional tax on the people for water supply, primary education and sanitation. The resolution was carried by 38 against 15 votes.





The Hon'ble Maulvi Syed Saadulla, Minister, then proposed the election of members to the development boards, agricultural, industrial and co-operative, two for each section. On the motion of Babu Paresh Lal Shome the House carried a motion increasing the number of members from two to four for each section. The election was then proceeded with.

#### SELF-GOVERNMENT ACT.

The Hon'ble Rev. Nichols Roy, Minister, then introduced a bill to amend the Assam Local Self-Government Bill which gave power to the Local Boards with the sanction of the Local Government to impose taxes. Babu Paresh Lal Shome gave notice of an amendment requiring the imposition of such taxes by local boards to be sanctioned by the Legislative Council which being objected to by the Hon'ble Minister was ruled out. Mr. Shome then opposed the bill and stated that it was strange that a popular minister should fight shy of the Council, but it was the inherent defect of the constitution which made the Minister the servant of the bureaucracy and not of the Council. He was not opposed to give power of taxation to local boards, but he wanted to have a safe-guard in the hands of the Legislative Council by a right of vote to interfere in cases of hardship.

Babu Basanta Kumar Dass opposing said the bill raised an important question of principle, as it encroached upon the right of the Legislature regarding taxation.

The bill was passed, 23 against 18 votes.

#### THE SIMON RESOLUTION

On the 3rd APRIL, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Kutubuddin Ahmed, Judicial Member moved his motion for the appointment of a committee to co-operate with the Statutory Commission. The debate following was a dull affair except for the impassioned and eloquent speech of the Congress leader, Mr. Bardoloi and the humorous speech of Col. Smiles. In view of the no-confidence motion coming afterwards only Sriji Nabin Chandra Bardoloi of the Congress Party opposed. He referred to the pledges of self-determination given when our masters needed our co-operation badly during the war but immediately they got out of it. They gave us the regard of our co-operation in the shape of bullets in Jallianwalla Bagh. He asserted that the country had nothing to gain by co-operation with the Commission who have come only with the object of consolidating the power of the alien Government.

Rai Bahadur Sadananda Dowerah (nominated) Rai Bahadur Amarnath Roy (nominated), Babu Hirendra Chandra Chakravarty (elected, Hailakandi), Rai Bahadur Ramani Mohan Dass (elected, Karimganj), Lt. Col. Smiles, Maulvi Syedur Rahaman (nominated), Md. Maulvi Monowwar Ali (elected, Sunamganj), supported the motion.

The arguments in support of the motion were rather amusing. All speakers except Col. Smiles admitted most of the arguments put forward by Sriji Bardoloi and recognised the strength and volume of public opinion against the Commission and deplored its constitution and the absence of Indians from it, but inevitably ended with a "but" and finally voted in favour of the motion. Only 15 Congress members voted against.

#### THE NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION

The Council next entered upon a discussion of the motion of no-confidence in the Hon'ble Mr. Nichols Roy, Minister for Local Self-Government. It may be mentioned here that a similar motion of S. J. Paresh Lal Shome Chowdhury allowed by the President the day before was disallowed by the Governor under Rule 24-A clause 3 of the Assam Legislative Council Rules.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Das, opening the discussion, said that the Minister was not entitled even to election to the Council as he was not a British subject as defined in the Government of India Act, that he was in the Council by mistake and as such should not be trusted with the administration of important subjects.

The Hon'ble Mr. Botham, on behalf of the Government, said that the Local Government had directed that the subjects of Khasi States were not ineligible for election by reason only of not being British subjects. Even apart from that the Hon'ble Minister had the qualification. He said that it was an intricate question of the law depending on the interpretation of the Assam electoral rules,



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## THE NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION

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but the local Government were precluded from discussing that question which had been referred to the Government of India and it was unfair on the Minister that the motion should be based to any extent on a point which the local Government were precluded from discussing.

Swarajists and some other non-official members also charged the Minister with apathy to the country's interests, but the motion was ultimately rejected by 27 votes against 21. The Council then adjourned.

### VOTING UNDER BUDGET GRANTS

Demand for grants under "Land Revenue, Excise and Stamps" were discussed and passed in the Council on the 4th APRIL.

Under the sub-head "Survey and Settlement" Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri moved a cut of Rs. 2,68,751 on the ground of alleged excessive enhancement of revenue at re-settlement.

Other members who supported the motion said that the people had a grievance also on account of the fact that in settling waste lands the rules were not strictly adhered to and big capitalists were given preference.

The Hon. Mr. Botham said that Government had adopted a policy of assisting and encouraging the small capitalists to take land for tea planting, the rules for which have been published for criticism.

The motion for the cut was ultimately carried and an amended demand put through.

Excise then came in for criticism. Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha withdrew his motion for a cut on the Minister assuring the Council that Government had accepted the Council's recommendation to reduce the consumption of opium by 10 per cent.

Two other motions for small cuts were carried and the demand reduced by Rs. 205 was carried.

On the 5th APRIL demands for grants under "General Administration and Forest" were discussed at length and ultimately passed by the Council with a token cut under each. Under "General Administration" a cut of Re. 1 was carried against Government to call attention to the inadequacy of pay granted to the ministerial and menial establishments during the recent revision. The motion to reduce the salary of Ministers from Rs. 3,500 to Rs. 2,500 a month of which notice had been given by Maulvi Munawar Ali was not moved.

Complaints were more vocal when grants under "Forests" came under scrutiny. Hardships to poor villagers on account of strict forest regulations neglecting to help the small capitalists of the province to exploit forest, lack of amenities in forest camps and consequent ill-health among the forest officials were among the main points brought to the notice of the Government in several motions for reduction. With a nominal cut of Rs. 1000 demand under "forest" also was passed.

### RESOLUTIONS

The Council next got through a large number of resolutions in a short time, Swarajists not moving resolutions in their name and not taking part in other resolutions.

### PUBLIC ROAD IN ASSAM

Col. Smiles moved a resolution recommending that in the event of a public road in Assam being metalled by private enterprise one-half of the cost there should be paid from the provincial revenues.

Mr. Blekinsop, Chief Engineer, said he could not accept the resolution on behalf of the Government but he informed the Council that in selecting roads to be metalled Government will take into consideration any offers made to undertake work and bear half the cost, it being understood that the work must be done to the satisfaction of the Executive Engineer and further that road was Government or Local Board property and of benefit to public.

The resolution was ultimately rejected.

### NO-CONFIDENCE IN COMMISSION

Not satisfied with the defeat they sustained over the Government resolution appoint a committee to co-operate with the Simon Commission Swarajists



wanted to move a resolution to-day recommending to communicate to the Government of India and His Majesty's Government the entire lack of confidence of the Council in the Simon Commission.

Babu Basanta Kumar Das who wanted to move the resolution argued that though the Council had carried the resolution to co-operate with the Commission there was no harm in saying that they had no-confidence in the Commission.

The President pointed out that while the motion for co-operation was under discussion a certain section in the House had clearly raised the issue that they were unwilling to co-operate because they had no-confidence in the Commission and as in spite of that the motion to co-operate was carried, he could not allow the present resolution to be moved. The Council then adjourned till the 9th.

On the 9th APRIL the Committee to co-operate with the Simon Commission was elected, Congress members abstaining. The following 7 members were elected:—Colonel Smiles (European planter) Rai Bahadur Sadananda Dowerah and Amar Nath Roy (nominated members) Mr. Mukundanarayan Baruah (elected non-Mahomedan, Dhubri) and Maulvi Keramat Ali, Arjan Ali and Manwoar Ali (elected Mahomedans).

After the election, on the motion of Mr. Pareshlal Shome (Congress), two motions were carried censuring Govt. for inaction on the erosion of Manu river at Maulvibazar and for Government's callousness in making no provisions against recurring floods in the Province.

The echo of Kanarighat Defamation case was heard when Babu Pareshlal Shome moved a censure motion condemning Govt. for paying the expenses of complainant Webster though the latter did not proceed with the case and went away to England after the High Court ordered retrial. Babu Brojendra Narayan Choudhury, Deputy Leader, Swaraj Party supported the motion which however was lost by 21 votes against 18.

Maulvi Abdul Hamid Choudhury, (elected Mahomedan) who had so far taken a leading part in the Council regarding the torn Quaran case, gave notice of a motion refusing the district police budget for Govt. not giving effect to the resolution passed at the last September Session of the Council recommending the dismissal of police sub-inspector Abdul Hamid Akanda, but when called upon by the President he refused to move the motion. This caused great disappointment among the Swarajists who resented Abdul Hamid Choudhury's changed attitude at the last moment and refused to take part in a later motion by the same member demanding realisation of litigation costs from Sub-Inspector Akanda which was lost by 15 votes against 3. Swarajists thereupon opposed the entire police budget which was defeated by 23 against 13.

Another attempt to throw out the secret service expenditure failed by 19 against 16. The House then adjourned.

On the 10th APRIL as a result of many motions for reduction having been either withdrawn or not moved at all, Government got all their demands for grants moved and agreed to by the Council without much difficulty.

Under Civil Works a token a cut of Rs. 2 was carried by the Council to draw attention of the Government to the paucity of good communications in rural areas in the Province.

The only other motion for reduction, which was passed on this day, was also a token one and was intended to point out the Government's necessity for increasing provision for advances and loans to cultivators, especially as it was feared that floods and famine might again cause distress in the province.

The Hon. Mr. Botham, on behalf of the Government, assured the Council that Government officers were keeping in close touch with the situation in the districts affected by the floods and that any demands received from them would be immediately complied with, more money being provided, if necessary, through supplementary demands.

The Council next took up discussion of resolutions a number of which fell through, the movers, especially those belonging to the Swarajist benches, being absent or declining to move them.

A sharp division just about the adjournment time resulted in the passing of a resolution moved by Maulavi Mahmud Ali, recommending Government to immediately borrow fifty lakhs of rupees for compulsory primary education which was opposed by Government. The main body of Swarajists, who were till then absent





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THE C. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

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from the Council, came in and voted solidly for the resolution with other non-official members. The House then adjourned.

The budget session of the Assam Legislative Council concluded on the 12th APRIL. The main point on which the Swarajists and some other non-official members criticised the Government yesterday and to-day was in regard to rural water supply, the budget provision for which, it was complained, was inadequate. On this ground a token cut under the public health demand was carried yesterday by a majority of votes.

The same complaint was made the excuse to-day for attempting to throw out a supplementary demand under civil works. The Hon. Mr. Botham, on behalf of the Government, told the House that the Government did not deny the importance and urgency of the improvement of rural areas water supply, but what they said was that it was not the only urgent and important need in the province at the present time and the improvement of water supply should be considered along with and in relation to other urgent needs of the province.

The supplementary demand was ultimately carried by a majority of votes.

Babu Brajendra Narayan Chaudhuri's motion for a cut of Rs. 100 under "medical," calling the attention of Government to the alleged over-representation of planters in certain local boards, was carried yesterday, the Minister-in-Charge not having been able to reply to the discussion as the time allowed for the demand was over.

The discussion on a demand under "Education" also occupied considerable time yesterday and the majority in the Council succeeded in passing two token cuts against Government.

The Hon. Mr. Saadulla, Minister, pointed out that the progress made recently in primary education was considerable and promised that if the local boards came up with a scheme under the Compulsory Primary Education Act, then he would spare no pains to extract as much money as required from the Finance Department for the purpose. Regarding secondary schools, he informed the Council that Government were gradually taking more and more such schools on the aided list.

The Goalpara Tenancy Bill was referred to a Select Committee to-day.

Government business having finished, discussion on the resolutions was taken up in a thin House this afternoon. The first resolution regarding the granting of holidays in the month of Ramajan was discussed and rejected and the quorum not being present the Council was *prorogued*.

## The C. P. Legislative Council

The January Session of the C. P. Legislative Council met at Nagpur on the 16th JANUARY 1928. Though Dr. Khare, Congress whip, had issued instructions to the Congress members to attend the session, he cancelled the same in view of the explanation of the Madras resolution which he received from the Congress Secretary.

When His Excellency Sir Montagu Butler was addressing the Council the Congress members were in the library room and the Congress block was quite empty. After the Governor's speech the Council adjourned for half an hour.

### THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS

Addressing the Council, Sir Montagu Butler, referring to the Statutory Commission, said that the appointment and constitution of that Commission was a matter which was not primarily the concern of the Local Government, and discretion was vested in him under Rule 22 to disallow any discussion on the matter. He did not feel that any interest of the Government would be served by the exercise of his special powers. He therefore did not propose to disallow the resolution. He said that his Government had received no instructions to appoint any Committee to deal with the subject of Reforms or to open up any relations with the Commission. He had no intention of moving the Council without instructions in the matter.

Sir Montagu then referred to the communal disturbances in the province, and expressed regret that the atmosphere was not improving. He said that attempts should be made to restore a calmer atmosphere. A policy of give and take would go a good way towards clearing up the situation.



BILLS PASSED

The C. P. Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, the Village Sanitation and Public Management (Amendment) Bill, the Weights and Measures Bill, Prevention of Adulteration (Amendment) Bill, Consolidation of Holdings Bill and the Land Revenue (Amendment) Bill as approved by the Select Committees were passed into law.

The C. P. Municipalities (Amendment) Bill, the Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill and the Opium Smoking Bill was referred to Select Committees and the Council was adjourned.

On the 17th JANUARY the Swarajist benches were empty as the Swarajist members, numbering about 17 did not attend the Council. The members of the Council Nationalist Party were present. Question-time passed off quietly, and the whole list of 100 questions was gone through within half-an-hour. Government legislative business was then resumed.

Mr. S. B. Tambe, Home Member, moved that the Central Provinces Borstal Bill as reported by the select committee, be taken into consideration.

The Home Member explained that certain amendments to the Bill, of which notice had been given by Mr. T. J. Kedar, required the previous sanction of the Governor-General, and hence could not be moved.

Mr. Kedar contended that no such sanction was necessary, but if his amendments were not allowed he would have to move that the consideration of the Bill be postponed. After further discussion the consideration of the bill was postponed.

Mr. R. M. Deshmukh then moved that the Central Provinces Village Panchayat Amendment Bill, as reported by the select committee, be taken into consideration.

The amendments to the Bill standing against Swarajist members were automatically dropped. After considering certain minor amendments moved by the Minister, the Council passed the Bill.

Mr. Deshmukh moved two more Bills, one to amend the Central Provinces Municipalities Act and the other to amend the Local Self-Government Act, for reference to select committees.

Both the motions were carried without discussion. This concluded the Government legislative business and the Council rose for the day.

THE NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

On the 19th JANUARY after question time the non-official bills were dealt with. Thakur Chedilal's bill to amend the Local Self-Government Act was passed without much discussion. Mr. K. P. Vidya moved that his much criticised bill to amend the Tenancy Act be referred to a select committee. Thakur Chedilal opposed the clause which conferred the right of transfer on occupancy tenants and Mr. Kedar also pointed out certain defects but agreed to refer the bill to a select Committee. The Honourable Mr. Nelson, Finance Member proposed that the bill be re-circulated for eliciting public opinion. His amendment was carried, 27 voting for and 18 against. Mr. Kale introduced his bill to amend the Municipalities Act and the house agreed to refer it to a select committee. Mr. Fulay's bill to amend the Tenancy Act enabling the tenants to mortgage their land with rural co-operative society was circulated for eliciting public opinion.

Thakur Chedilal's Bill amending the Land Revenue Act and Mr. Kolhe's bill to amend the village sanitation and public management Act so as to repeal the village sanitation and public management Act as village Panchayets were going to have both administrative and judicial powers were circulated for eliciting public opinion. Mr. Singai's Opium Smoking Prohibition Bill was referred to the same select committee to which the Govt. bill had been referred. Messrs. Khaparde, Kalikar, Kale and Charde introduced their bills to amend the High School Education Act. The house agreed to the motion to circulate the bill. Debate in the Council was dull and even the prominent Govt. members such as the Honourable the Home Member who was the leader of the house, the Finance Member and the Finance Secretary were absent from the Council for a long time. The Congress block was empty as usual and many Congress members were seen in the lobby and galleries. The Council then adjourned for tea.

The Council re-assembled after lunch to be adjourned only within ten minutes. The House agreed to circulate Mr. Pradhan's bill amending the Municipalities Act for eliciting public opinion.



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# RESOLUTION OF SIMON COMMISSION

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## BOYCOTT OF SIMON COMMISSION

On the 20th JANUARY the Council met with a packed house of visitors and members in expectation of a debate on the Simon Commission. During question time the Congress members were absent waiting in the lobbies to enter as soon as questions were over. Mr. Biyani moved the following resolution on the Simon Commission :

"This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that he be pleased to convey to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government that this Council has no confidence in and will have nothing to do with the Statutory Commission in as much as its constitution ignores the national demand for Self-determination in the matter of the constitution for India and insults the self-respect of the Indian people."

In moving the resolution Mr. Biyani said that since the constitution of the Commission was announced disappointment had been expressed from all quarters. He thought his task was lighter in this house as the majority party, the nationalists in the Council, including the Ministers had expressed their dissatisfaction with the Commission. He exposed the theory of trusteeship and said that as a self-respecting people they could not co-operate in any way with the Commission and advised the Council to leave the Commission severely alone, as the appointment of the Commission did not recognise India's right to determine her own future constitution.

He concluded his speech after re-iterating the demand for a Round Table Conference.

Mr. Rajurkar supported the resolution with a lengthy speech and advised the Council to follow the policy of "nothing to do with the Commission" and thus give a fitting reply to the affront done to India by that diehard Lord Birkenhead.

Mr. Gowan, Chief Secretary, in making the Government position clear reiterated all that was said in the opening speech of His Excellency Sir Montagu Butler. He further assured the house that no insult was meant to India. Before announcing the appointment of the Commission anxious thought and consideration was given to the whole question. No bad motive was behind the appointment. The Government had at their heart only the good of the people and happiness and prosperity of the land. He quoted the Prime Minister at length and said that by boycotting the Commission they had nothing to gain but everything to loose. He asked the house not to hold mistrust or suspicion about the Government motive. The Government wished to do good to so many millions of people.

Mr. Kedar, Responsivist, supporting the resolution said that they were not convinced by the arguments advanced on behalf of the Government and they had to support the resolution. Such a Commission was not wanted by them and all that they could do was to boycott the Commission. He strongly submitted that the preamble of the Government of India Act to which the British Government slavishly adhered was never accepted by the Indians as it was an infringement of their right of self-determination. He reminded the British statesmen in the words of Edmund Burke that great empires and little minds go ill together. He held that the preamble on which all British statesmen took their stand was an exploded document. He further said since the last war India was being represented to the world as an equal partner of the empire and an independent unity by giving representation on the International institutions like the League of Nations but now England was again reverting to the preamble of the Government of India Act and trying to cheat the whole world. He advised the British nation not to play this dirty game. He asked the British people to pause and think if it was in their interest to antagonise India.

After Mr. Kedar, Mr. Sayed Hifazat Ali, ex-Minister made a statement on behalf of the Muslim members that they were not going to take any part nor would they vote either way as Muslim opinion of the province was yet to be expressed. They would express their views and chalk out their future policy after they knew that opinion and when the Government will bring forward any resolution on the subject.

Mr. Gowai (nominated, depressed) opposed the resolution and hoped that the Commission will listen to their political and social grievances.

Dr. Khare, Congress Whip in his speech supporting the resolution said that they were not convinced by Mr. Gowan's arguments. The Commission was coming to remind India of her bondage. He blamed the responsivists and others who seceded from the Congress and said that the appointment of the Commission was the outcome of their revolt. The Commission, he said, were meant to deceive



Indians. He invited the Ministers to make a statement on the floor of this house whether they are going to refuse to co-operate with the Commission.

After Dr. Khare followed Mohant Laxminarayandas and Mr. Rajendra Singh who supported Mr. Biyani's resolution. The house then adjourned for tea.

On reassembling Mr. Umeshdutta Pathak supported the resolution. He did not move his amendment. He characterised the commission as a farce and said it was being sent only to register their approval regarding conclusions already arrived at between certain British politicians who dominate British politics.

Mr. Dick, the nominated member of the Anglo-Indian community opposed the resolution. He said that his community had decided to co-operate with the commission and had expressed this view from the press and platform.

Mr. G. S. Gupta, Congress leader supported the resolution. Replying to Mr. Dick he said that Mr. Dick should have known that the Indian people had expressed their disapproval regarding the appointment and constitution of the Simon Commission. He said : "We must learn not to look to the British people for getting any rights but we must stand on our own legs." He appealed to 'the depressed class members, Muslims and the Anglo-Indians not to pocket this national insult and side with the nationalists of this land.

Mr. Khaparde, the leader of the Nationalist Party in supporting the resolution read out the following statement :—"The position of the party which I have the honour to represent is clear from the speeches made here to-day by members of this party and by the unanimous decision given by the executive council of this party in this behalf which was duly communicated to the Government by the Ministers. We as a party support this resolution. By doing so we do not bind ourselves hand and foot and for ever. So long as the Commission is constituted as it is, or its manner of function remains the same as given out, so far we as a party will have nothing to do with it. The Ministers are members of this party and go with it."

After this Mr. Kalangale, nominated member of the depressed classes opposed the resolution and Mr. C. G. Mishra supported it. Mr. Ratiram, nominated (depressed), opposed the resolution and Mr. N. S. Patil supported it.

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried, Government not claiming a division. The council then adjourned.

On the 21st JANUARY the Council met in a deserted house though there were many important resolutions on the agenda. Congressmen were no longer seen except a very few members who were loitering in lobbies and library room. There were not even 25 members present in the house when Khan Bahadur Mirza Rahaman Beg moved that Council debates be conducted in Hindi and Urdu. Only Muslim members spoke in support of the resolution while the Finance Secretary and Revenue Member opposed the resolution to which the mover did not agree as he wished to test the patriotism of the members. The resolution was negatived without division.

Mr. Charde then moved his resolution requesting the Government to remit sentences passed on accused in what was called the Arvi riot case. He referred to the Governor's speech and appealed to the Government to follow the Bengal Government in solving this question of communal cancer. Mr. Sharfuddin in whose name stood an amendment to include the Sitla murder case in which Moslems had been convicted but which was ruled out by the President, opposed the resolution. Mr. Fuley (nominated, labour) wanted to include all riot cases in the province but he was also ruled out of order. Yet he supported the resolution while Messrs. Majiduddin and Mohinur Rahaman opposed the resolution as premature at this juncture. The Home Member complained that he was given to understand that this resolution will not be moved and when he saw that it was being moved to-day he was placed at a disadvantage. However, he congratulated the mover and other speakers for the good sense they showed in placing their cases before the House. But he did not think that the resolution was moved at an opportune time when communal tension had again increased. He was afraid that if the resolution was passed by the Council which had a Hindu majority it would be construed as a partisan act by the minority community. He would consider these cases on their merits only when communal peace will be established. He hoped that a permanent reconciliation between both the communities would soon be established. He also informed the House that the Government under the present circumstances was not prepared to accept the resolution.

Mr. Kedar, while supporting the resolution, charged the Government with



responsibility for these communal riots. The Hon. Mr. Nelson, Mr. Gowan and Mr. Dey, all Government members protested against the charge levelled against Government and District officers. When this resolution was debated attendance was almost full, only the Congress members remaining absent. The resolution was carried, 25 voting for and 18 against.

Mr. Pradhan then moved for the appointment of an Enquiry Committee to enquire and report regarding the grievances of Government clerks. The resolution was opposed by the Government, but was passed, 25 voting for and 18 against. The Council then adjourned till the 24.

On the 24TH JANUARY Thakur Chedilal moved a resolution standing in the name of Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelkar asking Government to take immediate steps to have the Judicial function of the Government separated from the Executive function and to bring about complete separation of these functions. It may appropriate a sum of 9 lakhs. Government had taken objection to Thakur Chedilal's moving of this resolution but as he had given notice of a similar resolution and the ballot did not give his resolution sufficient high place the President allowed him to move the resolution. Thakur Chedilal emphasised the urgent need of this reform in preference to other schemes of progress.

The Hon'ble the Home Member said that the Government of India at present is considering this proposal and trying to evolve a scheme which could be applied to all provinces. He assured the House that he would place this proposal before the Standing Committee. After a few more speeches the resolution was carried without division and the Council adjourned "sine die."

### The Budget Session.

The budget session of the C. P. Council opened on the 1ST MARCH when the Hon'ble Mr. Nelson, Finance Member presented the following budget for the year 1928-29:—The effect of the total remission of the provincial contribution and the suspension of famine insurance assignment put the Government in a better financial position during the year 1927-28 leaving a free balance of 87.78 lakhs but the revised estimate shows a closing balance of only 47.30 lakhs and the reasons given for this by the Revenue Member in his speech showed that the year 1927-28 was culturally only a moderate one, unreasonably heavy rainfall having dashed all hopes of good year.

On the receipt side the principal increase and decrease during 1927-28 were an opening balance of four and half lakhs: land revenue  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs. Also a saving of 1 and one-fourth lakhs is expected from the sanctioned expenditure under the head education (transferred). On the other hand expenditure in England is expected to rise by 2 lakhs, larger number of officers being on leave in England. The cumulative effect of all these adjustments is worsening the financial position by 22 lakhs reducing the estimated closing balance from 69.29 lakhs to 47.30 lakhs. The budgetted receipts for the year 1928-29 are 613.02 lakhs as compared with 673.94 lakhs, the revised figure for the current year. Receipts from excise are expected to increase by four and half lakhs while a fall of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs from land revenue is expected.

On the expenditure side an increase is seen over the current year's revised estimate under the heads "Police" by Rs. 169 thousands and "Education" (transferred) 1361 thousands. A provision of half lakh of rupees for strengthening armed police is made. Rs. 74.22 lakhs are being provided for new expenditure, transferred departments getting about 88 per cent, i. e., 59.88 lakhs and the remaining to the reserved half.

The Finance Member considers this budget to be a safe and prosperous budget though the budgetted revenue and the receipts are 61303 thousands. If only total provincial revenue and the total provincial expenditure are taken into consideration the budget shows a deficit of Rs. 2828 thousands. This year also C. P. gets a remission of 22 lakhs under the head "Provincial Contribution and the Suspension of Famine Insurance Assignment."

After the budget was introduced the Borstal Bill was discussed and all non-official amendments were thrown out. The Municipal Act Amendment Bill was



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referred to a Select Committee and the Childrens' (Protection) Bill as reported by the Select Committee was passed without discussion and the House adjourned.

### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET.

On the 2ND MARCH Mr. Rajurkar opened the discussion and protested against the Government policy relating to education and suggested several improvements to meet the needs of the people.

Mr. Jaiswal recommended separation of the judiciary and the executive by making necessary provision for the same in the budget. He also expressed that the Council could not make any advance under the present Reforms.

Mr. Rahiman advocated the encouragement of ayurvedic and unani medicines and the development of Urdu.

Mr. U. Patel pleaded for reduction of the expenditure under the head "electric installation" and wanted to utilise the money for other improvements.

Mr. Fullay paid compliments to the Ministers for having secured 88 per cent for the transferred departments considering the decrease in the revenue from Excise. He said that the Ministers had subordinate position in the matter of allocation of expenditure. He demanded for them complete financial autonomy. He advocated that taxes if necessary should be imposed for the general welfare of the province. He said that the revenue got from the suspension of the Famine Insurance grant should be spent for the uplift of the rural and urban backward classes.

Mr. D. K. Mehta criticised the budget and in doing so suggested several improvements. Mr. Gole urged improvement of industries.

The Council then proceeded with the consideration of demands for grants presented to the Council for expenditure during the year 1925-26. The demands were put to vote and declared carried.

Supplementary demands under the heads, Depreciation funds for the Government Press, Irrigation and Justice, education, famine insurance fund, and excess travelling allowance incurred by the Ministers, were voted.

On the 3RD MARCH Mr. Kedar characterised the budget as neither safe nor progressive and urged that the Government should pay more attention to the Transferred Departments. He pleaded that 22 lakhs remitted from the provincial contribution should be earmarked for the Transferred Departments.

Rao Bahadur Narayana Rao Kelkar expressed his inability to call the budget a progressive budget, as he found no change under the present Reforms. He criticised the Ministers for not having secured any provision for the development of industries and several other important needs of the people. He said that Local Self-Government had made no progress.

Mr. Kashiprasad Pande laid stress on the need for the improvement of roads in rural areas.

Mr. Nagle opined that if the old methods of preparing budgets were followed, the progress of the Province would be doomed for ever from the popular point of view. He complained that no provision was made for several necessary items.

Mr. Phatak pleaded for adequate provision for compulsory free primary education on the lines of Bengal.

Mr. De, Finance Secretary, replying to the budget criticisms advanced by non-official members said that every possible care was taken not to neglect any necessary project or improvement.

Mr. Rizvie welcomed certain provisions in the budget, which were calculated to help the Province.

Mr. Trivedi, Director of Industries, narrated official activities to improve the conditions of indigenous enterprises.

Mr. Beckett, Director of Public Instruction, explained the educational policy, and assured the House that every possible endeavour would be made to attain their object.

Mr. Khaparde disapproved of the policy of separate schools on communal lines.

The Hon'ble Mr. Deshmukh met all the objections raised by the non-official members in connection with the budget provisions for the construction of rural roads.



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# VOTING ON BUDGET GRANTS

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The Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao acknowledged the generous policy of the Government in respect of the Transferred Departments. He said that liberal provision was made for education, and further he assured the House that he would meet other objections when voting on demands came up for discussion.

The Hon'ble Mr. Nelson explained that the utilisation of the provincial grant of 22 lakhs rested with the Government. The House then adjourned till 8 March.

## VOTING ON BUDGET GRANTS.

On the 8TH MARCH the Council met to vote on Budget demands. Mr. Pradhan proposed a token cut of Re. 1 in the general land revenue grant.

The Hon'ble Mr. Nelson opposed the cut on the ground that the settlement operations could not be postponed.

The President declared the motion for the cut carried.

The Hon'ble Mr. Nelson demanded a division. 29 members voted for the cut and 16 against, Mrs. Kale abstained from voting.

The Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao, explained to Mrs. Kale her right to vote, and she recorded her vote with the Government.

Rao Bahadur Kelkar then proposed a cut amounting to Rs. 30,500 under the head "Revision of survey and settlement in Berar."

The motion was declared carried without any division.

Mr. Kelkar proposed another cut of Rs. 88,800 for revision of survey operations in Mandla district.

Mr. Umesh Dutt Phatak supported the motion.

The motion for the cut was declared carried by 29 against 16 votes. Both the Ministers abstained from voting.

Mr. Kelkar's motion for cuts amounting to Rs. 16,900 and Rs. 93,400 under the heads "Revision of Survey Operation in Rajpur and Bilaspur zemindary respectively" were declared carried without a division.

When a cut amounting to Rs. 9,351 in the grant for survey and settlement in Akola district was under discussion, the House adjourned for lunch.

After lunch Mr. Waterfull, Commissioner of Settlement, explained the necessity of settlement operations, and defended Government's policy.

The Hon'ble Mr. Nelson followed, and asked the House to know their responsibilities before they arrived at any decision.

The motion for the cut was declared carried by 21 votes against 19.

Mr. Rajurkar's cut amounting to Rs. 135,500 under survey and settlement was declared lost by 21 votes against 25.

Mr. Charde moved a token cut of Re.1 in the demand for Patwari establishment, but it was withdrawn.

Mr. Pradhan's token cut of Re. 1 as a protest against Hazul and general policy was declared carried by 30 votes against 19. The Council then adjourned.

## Discussion on Excise Grant.

On the 9TH MARCH the Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao moved the excise demands.

Mr. Nagale proposed a token cut as a protest against the Government's policy relating to total prohibition, and said that the excise policy of the Government should be influenced by considerations of revenue.

Rao Bahadur Kelkar in supporting the cut said that the excise policy was not successful, and urged that the Government should declare a policy of total prohibition and should carry it out within a certain definite period. Mr. Kelkar further declared that the policy of total prohibition should be worked, but gradually, because the declaration of total prohibition by a stroke of the pen would not serve any useful purpose.

Mr. Mehta and Mr. Khare severely criticised the Government and the Excise Minister for not carrying out the policy of total prohibition.

The Hon'ble Mr. Nelson said that the excise policy of the province was an envy of the rest of India and there was no better person than the Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao to carry out the policy dictated by this House. He expected the House not to apply a brake, but to stimulate the policy.



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The Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao asked the House to know its responsibilities before dictating any excise policy in connection with total prohibition, and added that the Government was unable to prescribe any time/limit to enunciate and carry out the policy of total prohibition.

Mr. Nagle withdrew his token cut. Rao Bahadur Kelkar then moved a token cut as a protest against the excise policy followed by the Minister and urged that the Minister should declare his policy.

Mr. Khaparde said that Mr. Kelkar was determined not to be satisfied by the explanation offered by the Minister, because the Swarajists entered the Councils to throw out the Ministry and the budget.

The President asked Mr. Khaparde not to criticise the Swarajists or the Congress Party, but to confine himself to the main topic.

Mr. Kelkar's cut was declared lost by 11 against 36.

The Congress Party, including 2 members of the depressed classes, voted for Mr. Kelkar's motion for cut, while the Nationalist Party voted with the officials against the motion. The entire demand under Excise minus Rs. 500 was put to vote and declared carried.

The entire demand under the head "Stamps" (reserved) was put to vote and declared carried.

While the demands under the head "Forest" were under discussion, the House adjourned.

Forest Administration Criticised.

On the 10TH MARCH Mr. Deshmukh's token cut of Rs. 100 to call attention to the grievances in respect of fodder grazing rates was carried by 25 votes against 23.

Mr. Deotale's token cut of Re. 1 as a protest against the general policy of the Forest Department was carried by 29 votes against 21.

The demand for Rs. 39,79,890 under the head "Forest" (Reserved) was then put to vote and carried.

The entire demand of Rs. 2,19,130 under the head "Registration" (Transferred) was put to vote and carried.

Mr. Jaiswal's cut for Rs. 50,000 under the head "Irrigation" (Reserved) was declared lost by 3 against 24.

The Congress Party and the Nationalist Party abstained from voting.

The entire demand for Rs. 15,61,000 under the head "Irrigation" (Reserved) was put to vote and carried.

Mr. Kedar raised objection as to why the Indian News Agency should be subscribed and proposed a cut of Rs. 10,000 in that respect.

The Hon. Mr. Nelson replied that the expenditure on the News Agency was essential because the head of the Government should be in possession of news. As a result of the above reply, the cut was withdrawn.

Mr. Kashiprasad Pandey proposed a token cut as a protest against the reduction of the members' daily allowances.

The motion was carried by 17 votes against 11. The official members abstained from voting and the Congress Party voted against the motion.

On the 12TH MARCH Mr. Pradhan's token cut to protest against the absence of high officials when there were communal disorders in Nagpur, was carried by 29 votes against 18.

The abolition of the posts of divisional commissioners and their establishment was pressed and it was carried without a division. Certain cuts in demands under "General Administration" were either lost or withdrawn and then the total demand was put to vote and carried.

Mr. Gole pressed for a cut in the Ministers' salaries and urged that their pay should be reduced to a nominal amount. In doing so, he said that Ministers did nothing for the people during their terms of office and the Nationalist Party and the Ministers were merged into the bureaucracy.

Dr. Khare, in supporting the cut, said that it was not proper for the Ministers to hold office in view of their opinions regarding the Simon Commission.



# AMNESTY TO PRISONERS

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The Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao repudiated the insinuations and said that there was no case where the Government threw out their proposals and they did their best to improve the transferred departments. As regards their political views in connection with the Simon Commission they had been congratulated by the President of the Congress. The cut was pressed and declared lost by 9 votes against 43. The Congress Party only voted for the cut.

The demand under the head "General Administration" (Transferred) was put to vote and carried. The House then adjourned.

## AMNESTY TO PRISONERS.

On the 13TH MARCH, Mr. Kashiprasad Pande moved a motion for the adjournment of the House on the ground of total crop failure in the Hindi districts of C. P.

The President disallowed the motion. He said that opportunity was given to members to speak on the cuts, but they did not avail themselves of it.

In this connection, it is understood that the Governor refused to receive a deputation of members of the Hindi districts on the ground of ill-health.

Mr. Kalikar moved a token cut and pressed for general amnesty to all prisoners convicted or undergoing trials in connection with communal riots. Mr. Hifazat Ali opposed the motion on the ground that no useful purpose would be served by releasing such prisoners.

Mr. Khaparde in supporting the motion said that it was brought with the best of motives, and in order to restore confidence and to bring about reconciliation between the communities.

Dr. Khare said that more than 30 Mahomedans approached him to support the motion of general amnesty.

Mr. Pradhan assured that he had a sympathetic attitude towards Mahomedans and that amnesty was not meant for the Hindus alone.

Mr. Sherfuddin said that his painful duty was to oppose the motion. Unless both the communities arrived at an amicable settlement to arrest further disorders, it was useless to approach the Government for general amnesty.

Messrs. Fuley, Golwalkar, Gole, and Patel supported the motion.

The Hon'ble Mr. Tambe assured the House that the Government would pay serious attention to the question of amnesty.

The motion was declared carried by 34 votes against 18. The Mahomedan members, except Mr. Rahaman, voted with the officials. The non-official nominated members including Mrs. Annusiyabai Kale voted in favour of the motion for general amnesty. The Ministers abstained from voting.

## Censure on Police Grant.

On the 14TH MARCH Mr. Jaiswal in moving a cut of Rs. 51,359 under the head "Police" (reserved) said that the expenditure was unjustified.

Mr. Gowan in opposing the motion stated that special reserved and armed police were necessary, when there were outbreaks of communal riots, for maintaining peace and order. The motion was carried by 25 votes against 20.

Mr. Kashiprasad Pande raised an objection to the provision of 4 lakhs for furniture and apparatus for the Nagpur Science College, but subsequently withdrew it.

On the 15TH MARCH demands under the head Education (Transferred), amounting to Rs. 63,97,489; under the head Medical (Transferred), amounting to Rs. 16,20,559; Public Health (Transferred), amounting to Rs. 6,64,300; and under the head Agriculture (Transferred), amounting to Rs. 17,42,222 were carried; as also the demands under Industries (Reserved) and Industries (Transferred).

The guillotine was applied to the remaining demands. The Council was then adjourned "sine die".

## GOVERNOR'S CERTIFICATION.

Reduction effected by the C. P. Legislative Council under heads "land revenue" "general administration", administration of justice and police (reserved) were certified by the Governor declaring that expenditures were essential to the discharge of his responsibility to administer those departments.



# The Burma Legislative Council.

## The Governor's Address.

The Budget Session of the Burma Legislative Council commenced at Rangoon on the 9TH FEBRUARY 1928. His Excellency the Governor, who arrived in State at 11 a.m. in addressing the Council referred to the impending departure of Sir William Keith, Finance Member and dwelt upon the Simon Commission. He said that they were still waiting for a lead from the Government of India about the election of a committee of the local Council to co-operate with the Simon Commission. Despite the Secretary of State for India's speech, the Viceroy's appeal for co-operation and Sir John Simon's letter, he was afraid that some important sections of political thought in India, and some legislative bodies might still adopt the most harmful policy of non-co-operation with the Commission. He hoped that the local Council would not follow a lead of that kind but would adopt a policy of goodwill.

Dealing with crime in the province he expressed horror at the appalling cases of murder—3,500 during the last three years. That fact was all the more startling, being entirely out of harmony with what was a stronghold of Buddhist religion. He had no doubt that what really was wanted was the awakening of the public conscience and general rallying of the people on the side of law and order, for which he was aware he could rely on the assistance of the members of the Council.

The Governor repudiated the suggestion that the cause of refusal to pay the Capitation tax was poverty. There was provision for exemption of the poor. The movement was confined to certain well-defined areas, skilfully organised and in many villages led by well-to-do men. He conceded that the people were entitled to hold the opinion that the Capitation and Thathameda taxes should be abolished. But the Government had decided upon their retention for the present and unless the movement was firmly handled the danger would become widespread. He regretted that at the outset of his career as Governor of Burma, he should have been compelled to adopt these repressive measures. The taxes were old taxes, and were bringing in a revenue of more than one crore of rupees every year. So far the search for suitable substitutes had proved infructuous. But he was prepared to consider any proposals for replacing them, at any rate the Capitation tax, by taxes less open to theoretical objection.

His Excellency the Governor's speech was followed by a short recess after which the business of the day was taken up.

Swearing-in of new members and interpellations being over, Mr. U. Pa, Leader of the People's Party moved an adjournment motion to consider the action of the Government in interfering with the liberty of the speech and in imposing restrictions on the members of the Minbu Conference, that they must not refer in their speeches to the Capitation and Thathameda taxes and the Couper Committee's report. The President fixed 4 p.m. for the discussion of the motion.

The Forest Minister introduced the Betting Tax Bill and proposed referring it to a Select Committee. The motion was opposed by the People's party members. But it was passed.

## Presentation of the Budget.

The Budget was next presented by the Finance Member. The revised estimates for 1927-28 showed an opening balance of one crore. Receipts amounted to Rs. 11,50,23,000 and expenditure to Rs. 12,38,64,000. The closing balance amounted to Rs. 11,59,000. The estimated receipts included a proposed loan of 85 lakhs from the provincial loans fund. The opening balance was actually 17,25,000 or Rs. 7,21,000 in excess of the sanctioned estimate.

In view of these figures, it had been decided to reduce the proposed loan by 10 lakhs to 75 lakhs and to assume a closing balance of 30, instead of Rs. 11,59,000. On the expenditure side, provision was made for Rs. 9,72,44,000 ordinary revenue expenditure, Rs. 2,58,90,000 capital expenditure, and Rs. 29,59,000 under debt heads or Rs. 12,60,93,000 in all.

Sir William Keith, Finance Member, introducing the Budget, referred to the several new changes made in the form of the budget, so as to make it more easily understandable.



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## DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET

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After dilating on receipts and expenditure, he remarked that the province had taken on a large irrigation and building construction programme, which would be carried out over a number of years. The commitments of Burma were not so large as to prevent these being financed by loans without getting into deep waters and without imposing fresh taxation. He described the Public Accounts committee of Burma as the second most efficient in India.

### Ban on Minbu Conference.

At 4 p.m. the Leader of the People's Party moved his adjournment motion in connection with the Minbu Conference. After criticising the orders interfering with the liberty of speech, he thought that it was better to allow the people to ventilate their grievances publicly. And he could not think how a breach of the peace could be apprehended from such Conferences.

The Chief Secretary, Mr. Brander, opposing the motion, outlined the history of the campaign of non-payment of taxes and quoted several speeches to show that the agitators started a vile calumny of the Government, and it was a serious attempt to subvert authority and break down the system of Government established by law. No Government worth the name, could do otherwise than to take drastic action in the face of such affairs. The Government did not object to free criticism. No Government did. But in the present instance, the Government took the view that if the Conference was allowed to discuss the subject, the crowds which attended it, would go back with a desire to start the agitation in the other parts of the province. The campaign was merely an attempt to break down the system of law and order. The goal, he said, should be reached by constitutional methods. He asked the House whether they were ready to encourage those who were retarding Burma's progress and committing violent deeds and bringing desolation to themselves and others.

A lively discussion took place on the motion for two hours, and it was ultimately talked out. Of the non-official speakers Mr. U Kyaw Lun of the Golden Valley Party, and Mr. Campagnac (Independent) and some other members of the People's Party criticised it. The Council then adjourned.

### Discussion of the Budget.

On the 10TH FEBRUARY general discussion of the budget was initiated by Mr. U. Pu, Leader of the People's Party, who complimented Sir William Keith, Finance Member, on his ability, courtesy and industry, and regretted his impending departure. This feeling was endorsed by subsequent speakers from different sections of the House.

Mr. U. Pu criticising the budget compared the disparity between the police and education expenditures, and urged postponement of works involving large expenditure not urgently needed. He warned the Government that the present expenditure, if continued, would involve the country in difficulties. He also referred to the observations made by the Auditor-General regarding the rapid growth of provincial expenditure.

Criticism was also levelled by other speakers against the disproportionate increase in departments other than nation-building, and on the retention of the Capitation tax, the present excise policy and the non-productive civil works budget.

On the 11TH FEBRUARY the Ministers and the members of the Government replied to the criticisms made by the non-officials yesterday during the general discussion of the Budget.

The Education Minister said that the cost of education was mounting each year, and the Government had been considering the Compulsory Education Bill which he hoped to expedite. As regards help to local bodies, he said that the Government was anxious to do all in its power, but it was for the local bodies to show first that they had an interest in their own affairs.

The Forest Minister said that the allegations made in connection with the Land Mortgage Bank Bill were baseless, and explained the present position. He dismissed the statement that consumption of liquor had increased, and said, rather it was lower than what it was before. He said that the total revenue derived from liquor did not exceed 9 per cent of the total provincial revenue and compared very favourably with those of other provinces in India. He quoted the import figures and remarked that Burma was comparatively speaking very sober.

The Home Member regretted the absence of constructive criticism in the remarks made by the members. If the province was to progress, it was necessary that there should be law and order, and to obtain that progress, there must be an adequate force to preserve law and order. As regards bribery and corruption, he said every attempt had been made to suppress them, and there had been a great improvement during the last few years. If the members wanted to reduce the policy of expenditure, they should advise the people



# THE BURMA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

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to co-operate more with the policy in the suppression of crimes and in the detection of culprits.

The Finance Member thanked the members for the kind references to him. He said that the expenditure on education and the nation-building departments compared favourably with the figures of ten years back.

As regards the Capitation and Thathameda taxes, he said that these were Burmese indigenous taxes, and it was not possible to abolish them until substitutes could be found. He concluded by saying that the financial position of Burma was sound. The Council then adjourned.

## Arms Act Amending Bill.

On the 13TH FEBRUARY the following four bills were passed :—The Burma Military police Bill to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the Military Policy in Burma so as to embody all the existing Acts; the Indian Arms Burma Amendment Bill to make clear what knives are arms, and to prevent people from going about armed with certain knives with pointed blades; the Burma sale of Food and Drugs Bill to check adulteration; the City of Rangoon Municipal Amendment Bill to empower the Corporation to grant gratuities in certain cases; the Burma Municipal Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the municipalities in Burma; and the Burma Weights and Measures Bill to provide standards to weights and measures for use in Burma.

The India Arms Bill evoked a great deal of discussion in which various members took part; and the members of the people's Party opposed it on the ground that it was a further attempt of the Government to disarm the people. The provisions in the existing Village Act were enough, they declared, to deal with the situation, and that the object of the Government would not be achieved by such a measure.

The Bill was passed by an overwhelming majority. The Council then adjourned.

On the 15TH FEBRUARY the non-official business transacted was the discussion of two resolutions, one of which was withdrawn after discussion, while the other which evoked a lively discussion was negatived by a majority of 24 votes. The latter resolution was to the effect that the appointment of a special officer for the suppression of crime in Pegu Division was not necessary.

On the 16TH FEBRUARY Mr. S. Tyabji moved the adjournment of the House to discuss a matter of urgent importance, that is, the conduct of members of the Cameron Regiment stationed in Rangoon in committing assaults on women and various other offences and the public unrest caused thereby.

The President said that he had no information to enable him to decide on the urgency of the matter or of its public importance. He noticed that no questions had been asked on the matter. He therefore suggested to the mover to put certain questions in this connection to Government and asked the Government to waive the time limit and answer these questions in the course of the next week. If those answers were unsatisfactory the President said the mover could renew his application.

Mr. Tyabji agreed to the suggestion and the matter was dropped.

Two non-official resolutions of provincial concern were then discussed and ultimately withdrawn as the movers of the other resolutions on the agenda were absent.

On a point of order raised, the President said that any member who had given notice of a resolution should be in his place at the proper time or he should explain his absence. The Council then adjourned.

On the 18TH FEBRUARY the Council held a short sitting when some official business was transacted. On the motion of the Forest Minister the Bill to amend the Burma Fisheries Act 1905 to give power for the issue of fishery leases to landowners collectively at approved rents was referred to a select committee. The Forest Minister also presented the report of the Select Committee on the Burma Betting Tax Bill which provides the levy of a tax at 2 and half per cent upon all sums paid as bets into the totalisator and the levy of a tax not exceeding one rupee upon every bet made with the bookmaker. The Select Committee had recasted the Bill to emphasise the fact that the Bill was to apply only to horse racing and pony racing. The Council then adjourned.

## Demands for Grants.

On the 20TH FEBRUARY after the Finance Member had moved for a grant of two crores, sixty-four lakhs, ninety thousand, eight hundred and seventy rupees for the departments under his charge, three token cuts were proposed of which only two were put to the vote, one being withdrawn.

Mr. U. Tha Zan proposed exemption from the Thathameda Tax of the parents of those who pass the Patamapyad Pali sacred literature examinations.



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## ALLEGATIONS AGAINST MILITARY

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Government opposed the motion for financial reasons, but it was pressed to a division and carried. The People's Party and several Independents cast their votes in its favour.

Mr Tharrawaddy U. Pu's motion urged the abolition of the Capitation and Thathamada Taxes and criticised the method of collecting them. He said that a sort of reign of terror had been instituted by the adoption of repressive measures and called in question the conduct of some officials concerned.

Mr. Smyth, the Financial Commissioner, traced the history of this agitation and characterised it as a mere political stunt without reason or ground.

Mr. Brander, Chief Secretary, said that most of the charges against the officials were absolutely unfounded and the mover failed to specify instances. Had not the situation in Tharrawaddy been taken in hand in time, active rebellion would have taken place.

The Finance Member pointed out that the proper course to reduce taxation was to reduce expenditure, but no suggestion had been forthcoming. He referred to the report of the Retrenchment Committee which recommended an increased expenditure instead of suggesting a reduction. Government accepted the advice of the Committee and was indifferent to the retention of these taxes if it could get sufficient money to carry on. The effect of this cut would be that the headman would not get his commission paid in full, but would have to wait for a year. The motion was lost.

### Suppression of Bribery.

On the 17TH FEBRUARY, of the four non-official resolutions disposed of in the Council, three were withdrawn, while one, which was of some importance, was lost. The last resolution recommended the appointment of a committee to enquire into and make recommendations to suppress bribery and corruption.

Mr. U. Po Hla, the mover, said that the question was old, and had been discussed in the press and on the floor of the House, as its existence was an undeniable fact. The taking of bribes was detrimental to the administration of justice and had resulted in the public losing confidence in British Rule.

The Chief Secretary opposing the resolution said that the Government had dealt firmly and rigorously with any cases exposed, and did not think any good would come out through an enquiry by such a committee. After explaining what the Government had done in this connection, he said he doubted whether the committee would be in a position to put forward proposals to combat the evil. The only way to eradicate the evil was by public condemnation.

Mr. U. Pu, supporting the resolution, criticised the corruption in the subordinate judiciary.

The Home Member said that the Government did not deny the existence of the evil, but every effort had been made to suppress the evil, as a result of which there was a great reduction in the number of cases. He did not see that any useful purpose would be served by such a committee, and asked the members to bring the cases known to them to the notice of the Government. He did not think the statement that people had lost confidence in the Government was correct; for even the members of the Opposition had admitted that they preferred to be tried for offences by an English Magistrate rather than by a Burman Magistrate. No constructive scheme had been put forward to suppress the evil. As no case had been made out for the appointment of such a committee, he strongly opposed it. The Council then adjourned.

### Allegations Against Military.

On the 21ST FEBRUARY at question time Mr. S. A. S. Tyabji asked :—

Whether the Government will be pleased to state if any information with regard to molestation of women or rowdiness by members of the Cameron Regiment has been brought to the notice of the Government;

(2) whether it is true that a girl has been sent to the General Hospital because of ill-treatment by members of this regiment;

(3) whether two ladies in Dandwith Road have been molested;

(4) whether any lady was molested whilst going in a Ticca Gharry;

(5) whether there was any row between a member or members of the Regiment and the Chinese in China Street or in that quarter."

The Home Member said : "No cases of the nature referred to have been reported to the Police, with the exception of one case in which two soldiers broke into a shop and committed theft. It is understood that these soldiers have been dealt with by a court-martial. Exhaustive enquiries have been made as to the occurrence of any cases of the nature referred to; but information has been forthcoming regarding only two incidents. (1) An Anglo-Indian lady was accosted in the streets by three soldiers, and invited to go for a drive with them in a taxi. On her refusal, they left her. A European lady when



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about to enter her flat in the town was somewhat rudely jostled by some soldiers, who were passing.

(2) No; the allegations have been carefully enquired into and found to be absolutely false and without foundation. The hospital records confirm this.

(3) and (4) No information is forthcoming. In November before the Cameron Regiment came to Rangoon two soldiers on cycles came alongside a Ticca Gharry, in which the lady mentioned was driving. Upon her objection to their presence, they rode away.

(5) No. Some six months ago a soldier belonging to the Manchester Regiment was concerned in an affray with some Chinamen in China Town, and received some injuries. He was taken in charge by the Garrison Military police, and a report was made to the police.

After further interpellations, several nominal cuts were moved to the demands made by the Finance Member; but all motions were lost.

Discussion on another cut on the Finance Member's demand was proceeding, when the Council adjourned.

On the 22ND FEBRUARY the President informed the House that Mr. Tharrawaddy U Pu had sent in notice of a resolution expressing dissatisfaction with the Statutory Commission, but that the resolution did not survive the ballot.

When cuts on budgets were being received the same member sent notice of a nominal cut to discuss the Statutory Commission, but no money being provided in the Budget for the Commission, there could not be any discussion on the Statutory Commission. But in order to meet what appeared to be the general wish of the Opposition, he (the President) consulted the Governor and the Leader of the House. The Governor had consented to admit the motion on the Statutory Commission for discussion, and had fixed Friday afternoon, so as not to interfere with demands for grants.

The President also said that he had received notice of a motion expressing confidence in the Statutory Commission, and a desire to co-operate with it. He asked other members to give notice of motions, if they desired to move any.

Mr. Tharrawaddy U Pu objected to this, and asked the President not to allow the other side to move any such motion, as his party members, being given to understand that his resolution of "No-confidence" or cut would not be allowed, had gone back to the districts.

The President said that the Governor had desired to satisfy the members of the Council and to give an opportunity to them to discuss the matter.

Mr. U. Pu, Leader of the People's Party also objected and said that it was a very important constitutional question. It was not fair to let the other side move any motion on this subject, in view of the fact that the Opposition benches had dwindled in numbers, the members having gone back to their districts.

The day was devoted to a discussion of several financial cuts. One was lost, while the others were withdrawn.

Debate on Working of Reforms.

On the 23RD FEBRUARY opportunity was taken in the Council to raise the question of the working of the Reforms in Burma, when after the House had agreed to the demands of the Finance Member, Mr. J. K. Munshi, a non-party member, moved a taken cut to the demand under the item "Provincial Legislative Council."

Mr. Munshi explained at the outset that his object was not to censure either the Government or any party or any section of the House, but to indulge in constructive criticism which would result ultimately in our advantage to the province. An examination of the working of the Council during the past 12 months would show that they were going backwards. After criticising the work of the various parties in the Council he deprecated the tendency of the members to speak in Burmese, and turning the House into a vote-recording machine, which he said was not the object of the Reforms. He expressed the opinion that the non-official Europeans were inarticulate and were not carrying out their responsibilities.

A number of members then took part in the debate, the critics of the Reforms being mostly members of the People's Party.

Mr. Wroughton, representing the Burma Chamber pointed out that non-official Europeans had been present during all the debates in the House and participated in such as interested them but not in the others, lest they should be misunderstood.

The Chief Secretary, opposing the cut, explained the principles of the Reforms and said that the Government members were doing what they believed to be in the best interests of the Government and the province. The principle of joint responsibility had been accepted, and a new and important convention was being established.



## DEBATE ON SIMON COMMISSION

Mr. A. Smyth, Financial Commissioner, said that for the Reserved half the Government was not responsible to the House, but to the Secretary of State.

Mr. Munshi, the mover of the cut, replying to the debate, drew the attention of the House to the statement made by Mr. U. Kyaw Dun that the nominated members were the real representatives of the people and the backbone of democracy. He strongly criticised the statement made by Mr. Smyth that the Government was not responsible to the House for the Reserved half, and characterised, in view of that statement, the Home Member's asking the House to grant his demand as a mere farce. He asked the People's Party to follow the tactics of the Swarajists in the Assembly and fight in the Council until the goal was achieved, instead of walking out, as it was not in the best interests of the people whom they represented in the Council.

The debate had not concluded, when the Council adjourned till to-morrow.

### Debate on Simon Commission.

On the 24TH FEBRUARY the People's Party again walked out of the Council at the commencement of the discussion of the motion of confidence in the Simon Commission.

At 4-30 P. m., the President asked Mr. U. Kyaw Dun to move his motion on the Simon Commission.

Mr. U. Pu, Leader of the People's Party, rose to a point of order, and wanted to offer a personal explanation. But he was ruled out by the President on the ground that he was dwelling on the general policy of his Party and speaking on the motion before it was moved.

Mr. U. Pu, in the course of his speech, declared that his party would have nothing to do with the Simon Commission.

Mr. Tharrawady U. Pu, Deputy Leader of the People's Party, also rose to a point of order but was disallowed by the President.

Mr. U. Pu left the House, followed by his party members, amidst cries from the People's Party "Let us leave the House, "Do what you like," and cries of "order, order" from the other side.

Mr. Kyaw Dun, member of the Independent Party, then moved the following resolution :—

"This Council has full confidence in the Statutory Commission, and resolves to co-operate with it."

Mr. C. H. Champagnac, (Anglo-Indian representative), supporting the motion criticised the People's Party for imitating the actions of a section of Indian politicians. He deplored the policy of the People's Party, which he characterised as unstatesmanlike. He thought of the majority of Burmans outside the Council, and said that Burma had nothing to lose, but everything to gain by co-operating with the Commission.

Mr. Saw Hla Aung (Burman Independent) did not agree with the first part of the motion, but agreed to give evidence before the Commission.

Dr. Ba Yin, Education Minister, opined that they should always try to get what they could, and said that neither he nor his constituency could agree to the barren policy of boycott.

Mr. U. San Pe, Mr. U. Tha Zan and Mr. U. Po Shein supported the motion, and criticised the People's Party.

The Finance Member protested against the discourtesy to the Chair and the House, shown by the members of the People's Party by their leaving the House in an unmannerly fashion.

Explaining the position, he said that on the 16th January, Mr. Tharawaddy U. Pu gave notice of a resolution expressing dissatisfaction with the Simon Commission, but that resolution did not survive the ballot. On the 16th February, the same member gave notice of a cut in the budget to discuss the reforms including the Simon Commission, and on the 22nd February the President informed that the discussion on that cut could not be allowed, there being no provision for the Commission in the budget.

After consultation with His Excellency, the President intimated to the House on the 22nd that His Excellency the Governor had consented to admit the motion on the Commission. Friday the 24th having been fixed for discussion, the President invited submission of notice of motions on that subject. As the leader of the People's Party objected, the President offered to him postponement of the debate to Monday next, but that offer was refused. The People's Party had a month's time to prepare their speech, and the objection put forward by the Leader of that Party, he was sure, would not carry weight with any member of the House. In conclusion, he reiterated his protest at the conduct of the People's Party.

The motion was passed without any dissentient voice.



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Discussion on Budget.

Earlier in the day, the unfinished debate of Mr. Munshi's nominal cut, moved yesterday being resumed, the Home Member in the course of his reply, referring to the attack made on the Ministers from time to time, said that His Excellency the Governor appointed the best Minister he was able to get, and if the Opposition wanted to pass a vote of censure on the Ministers, they could bring a motion of no-confidence. Concluding, he said, the mover had given a lot of advice, and assured him that he would take his admonitions to heart.

The motion was then withdrawn.

Another cut moved by a member of the Independent and Golden Valley Party raised a discussion on the abolition of the post of Commissioners and it was supported among others by members of the People's Party.

After discussion, practically for the whole of the day, the cut was pressed to a division, and carried. The Council then adjourned.

On the 25TH FEBRUARY the members of the People's Party, who walked out yesterday, were present but they were only few in numbers.

After interpellations, Mr. S. Tyabji, Member, People's Party, wanted to make a statement complaining about the attack made yesterday on his party during the debate on the Simon Commission motion in their absence from the House. But he was ruled out of order by the President.

Mr. Tyabji remarked that the Opposition expected that the party would be protected by the Chair in their absence.

The President said that the remark was a personal reflection on the Chair, and cries of "withdraw" arose from official benches.

Eight cuts under various heads in the Home Member's demands for grants were disposed of to-day, two being lost and the rest withdrawn.

Another cut was under discussion, when the clock struck 5 p.m., and the President stopped further discussion, and applied guillotine to all the motions for grants.

The Home Member's demand for Rs. 3,54,12,440 for his department, the Forest Minister's demand for Rs. 2,66,16,590 and the Education Minister's demand for Rs. 2,27,34,440 were passed.

Several additional and supplementary grants were also passed. The Council then adjourned.

Budget Session Concluded.

On the 27TH FEBRUARY the Council concluded its Budget session. After the transaction of some official business the Council was prorogued. The Fisheries Amendment Bill and the Burma Betting Tax Bill were passed without any discussion.

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## The B. & O. Legislative Council.

The Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council commenced its winter session at Patna on the 16TH JANUARY 1928.

In pursuance of the Congress resolution, members belonging to the Congress Party in the Council put in their appearance just as the Council met, but after a short while, began to walk out one by one. Thus, by the time the new nominated members had finished their oath-taking, all the Congress benches became empty. The members of the Independent Congress Party including Messrs. Jagatnarain Lal, Devaki Prasad Sinha and others however remained, and took part in the proceedings.

After interpellations, the House proceeded to discuss resolutions.

The first resolution stood in the name of Mr. Mahomed Ishaque recommending that the Urdu script be made optional in the courts of the province. But he, being a member of the Congress Party, was not there to move it; but a similar resolution stood in the name of a non-Congress member, Mr. Mahomed Hussain, who however moved it, with the difference that he recommended the introduction of Urdu as an optional court-script in the three divisions of Tirhut, Patna and Bhagalpur only.

There was a long discussion on this motion. The mover made it clear, at the outset, that it was not on any sentimental ground that he recommended the resolution for their acceptance. It was because the Mussalmans in the province felt a genuine grievance that they were not allowed to transact their court business in the Urdu script. The grounds of administrative and financial difficulties urged against the resolution, were absolutely baseless.

Mr. Mubarak Ali referred to the statistics of students offering Urdu as their vernacular at the different University examinations, to show that a large number of the people studied Urdu, and therefore there was no administrative difficulty involved in this matter.

It was urged by some of the supporters of the resolution that Urdu was more scientific than Hindi.

The Leader of the House declared on behalf of the Government that the Government would remain neutral on this question. The Government members would not therefore vote on the resolution; and it was for non-official members to express themselves one way or the other on it.

Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha condemned the neutral attitude of the Government as timid and imbecile. He thought that the matter might have been settled at a private meeting of the members. He thought that administrative and financial difficulties were great. He appealed to the mover to postpone consideration of the question.

The motion was put to vote and carried by 14 to 12.

Efforts were made during the interval to persuade the mover and other Mussalman members to agree to the withdrawal of the resolution at present, in view of the question coming up before the Round-Table Conference, convened by Mr. Sachidanand Sinha, but unsuccessfully.

Another resolution discussed to-day was moved by Mr. Srinandan Prasad Singh recommending that no restriction be imposed upon local bodies as regards the numbers of upper primary schools maintained by them.

The resolution was withdrawn in view of the assurance given by the Minister of Education to sympathetically consider the question of the extension of primary education.

On the 17TH JANUARY the Swarajist members were again conspicuous by their absence although they were frequently noticed outside the chamber. In consequence, many of the resolutions on the order paper were not moved.

A resolution was moved by Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha, urging that immediate steps should be taken to improve the pay, prospects and status of the Subordinate



Civil Service, with a view to its total amalgamation with the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Executive Service.

#### Agricultural Indebtedness.

Another resolution moved by Mr. Mobarak Ali urged the Government to take immediate steps towards the reduction of agricultural indebtedness, and to establish Land Mortgage banks to provide the agriculturists with loans on long and easy terms.

After discussion, both the resolutions were withdrawn, in view of the sympathetic assurance given on behalf of the Government. With regard to the first resolution, it was stated on behalf of the Government that the memorial submitted by the Sub-Deputy Collectors would receive the best consideration.

With regard to the record resolution, the Education Minister suggested to the mover not to press the resolution, as he was already considering the matter and thinking of taking steps in the direction indicated.

On the 18TH JANUARY the Council held a very short sitting. Owing to the absence of the Swarajist members, a number of resolutions standing in their names were not moved.

The resolution of Mr. Mubarak Ali for the grant of more facilities to the candidates for the pleadership examination, was discussed and ultimately withdrawn.

#### Swarajists Oppose Mining Bill.

On the 20TH JANUARY the Government Bill to offer facilities for the expansion of the mining industry was referred to a select committee. Swarajist members participated, and opposed the measure. The Council then adjourned till February 13, when the budget was presented.

#### The Financial Statement for 1928-29.

On the 13TH FEBRUARY in introducing the budget for 1928-29 the Hon. Maharaja Bahadur of Dumraon, Finance Member said:—"When I presented the budget 12 months ago, it was anticipated that we should open the current year with a balance of one crore 82 lakhs and 80 thousands of which 66 lakhs and 3 thousand would be the balance of famine insurance fund and the rest would be available for general purposes. When accounts for 1926-27 were finally made up, it was found that our revenue was 1 lakh and 68 thousand more and our expenditure 8 lakhs and 87 thousand less than we expected. It is not only infrequently cast in the teeth of finance department that it habitually under-estimates revenue and over-estimates expenditure. Exactitude is unattainable and it is well that error should be on the right side. I can only tell the Council that I should be sorry to be a member in charge of a department which exhibited contrary tendency. On the present occasion our excess of revenue was due entirely to an excess under irrigation. For appropriation purposes working expenses of the Irrigation Department are treated as reductions from revenue under this one head but at the end of the year charges for establishment and tools and plant are distributed proportionately to the works expenditure among various major irrigation heads on the expenditure side. The result of this is that eventually there is always an excess of revenue over excesses under certain of irrigation expenditure heads. On the present occasion excess of revenue under irrigation was neutralised to the extent of 2 lakhs of rupees by an unexpected falling off of revenue under "miscellaneous unclaimed deposits."

On expenditure side over 4 lakhs of rupees lapsed under civil works and nearly 3 lakhs under public health. There were lapses of over a lakh under medical and superannuation and under loans and advances by the provincial Government. Reasons for these lapses will no doubt be scrutinised in due course by the Public Accounts Committee. The net result of these excesses of revenue and savings in expenditure was that we started the current year with the opening balance of 1 crore 93 lakhs and 35 thousand of which 65 lakhs and 31 thousand were in Famine Insurance Fund. I must next refer to difference between original and revised estimates of the year 1927-28 which is drawing to its close. We estimate now that our year will be 5 crores 65 lakhs and 36 thousand or 2 lakhs and



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# THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1928-29

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6 thousand less than were expected. This is more than accounted for by the fact that excise revenue is down by 2½ lakhs. Drought in Bihar floods in Orissa and stagnation in coal industry and failure of lac crop in Chota Nagpur have all contributed to this result. This is our principal expending source of revenue and if it has ceased to expend the warning must not go unheeded. On the other hand, we now anticipate that our total expenditure charged to revenue will be 6 and one fourth lakhs less than we expected 12 months ago. As usual largest saving (of 2 lakhs and 87 thousand) occur under civil work. This is due to progress on various works under construction being slower than had been hoped. What is not spent this year will have to be carried forward next year for "works in progress." There have also been excesses of 66 thousand under education and 1 lakh 29 thousand under irrigation chiefly for repair of flood damage in Orissa for which supplementary demands had been voted by the Council.

The net result of all this is that we expect to start next year with an opening balance of 1 crore 65 lakhs and 51 thousand of which 69 lakhs and 40 thousand will be balance of famine insurance fund and balance of 96 lakhs and 11 thousand will be available for general purposes. The total revenue which we expect to receive in 1928-29 is 5 crores 74 lakhs and 37 thousand. This is about 9 lakhs above the revised estimate of the current year but increase is due chiefly to recent instruction of the auditor general in accordance with which a number of items of receipt which used to be taken in deduction of expenditure are with effect from the next year to be treated as revenue. This accounts for increases under land revenue and industries.

In dealing with our expenditure I propose to deal separately with those charges to which we are already committed and those which represent new expenditure. The former class of expenditure I shall refer to as "1st edition" and the latter as "2nd edition" expenditure because it is only at the second stage of preparation of budget that any new expenditure is included in it. The 1st edition expenditure debitable to revenue amounts to 5 crores 72 lakhs and 27 thousand and other expenditure to 20 lakhs and 42 thousand. Total 5 crores 92 lakhs and 69 thousand. Minimum ordinary closing balance that we consider it proper to maintain is about 75 lakhs which is something less than two months' average expenditure. Last year it is true that we budgetted for a lower sum but we were monetarily expecting an alteration to be made in rules relating to famine insurance fund which would have released a large sum from the fund to our general balance. That alteration was not made. It is still however possible that rules will be altered and our minimum balance in the fund considerably reduced. But this will now have to wait till next year's budget. Our closing balance being fixed it is possible to arrive at the sum of money available for new schemes. This figure is approximately 20 lakhs. Of this 3 lakhs have in the first place been set aside for unforeseen demands arising during the course of the year. The most important and difficult point to decide with regard to the disposal of remainder is how much of it should be utilised for recurring expenditure. Our revenue for 1928-29 being 5 crores 74 lakhs and 37 thousand and our first edition expenditure debitable to revenue 5 crores 72 lakhs and 27 thousand. It is evident that unless there is some fact to be considered which does not appear on surface, there is very little scope for increasing our recurring commitments. Balance of our resources and commitments is fairly shown by relation between our anticipated revenue and our first edition expenditure of 1928-29. If our revenue is likely to increase so also our expenditure without any further specific additions to it on our part. Margin of safety of our normal revenue over our normal expenditure is therefore very small.

While our excise revenue was increasing by half a crore we were increasing our recurring expenditure also by half a crore. Days when we could do that kind of thing are gone. Until some radical change occurs in our position we shall have to restrict our fresh recurring commitments within very narrowed limits. After most anxious consideration I consider that an ultimate extra recurring liability of 79 thousand marks the very limit up to which it is safe for us to go this year. This will involve recurring expenditure next year of 73 thousand.



A sum of 15 lakhs and 97 thousand had been set aside for non-recurring expenditure on principle. I am painfully conscious of the fact that this budget is bound to be disappointing to the council and more particularly to my friends, the Honourable Ministers.

On the 14TH FEBRUARY the Swarajist members attended the Council and used their weight in refusing reference of the Bihar and Orissa Mica Bill, an official measure, to the Select Committee.

The consideration of the non-official Bill piloted by Khan Bahadur Mahomed Naim, seeking to introduce separate electorates for the Mussalmans for the District Board elections and a statutory minimum of 25 per cent seats for the Mussalmans, was postponed till the August session of the Council.

#### Moslems and Local Bodies.

The Khan Bahadur, in moving the reference of his Bill to amend the Local Self-Government Act to the Select Committee, said : The last District Board elections had resulted practically in the non-representation of the Mussalmans. The elections in 27 District Boards had gone without any Moslem representation. He pointed out that Moslem interests had suffered immensely through the present arrangement of joint electorates in the District Board elections. Moslem feeling on the question was very strong and he, therefore, urged that proper adequate Moslem representation could only be secured through separate electorates.

The Hon. Mr. Ganesh Dutta Singh, Minister for Local Self-Government, replying on behalf of Government, stated that the opinion of the country on the question of electorates was sharply divided and even among the Mussalmans there was no unanimity on the question. The question of minority representation would soon be engaging the attention of the Statutory Commission and was already engaging the attention of the All-India political leaders and it would not, therefore, be desirable for this Council to commit itself one way or the other at this stage. The next District Board elections would not take place before 1929 and hence he thought there was no harm if the Bill was postponed till the next session of the Council. He was aware that the result of the last two elections was unfavourable to the Mussalmans. He was of opinion that the fixing of seats on a uniform basis for all the districts could not be justified. He stated that Government would be prepared to support reference of the Bill to the Select Committee, but their future attitude towards the Bill would depend upon the form in which the Bill would emerge from the Select Committee.

The mover agreeing, the Bill was postponed till the August session.

#### Mica Bill.

The Hon. Mr. Sifton moved that the Bihar and Orissa Mica Bill be referred to the Select Committee. Mr. Sifton explained at length the necessity of the legislation.

Messrs. Ram Dayalu Sinha and Nirsu Narayan Singh (Swarajists) protested against a remark made by the Hon Mr. Berthoud, Commissioner of Excise and Salt in the memorandum of opinion collected on the Bill, as in their opinion it meant a reflection on the Council. The remark against which objection was taken ran : "I do not believe that the Bill will pass through the Council owing to the fact that the vast majority of firms, and individuals engaged in the Mica trade are interested in stolen Mica." The Swarajist members insisted that the remark should be withdrawn.

The Hon Mr. Sifton, the leader of the House, explained that it was printed through a mere accident and as soon as he had seen it he gave instructions that it should be removed.

Government motion for the reference of the Mica Bill to a Select Committee was rejected by 42 votes to 28. The Council then adjourned till the 21st February when a general discussion on the Budget was to be held.

(FOR FURTHER PROCEEDINGS SEE VOL. II.)



# The League Against Imperialism.

BRUSSELS—9, 10, 11, DECEMBER 1927.

The General Council of the League against Imperialism in a Conference at Brussels on the 9th, 10th and 11th December 1927, pointing out the imperialist oppression by Britain, France and America in the different countries of the world and urging the workers of both imperialist and colonial countries to unite themselves in a common fight against Imperialism, resolved "to create a powerful organisation of the League Council embracing militant mass organisations in the imperialist and colonial countries to face the offensive of imperialism".

The hypocrisy of the so-called Labour sympathy with the peoples who are struggling for freedom are mercilessly exposed. The League sounds a timely warning to the oppressed workers to guard against the bourgeoisie tendency to create division among nationalist ranks.

In another resolution on the "War Danger" the Council appreciates Soviet's great gesture at Geneva of total Disarmament by land, sea and air and on the contrary, declares the big Powers' negotiations on disarmament as an impudent fraud. Imperialism is made synonymous with war, the peril of which is constantly present. The fratricidal massacres can be stopped only by the strong alliance of workers of imperialist countries with those of the colonies.

The following in the full text of the resolutions that were passed by the League and is reproduced from "Forward" of Calcutta :—

## Help the Chinese Revolt.

The General Council of the League against Imperialism considering the following facts passed a political resolution :—

(1). Since the Brussels Congress of the League, the imperialist policy in the colonies has become increasingly aggressive. In a number of oppressed countries the movement for national freedom has suffered defeats in the face of formidable imperialist attack. French imperialism has crushed the revolt in Morocco and Syria. The American army and navy have helped reaction to gain supremacy over the democratic forces in Nicaragua reducing it to the status of a veritable colony. In all the other Latin American countries, United States imperialism supports reactionary Governments against the will of the democratic masses. The insurrections in Java and Sumatra have been defeated by brutal measures of repression. Dutch imperialism has introduced a veritable reign of terror in Indonesia. Even the Chinese revolution has met a setback, mainly owing to the concentrated efforts of all the imperialist powers. Finally, British imperialism has thrown down a most insolent challenge to the Indian nationalist movement by refusing the Indian people the most elementary rights of self-determination.

In this situation the task of the League is to intensify its activities with the object of mobilising in a world-wide resistance to imperialist offensive, all the revolutionary forces fighting for freedom and democracy in the oppressed colonial countries. The heroic efforts of the oppressed peoples to free themselves can be frustrated by imperialism if they are not united and are not fully and effectively supported by the toiling masses in the imperialist countries. The gigantic upheaval of the Chinese people, which has dealt a severe blow to the power and prestige of imperialism in the Far East, enlisted the sympathy of the toiling masses in



the imperialist countries, but the sympathy could not find a sufficiently effective expression in action to prevent imperialist intervention in China.

#### Labour's Hypocrisy.

(2). The reformist and social democratic leaders of the Labour movement in the imperialist countries are largely responsible for the insufficient action of the proletariat in the imperialist countries to assist effectively the struggle for national freedom in the colonies. These leaders not only sabotaged the action of the proletariat in support of revolutionary movements in the colonies, they actually endorse the imperialist policy of colonial exploitation. They fully believe in the imperialist doctrines of the "white man's burden," "civilising mission" etc. The official policy of the Socialist International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) as regards imperialist intervention in China, for example, was to make a hypocritical protest while agreeing with the imperialist Government on the necessity of taking measures "to protect foreign lives and property in China."

The General Council of the League, which has on it a number of representatives of the revolutionary sections of the political and industrial labour movement in the imperialist countries is of the opinion that the official policy of the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals as regards imperialism does not correspond with the interests of the proletariat masses in the imperialist countries.

There was a time when a small part of the super profit derived from colonial exploitation could be devoted to create imperialist prejudice among the home proletariat. The situation has radically changed. From this period of capitalist decline the super profit derived from colonial exploitation must be increased by intensified exploitation and is badly needed for the stabilisation of capitalism at home. Thus colonial exploitation is an indispensable method of capitalist rationalisation having an adverse influence upon the economic conditions of the whole proletariat. By exploiting more intensively the cheap colonial labour through industrialisation, imperialism seeks to lower the standard of living of the home proletariat.

In these conditions the interests of the proletariat in the imperialist countries demand an end of colonial exploitation. And colonial exploitation cannot cease to have an adverse effect upon the economic conditions of the home proletariat, unless the oppressed peoples become completely free. The League, therefore, must explain the situation to the toiling masses in order to mobilise them in a real struggle against imperialism in conjunction with the oppressed peoples. It must be explained to the masses that the social democratic theory of helping the backward races to advance gradually on the road to self-determination is a direct aid to imperialism and therefore detrimental to the interests of the home proletariat.

#### Need of Uniting the Workers.

(3). Since its formation the League had done considerable work of agitation and propaganda. The call of the League has found a response in the colonial countries. A certain amount of sympathy for the League has also been aroused in the imperialist countries. To give definite organisational shape to these preliminary achievements is the task of the League in the immediate future. The League must penetrate proletarian mass organisations in the imperialist countries. In the colonial countries it must base itself upon all the social classes that are prepared to carry on a real struggle against imperialism for national freedom. While endeavouring to mobilise all available forces in a joint struggle against imperialism, the differentiation inside the nationalist movement in the colonies should be noted. As the movement for freedom inevitably develops revolutionary social aspects (liquidation of feudalism and other forms of native reaction), the upper strata of the colonial population leaves the movement and tends to a compromise with imperialism. This process of class-differentiation greatly helps imperialism in its fight against the Chinese revolution. As the national revolution developed, the feudal bourgeois elements left the nationalist ranks and allied themselves with imperialism against the revolution. Finally, the Kuo-Min-Tang as a whole betrayed the national revolution. A similar



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process is to be expected in other colonial countries also. In India the land-owning class and the big bourgeoisie are willing to compromise with the British imperialists in return for some concessions on the part of the latter. These elements weaken the nationalist movement by creating the illusion that national freedom is possible inside the British Empire. While supporting and organising every form of resistance to imperialist domination, the League must base itself primarily on those classes that must conduct a revolutionary struggle for complete national freedom, namely the workers, peasants and the democratic petty bourgeois masses.

## Conflict of Imperialist Interests.

(4). As regards the right of exploiting the so-called backward races, all the imperialist powers are united, but the rivalry of particular interests creates conflicts between imperialist governments. This conflict can be often utilised to promote the cause of freedom of this or that colonial people. But the League is of the opinion that under no circumstances should this tactical policy be adopted at the sacrifice of the struggle against imperialism as such. The League should also support the semi-colonial states, for example, of Central and South America (Mexico, Nicaragua etc.) to their resistance to the aggression of the great imperialist powers.

(5). Finally, the General Council of the League is of the opinion that the set-backs suffered by the movement for freedom in a number of colonial countries do not provide reason for pessimism. On the contrary, they impose upon the League the great responsibility of organising active support for those peoples who are bearing the brunt of imperialist attack and terror. For example, the debacle of the Kuo-Min-Tang has left the workers and peasant masses alone in the struggle for national liberation. They are faced with a formidable counter-revolutionary united front of the imperialists, militarists, native feudal reaction and the renegade bourgeoisie. The Chinese people need international support more urgently than ever. The League must undertake to organise this support for the Chinese revolution.

The General Council resolves to create a powerful organisation of the League embracing militant mass organisations in the imperialist and colonial countries to face the offensive of imperialism.

## Resolution on "War Danger".

In the same meeting of the League Council the following resolution on the "War Danger" was passed :-

The General Council of the League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression records its appreciation of the great gesture for peace made by the Soviet Delegation at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, in its proposals for total Disarmament by land, sea and air. The Council considers this proposal the more significant, because it is in striking contrast with the public announcement made a few days later by President Coolidge on behalf of American imperialism, as it were in reply to the Soviet Republic's proposal for complete disarmament, that the piling up of armaments by the U. S. A. would continue under the guise of safeguarding "national security." Similar statements were also made by British Ministers.

Nor are these mere empty boasts. In America and Britain, first and foremost, and in every other capitalist country also, the burden of expenditure on armaments grows greater every year; and the productive forces of society are diverted more and more from constructive to destructive ends. Year after year sees the invention and mass production of more and more hideous and costly means of destruction—tanks, big guns, air bombs, poison gas etc. Simultaneously the moral and ideological preparations for war are being intensified, by propaganda through the schools, the press, the film, military displays etc. to cast a false halo around militarism, navalism and imperialism.

The Lithuanian-Polish crisis, the constant friction between Fascist Italy and her neighbours, above all, the constant provocation offered to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by hostile acts which, in other circumstances, would inevitably entail war (the attacks on Soviet consulates and officials in particular),



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demonstrate how powerful are the forces making for war and how everpresent is its danger. But these and similar incidents are only the pretext, not the cause of war, just as the monstrous growth of armaments is only a visible proof of the peril, not an explanation of its cause.

### International Antagonism.

The war peril is growing once more because the robber imperialist powers are once more finding themselves locked in conflict throughout the world, first of all over the redistribution of the right to oppress the colonial peoples and subject races, to monopolise colonial markets and sources of raw materials, to swell super-profits out of cheap colonial labour. The struggle between British and American imperialism over the right to exploit China, Central and South America and the peoples of Eastern Europe; the struggle between French and Italian imperialism over the economic control of the Mediterranean shores and between French and British imperialism over the right to exploit Syria, Palestine, Arabia and the Near East generally—these are typical of the fatal internal antagonism of imperialism which show themselves, now here, now there, but always and everywhere bring the peril a step closer.

Even those antagonisms, however, are temporarily reconciled whenever the imperialist world as a whole finds itself face to face with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first great challenge to world imperialism. The U.S.S.R. does not depend for its existence on the subjection and exploitation of colonial peoples, since the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie who formerly ruled Tsarist Russia has been utterly destroyed. Consequently the U.S.S.R. is the only power which could come to Geneva with a genuine and practical scheme for disarmament.

On the other hand, the very existence of the U.S.S.R. is a standing encouragement of the oppressed colonial peoples, and therefore an object of perpetual and increasing hostility to the imperialists of all countries. Military, diplomatic and moral preparations for war on the U.S.S.R. have been pushed ahead by British imperialism in particular, ever since its present Conservative Government came to office, and the rupture of diplomatic relations in May, 1927, was an important step forward towards this object.

The bloody intervention of British imperialism in China, during 1927 and the heavy temporary defeat it has inflicted upon the Chinese revolution both directly and through its agents, the Northern and the Kuo-Min-Tang's militarists, are a further measure of the fact that war to-day is inseparable from imperialism. The revolt of the 400 millions of the Chinese people, in which the exploited masses—the working class and the peasantry—were playing an increasingly active part, was encouraging similar movements for national liberation in all oppressed countries. And for this very reason British imperialism, supported more or less actively by Japanese, French and American imperialism, was determined not only to destroy it by force of arms, but to launch an attack, if necessary, upon the Soviet Union also, as the ally, guide and champion of revolutionary China.

### Talk of Disarmament is a Fraud.

The League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression calls upon the toilers and the exploited of the whole world to realise that, so long as imperialism lasts, so long will new bloody catastrophes menace the peace of the world and the lives of millions. So long as a few robber cliques of financiers can continue to appropriate and monopolise the exploitation of natural resources, of human labour, of the ordinary requirements of existence, so long will they continue the struggle over these privileges as the price of countless lives, endless suffering, boundless destruction. In these wars it is upon the colonial people that falls the main burden of suffering, of material loss, and of human wastage of human life. Their countries become the theatre of military operations, their manhood becomes cannon fodder in the war to rivet the chains of imperialist slavery still more firmly on their own bodies. Therefore, it is to the special interest of the colonial peoples to fight against the war danger and, in the event of imperialist wars breaking out, to refuse to aid or participate in them. The League declares that all the imperialist talk of disarmament and of security are an impudent fraud,



since they continue to rely upon arms to shoot down their own workers and colonial slaves, and the only security they conceive of is security for their profits at the price of the misery and the destruction of human race.

The League calls upon the workers of the imperialist countries, in particular, to realise that in a close, fraternal and effective alliance with oppressed peoples for the overthrow and destruction of imperialism lies the only hope for the salvation of mankind from new fratricidal massacres.

### Resolution on China.

Following is the text of the resolution of the League on the Chinese question :—

After hearing the reports of the delegates from the All-China Labour Federation, from the peasants' unions as well as of several other Chinese comrades, who have until recently been official representatives of the Kuomintang in Europe and America, the General Council of the League against Imperialism makes the following declarations :—

(1) Imperialist intervention and the betrayal of the native bourgeoisie have dealt a series of defeats to the national revolution in China.

(2) The official policy of the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) as regards the Chinese revolution is a flagrant violation of the principle of self-determination and a direct support for imperialist intervention.

(3) In spite of imperialist and militarist terror, the Chinese working class stands firmly and loyally on the road to revolution. The fascist unions set up in Shanghai by the militarists and the renegade nationalist bourgeoisie do not have the support of the proletarian masses who are behind the All-China Labour Federation.

(4) The national revolution not only weakened the position of foreign imperialism but also threatened to liquidate native reaction (feudalism) as the means to the democratisation of the political and economic life of the people. In view of this, the reactionary feudal bourgeois elements left the nationalist front and began a fierce attack upon the workers' and peasants' movement. After a period of vacillation between revolution and counter-revolution, the Kuomintang as a whole finally betrayed the national revolution. The Kuomintang has surrendered itself to the feudal militarists and frankly repudiated its own ideals and programme. The workers and peasant masses had suffered and sacrificed so heroically for the national revolution and had stood loyally by the Kuomintang, while under the fire of imperialist guns the feudal bourgeois element deserted it. Now in the territories of the Kuomintang there is a reign of terror. Workers and peasants are massacred in thousands. The Kuomintang flag is soiled with the blood of the working class. The Kuomintang has abandoned the struggle against imperialism and has undertaken task of crushing the revolution. Consequently it has become an instrument of imperialism. The national revolution can no longer develop under the Kuomintang flag. As a matter of fact, having betrayed its own ideals and programme, the Kuomintang has destroyed itself. It is broken up into warring groups with only one thing in common, namely, hatred for the workers and peasants who stand true to the cause of democratic national freedom.

(5) Foreign imperialism, native reaction and the renegade nationalist bourgeoisie have made a united front against the Chinese revolution. Over 90 per cent of the population of China belong to the exploited classes. They must continue the struggle against imperialist oppression and native reaction. More than ever they are in need of support from the toiling masses in the imperialist countries and revolutionary democratic movements in the colonial countries. They must organise their support and help the Chinese masses to overthrow imperialism and destroy native reaction in spite of the treachery of the Second International and the debacle of the Kuomintang.

### Resolution on Persia.

The Socialist Party and the Republican Revolutionary Parties of Persia



submit the following resolution concerning the general situation in Persia to the General Council of the League against Imperialism :—

- (1) Abolition of all unequal treaties.
- (2) All secret agreements by an imperialist government which might harm the independence of Persia will not be recognised.
- (3) To break the chain of exploitation of the foreign capitalists, who due to the unequal treaties, are able to exploit the Persian workers.
- (4) To call to the proletariat of the world to come in an effective manner to the aid of the Persian workers who are exploited in the most ferocious manner in the workshops and above all in the petroleum concessions of the Anglo-Persian Company.

(5) We ask the League to intervene through the members of the English Parliament—we are in a position to make a protest—against the four demands which the Government of Great Britain addressed to Persia and which constitutes in our eyes a flagrant violation of the independence of this country.

This to remind you of these demands :—

- (a) Recognition of the Persian debts which are not at all justified.
- (b) Establishment of air lines between the central regions of Persia and the Persian Gulf.
- (c) Recognition of the Government of Irak.
- (d) Re-establishment of Sheikh Khazaal.

#### Resolution on Indonesia.

The text of the League's resolution on Indonesia runs as follows :—

The General Council of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence held on December 9th, 10th and 11th, 1927 at Brussels, having heard the report of the Indonesian delegation concerning the conditions in Indonesia, protests energetically against

- (1) the mass arrests and deportations of Indonesian fighters for freedom without any trial ;
- (2) the arrest of the leading members of the Perhimpoean Indonesia who are kept in prison for more than three months ;—

Decide support with all strength the Indonesian liberating movement ; and

Appeals to the Dutch proletariat to strengthen the power of the Indonesian movement for freedom which is labouring under regime of ruthless oppression, by rallying to the Dutch Section of the League to which the Perhimpoean Indonesia representing the Indonesian emancipation movement is affiliated.

#### Resolution on the Philippines.

The Philippines delegate, realising that another world war is inevitable and is likely to be fought in the Pacific, at the expense of the workers of the world in general and the workers and oppressed peoples of the Pacific in particular, submits the following resolution :

(1) That the General Council shall instruct the Executive Committee to devise ways and means by which the workers of the North and South American countries, the workers and nationalists of Indonesia and China, and the workers and nationalists of the Philippines could come into close connection, so as to help one another

(a) in the event of an imperialist country trying to suppress by force any national movement ; or

(b) in the event of an imperialist country attempting to use force behind its concessions and investments or

(c) in the event of an imperialist country trying to use the workers to fight for its own creed and profits.

(2) That the General Council shall instruct the Executive Committee to establish a branch of the League in the Philippines, the function of which shall be

(a) to win by all means the Philippine nationalists and workers into the League ;

(b) to keep reminding them that to win back their freedom they should use force with the help of all workers throughout the world ;



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(c) to keep the Executive Committee informed of the Philippine situation in order that, in the event of a Philippine revolt against American imperialism, the Executive Committee could give immediate instructions to the different secretariats throughout the world as to the method to be used in helping the Philippine revolution to a successful end.

### Resolution on India.

The text of the League's resolution on India runs as follows:

The General Council of the League against Imperialism declare its complete solidarity with the Indian people in the latter's opposition to the British Government's proposal of a Commission of the British Parliament to investigate India's fitness for self-government.

The appointment of this Commission of the exploiters to grant "reforms" to the peoples whom they exploit is nothing but an impudent farce, and the General Council heartily supports the Indian national movement's resolve to boycott the Commission.

The General Council notes with disgust that the British Labour Party leaders and Members of Parliament have made common cause with the British imperialists on this question, by supporting the Conservative Government's proposal of the Commission and by endorsing without any but the weakest support to Comrade Saklatvala in Parliament the participation of two Labour representatives.

The General Council declares that this open united front of the British capitalists and British Labour leaders in defence of British imperialism, which has no parallel since the black days of August 1914, is as harmful to the workers of the oppressed countries, since they are exploited by the same ruling class.

The League against Imperialism pledges the whole-hearted support of all its adherent organisations and sections to the Indian national movement in the struggle. At the same time it urges all genuine enemies of imperialist oppression in India to concentrate on rallying the masses around the positive slogan of complete independence for India—the sole real threat to the power of British imperialism—and on the election of a Constituent Assembly to consider the entire question of the political future of India, which should be prepared by the creation of local committees, mass demonstrations, and the widest possible participation of the masses of the people generally.

### League's Scheme of Work.

The League adopted the following resolution outlining a general scheme of their immediate future work:—

I.—Basis of Organisation:—All political organisations, all Parties, Trade-Union and persons who are fighting against capital-imperialist domination for the self-determination of all nations, for the national liberty of all people, for the equal rights of all races, classes and individuals, shall be allowed to affiliate to the League against Imperialism and for National Independence.

II.—Plan of Organisation:—(1) The Executive shall aim at the organising of each colonial and each capitalist country, so far as practicable, a Section of the League consisting of all organisations and individuals that endorse the policy of the League and affiliate to the Section.

(2) Taking into account the particular situation in each country, the Executive shall seek to obtain affiliation to the International League of all organisations, at the same time informing the National Section in question of the new affiliation.

(3) Wherever possible, the Executive shall encourage the holding of Conferences or Congresses by the National Sections or Group Conferences in which representatives of both the exploiting Empire and its exploited colonial peoples should participate.

III.—Immediate Organisational Steps:—(1) The Executive must publish regularly a News Bulletin in several languages to disseminate information about imperialist oppression and the activities of the League.

(2) The General Council empowers the Executive to explore the possibilities of publishing a monthly organ of the League. The organ should be a journal



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dealing with imperialism, the attitude of various classes and parties in relation to it, colonial exploitation, all aspects of the struggle for freedom in the colonies, etc.

(3) National Sections of the League must be created and developed in the most important imperialist countries, namely England, France, and the United States. The main basis of the League should be secured by the affiliation of Parties, Sections of Parties, Trade-Unions and other organisations prepared to take an active part in the struggle against imperialism. To guarantee that the affiliated sections of the League will be live organisations, promoting the anti-imperialist struggle, they should be mainly upon the basis of dues paying individual membership.

(4) In the colonial countries, the League must seek the affiliation of the nationalist organisations, and chiefly of the peasant and labour organisations.

(5) All affiliated organisations shall pay dues either to the national sections or to the Central Office of the League according to agreement reached between the League and its sections. The proportion of dues received by the sections and paid by them to the Central Office, shall be determined in each case by agreement between the Executive Committee and the section involved.

(6) The Executive should seek to secure the affiliation of all Trade-Unions, and particularly of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Federation.

(7) The central apparatus of the League should be strengthened by the creation of an efficient secretariat. The Executive is empowered to decide which is the most suitable seat of the International Secretariat and how the efficiency of the Secretariat will be strengthened.

### Protest Against Second International.

With reference to the document of October 7th 1927 published by the L. S. I. (Second International) purporting to be a "History of the League against Imperialism" and alleging that the League was nothing but a communist manoeuvre, the General Council of the League against Imperialism,

Protests emphatically against the publication of this misleading, unjustified and untrue document, which this General Council regards as a direct attack on the numerous nationalist organisations of the oppressed peoples, affiliated to the League, and on all revolutionary workers taking part in the work of the League;

Declares that by its action the Second International is violating the principles of Socialism and assisting the capitalist and the imperialist Governments, which are continually and everywhere arresting and condemning active nationalists for alleged "communist" activities, "relations with Moscow" etc; and

Urges all socialist workers, members of the parties affiliated to the Second International, to adhere to their socialist principles, to support by all means the struggle for freedom of their comrades in the oppressed countries, and consequently to disregard the attitude of the leaders of the Second International and to affiliate individually or by groups to the sections of the League in their particular country.

## The Executive Committee of the League.

Subsequently a meeting of the Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism was held in Brussels on April 28 under the chairmanship of the new President of the League, James Maxton, Chairman of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain. Among those who were, besides Maxton (Great Britain): Edo Fimmen (Holland), Vice-President of the League and General Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation; Dr. A. Marteaux, (Belgium), S. Saklatvala, (Great Britain); Willi Munzenberg, (Germany); Hansin Liau (China); R. Bridgeman (Great Britain), Secretary of the British League against Imperialism; Abdur Manaf (Indonesia); Secretary of the Dutch League against Imperialism; and V. Chattopadhyaya (India).

The meeting of the Executive was devoted principally to organisational and financial questions concerning both the International Secretariat as well as the various sections of the League already existing in the capitalist countries.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Executive Committee :



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### Resolutions.

The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism regards the creation of strong mass organisations of the League in the capitalist countries as an essential precondition for an effective anti-imperialist movement in the whole world.

The Executive Committee receives with satisfaction the declaration made by the British Delegation under the leadership of James Maxton, that in Britain also the League will proceed to secure the recruitment of thousands of workers as members.

### Resolution on India.

The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism congratulates the Indian National Congress on having declared the complete independence of India as the goal of Indian national movement, as all other formulae of so called "freedom within the Empires" are but camouflaged forms of foreign domination.

The Executive Committee further welcomes the fact that, as the logical outcome of that declaration, India has unanimously adopted a rigorous boycott of the Simon Commission, thereby emphatically denying the insolent claim of the British Parliament to frame or to decide upon a constitution for the people of India.

The Executive Committee hopes that the Indian National Congress will devote itself wholeheartedly to the task of organising the workers and peasants of India, without whose active co-operation for economic and social emancipation Indian independence cannot be secured.

The Executive Committee appeals to the British workers to realise the disastrous effect upon their own standards of life and trade-union rights of allowing imperialist exploitation in oriental countries, and calls upon the organised workers of Great Britain to take steps to secure that their representatives use their power in support of the unanimously expressed desires of the Indian people instead of aiding the imperialist manoeuvres of the British capitalist Government.

### Resolution on Egypt.

The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism denounces the methods of violence and terror adopted by the British Government to prevent the Egyptian people from exercising their legitimate right of framing laws guaranteeing freedom of association.

The Executive Committee supports the people of Egypt wholeheartedly in their demand for complete independence, for the immediate withdrawal of all British troops from Egypt and the Sudan, and for the international recognition of Egypt as a sovereign state.

The Executive Committee takes this opportunity of warning the Egyptian people that these demands cannot be realised so long as they allow their affairs to be decided by statesmen whose economic and social interests do not coincide with those of the broad masses of the population.

The Executive Committee calls upon them to form a united front with all the other oppressed nations and classes of the world for the final overthrow of imperialism.

### Resolution on Arabia.

The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism condemns the aggressive military operations conducted by the British Government against the Arabs, both on the borders of Aden in the South of Arabia and on the Iraq frontier in the North,—operations which were absolutely unprovoked and deliberately undertaken, in order to strengthen further the hold of British Imperialism on Iraq, Transjordan and the Persian Gulf.

It appeals to the national and Labour organisations in India to prevent by all means in their power the employment of Indian troops by the ruling class of Great Britain to destroy the independence of the Arab people.

The Executive Committee calls upon the organised workers of Great Britain to express their solidarity with the people of Arabian countries, by adopting all such measures as may compel the British Government to abandon its imperialist policy of exploitation, aggression and annexation, which has already brought untold sufferings to the millions in Asia and Africa, and constitutes a growing menace to the standard of life of the European working class.

### Resolution on China.

The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism draws the attention of the workers of Great Britain, America and Japan to the determined imperialist policy pursued by their Governments in China, where they either undertake direct military attacks upon the people of China struggling for freedom, or where they carry out the recently inaugurated policy of backing up all the reactionary generals of the Kuomintang



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to associate themselves with the campaign of murder and rapine and to adopt a provocative and aggressive policy in Manchuria against Soviet Russia.

As a result of this imperialist policy, leaders of the organised Chinese workers and peasants, who had taken refuge in the foreign concessions have been mercilessly handed over to the cruel Kuomintang generals who have tortured and killed them. They have further assisted these revolutionary generals to perpetrate wholesale massacres of the workers as, for instance, in Canton last December, when they killed more than 6,000 persons in three days.

Similar atrocities have been committed in Hunan, Hupeh, Kwangsi, and Honan. It is the confirmed opinion of this League that, unless the workers of Great Britain, America and Japan bring effective pressure upon their Governments to withdraw from China, these acts of cruelty and barbarism will continue.

Resolutions on Indonesia and Latin America were also adopted after which the League adjourned.

## The Pan-Asiatic Conference.

Only one newspaper issued in the English language, and that a Chinese-owned paper, paid any attention to the second Pan-Asiatic Conference, which met in Shanghai in the first week of November 1927. "Whether the delegates were trying to avoid the American and British newspaper correspondents is not known but it is known that no American or Europeans succeeded in attending any of the session" writes the Special Correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian."

Therefore it is impossible to say whether the Conference amounted to little or much; whether it was simply another protest against the White man's activities in Asia, or whether it was the beginning of a movement which was ultimately to unite the races of Asia against the West. At any rate, the Pan-Asiatic Conference was held and was attended by some fifty-two delegates claiming to represent China, Japan, Turkestan, Turkey, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Formosa, and Arabia. The Filipinos were not represented, and the Koreans were barred owing to the opposition of the Japanese.

Judging from the reports of the Conference which appeared in the Chinese Press, the sessions were anything but harmonious, and shortly after the formal sessions were over, there appeared a statement in one of the Chinese papers that some Chinese organisations had passed resolutions condemning the meeting as "an attempt on the part of the Japanese to enslave the other Orientals." The first session had to be postponed for a week owing to the delay in the arrival of the Indian delegate, Mr. Pratap Singh-Khan, who came to Shanghai from his place of exile in Afghanistan by way of Japan in order to avoid coming in contact with the British authorities; he is stated to have landed at Woosung at the entrance to the Shanghai harbour where he was met by the Japanese delegates and brought to Shanghai, carefully avoiding the Shanghai foreign settlements.

The Japanese delegation, which was the most important and most numerous, was headed by Mr. Imasato, a member of Parliament and a follower of the late Count Okuma, who was the father of the "Asia for the Asiatics" movement and was responsible for the first Pan-Asiatic Conference, which was held in Nagasaki, Japan two years ago. The Pan-Asiatic Conference is generally supposed to have been promoted following the passage of the American immigration law barring Asiatics from admission and the passage of similar legislation by the British Dominions,



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### Japanese "Aggression" Tackled.

The first element of discord at the Shanghai Conference developed when two Chinese delegates introduced a resolution demanding that the Japanese, "if they really are in earnest regarding the aims of the Pan-Asiatic Conference, should cease their aggressive attitude towards China and withdraw their troops from Manchuria." This motion was seconded by Mr. Pratap, the Indian delegate, and was carried, all the delegates voting for it with the exception of the Japanese. One of the Chinese delegates told the Japanese that while, as they claimed, it might not be the time and place to discuss the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China, if they were in accord with the spirit of Pan-Asianism they should set the example for the other nations by clearing their troops out of Manchuria and adopting a different attitude towards the Chinese people. Ultimately the Conference divided into three camps, the Chinese and Indians on one side, the Japanese on another and the other delegates taking a sort of neutral position.

At the second day's session, the Japanese delegation brought up three subjects for discussion: (1) that all measures taken with a view to racial discrimination should be abolished; (2) that all naval stations and bases at Singapore and Pearl Harbour, Honolulu, should be abolished to ensure peace in the Orient; (3) that the League of Nations appears to direct its attention chiefly towards the protection of the interests of the powerful nations only. Before these subjects could be discussed to any great extent, the Chinese delegates brought in four proposals as follows:—

1. That the delegates should do all within their power to help the Asiatic peoples to secure self-determination.

2. That the Japanese delegates should take steps to influence their Government (a) to discontinue territorial encroachments in Manchuria and Mongolia; (b) to agree to the immediate enforcement of China's tariff autonomy (c) to withdraw Japanese military and naval forces from China; (d) to conclude within six months a Sino-Japanese commercial treaty on a basis of equality; and (e) to grant home rule to the peoples of Formosa and Korea.

3. Should any member fail to take steps along these lines, the failure to do so would be sufficient to disqualify him for membership in the Pan-Asiatic Alliance.

4. That Senator Borah, Professor Bertrand Russell, and Leon Trotsky be invited to become honorary members of the Pan-Asiatic Alliance as a mark of appreciation.

### Next Session at Kabul in 1928.

The final session of the Conference proved to be the most harmonious, owing apparently to the fact that several social functions had been held which enabled the delegates to become better acquainted. After voting to hold the next session, in 1928, at Kabul, the Conference passed unanimously a series of resolutions recommending an Asiatic mission to Europe, Africa, America, and Australia, to convert the (White) natives of those continents; Asiatic co-operation "in defence against worldly aggression," the establishment of an All-Asia Educational Centre for literary, technical, and military training, the establishment of permanent headquarters within a year, and the immediate starting of a weekly news-paper, "preferably in English, or a page each in Chinese, Japanese, Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Turkish, Arabian and English."



# The International Labour Conference.

GENEVA—30TH MAY TO 16TH JUNE 1928.

The eleventh session of the International Labour Conference commenced at Geneva on the 30th May 1928 and continued till the 16th June. The Indian Workers' Delegation consisting of Dewan Chaman Lal, Mr. Mahbubul Huq, and Mr. P. C. Bose left the shore of India on the 5th of May 1928 and reached Marseilles on the 18th of the said month. The next day they reached Paris and Dewan Chaman Lal was sent at once to Geneva with his resolution on Police firing in India during strikes and lock-outs and Mr. Huq's resolutions on Recruitment of Seamen in Asia and Compilation of Labour Statistics for the whole of India so that they may be placed in the International Labour Office in time. Mr. Chamanlal then returned to Paris and the workers' representatives almost daily met there for joint consultation and collaboration regarding their mission to Geneva. The delegation came to Geneva on the 29th May and began their work in the Conference in right earnest. Mr. Bekhle, Asst. Secretary, All-India Trade Union, selected by the Government of India as Secretary of the Workers' group, arrived at Geneva three days after the opening of the Conference.

On the opening day i.e. 30TH MAY 1928, after the election of the President of the Conference of Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, ex-Minister of Justice and of Public Instruction, Professor of Labour Legislation, Faculty of Law and Social Science, University of Buenos Aires (Argentine Republic) and the delivery of the Presidential address the proceedings were brought to a close. The next day discussion on Minimum Wage Fixing Machinery took place and among the speakers Mr. P. C. Bose of Jharia was pitchforked by the Indian Workers' group to speak about Indian Colliery miners. After his speech Mr. D. P. Khaitan, Adviser to Indian Employers' delegate, spoke and contradicted some statements made by Mr. Bose on the increase of accidents in coal mines in India. But the statistics which Mr. Khaitan quoted related only to death due to natural causes and preventible diseases as disclosed in the report of the Chief Inspector of Mines. Most of the speakers read out their written speeches.

## Minimum Wages.

The next day (1ST JUNE) Mr. Mahbubul Huq, Adviser to Indian Workers' delegate, spoke on the necessity of minimum wage fixing machinery and the deplored absence of only legislative enactments like the Trade Board or Wage Board Acts as are in force in England and Australia. He incidentally mentioned that in India millions of industrial and agricultural workers go with one meal a day and the wages obtaining there were miserably low. He advocated the plea of including in the proposed convention all the important trades besides home industries. He supported Mr. Humbert Wolf the British Government delegate in this matter.

## Success of Indian Delegates.

There were 6 Committees and the Indian Workers' delegates and Adviser got seats in four of these Committees. Dewan Chamanlal sat in the Committees on Minimum Wage Fixing Machinery and Standing Orders and



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Mr. Huq was placed in the Committee on the Prevention of Accidents to Dockers in loading and unloading of ships and Mr. Bose was in the Committee on the general prevention of accidents.

In the Dockers' Committee an impasse was reached and the Employers' group left in a body. At last a *Via Media* was arrived and the necessary draft convention adopted with the reservation that it will be first referred to the Joint Maritime Commission.

### Debate on the Director's Report.

On the 8TH JUNE there were some able discussions on the Director's report. The Workers' delegate Dewan Chamanlal strongly criticised it and pointed out that the unemployment question and infant mortality in India have been very much agitating the mind of the people of India. Sir Atul Chatterjee, the Government delegate, defended the Government saying that Labour conditions in India were different from those of the West and owing to this the Washington Hours Convention made a reservation in favour of India.

Mr. Narottam MORARJI, Employers' delegate, was the first among the Indian delegation to speak on the Director's Report. Mr. Morarji devoted the earlier portion of his speech to a close scrutiny of the Director's report especially the statements in it relating to India. He regretted that the Director should have without proper investigation lent the weight of the International Labour Office to the unfounded charges made in foreign manifestoes against India by publishing extracts therefrom. Many of the statements in these foreign manifestoes, he said, were inaccurate and totally without foundation. One of these misleading statements was that Indian law contained no provisions concerning limitation of hours of nightwork for male workers. It was not true. India had daily and weekly limitations of hours of work which many countries had not got and Mr. Morarji hoped that labourers in those countries will soon get them. He then pointed out that in the matter of adopting and enforcing various ratifications India had adopted a forward policy and the Indian employers had all along whole-heartedly co-operated with the Indian Government and the workers' organisations in carrying out the provisions of the House Convention.

Referring to whatever defects there might be, Mr. Morarji expressed the hope that the International Labour Office and the Conference will take due account of the peculiar difficulties which the different states have to face in regulating labour conditions. He expressed satisfaction at the decision of the International Labour Office to open a branch for India in Delhi and in congratulating the authorities on their sympathetic decision repeated the suggestion made by Mr. G. D. Birla, former representative of the Indian employers to the Conference, that the literature to be issued from the Delhi Office should be issued in provincial vernaculars of India as to be made useful to Indian labourers of all provinces and communities. He took this opportunity of extending an invitation to the Director to visit India so as to acquaint himself personally with conditions in that country and he also suggested that the Governing Body of the Conference should once meet in India.

Dwelling on the disabilities of Indian labour Mr. Narottam Morarji drew attention to the appalling illiteracy which was the root cause of many evils and hoped that the India Government would realise that the spread of



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education is a far better and surer way of improving the lot of the worker than the mere passing of a number of laws and regulations. If illiteracy stood in the way of the Indian worker in his task of improving his own conditions, continued Mr. Morarji, the drink evil, which was eating into the very vitals of the community, very often contributed to his direct ruin and downfall. In this connection he put in a plea for a comprehensive and thorough investigation into the use of alcohol and its deleterious effects on labour. If prohibition had contributed to the prosperity of America, he asked, why a similar investigation should not be taken up in other countries resulting in similar legislation.

Mr. Morarji then referred to conditions in other countries and expressed gratification at Japan's decision to prohibit the night work of women and young persons from 1929 and sincerely hoped that this action of Japan will remove a longstanding complaint against a sister country. Mr. Morarji concluded with a powerful appeal for the amelioration of labour conditions. His assurance that it was the humanitarian aspect of the work of the International Labour Conference that directly appealed to Indian employers delivered in resonant tones touched the heart of all the delegates present and was loudly applauded.

Mr. Narottam Morarji was followed by Dewan CHAMANLAL, Labour Delegate. Mr. Chamanlal began with a tribute to Mr. Morarji saying that most of the remarks made by Mr. Narottam Morarji might as well have been made by himself. Coming to the report of the Director he said that he could not share the optimism of the Director. One third of the world, he said, was precluded from participating in the Labours of the Conference under the present conditions. He regretted that Russia, Persia, China, America and Turkey were not represented in the Conference. He pointed out that the Governing Body of the Conference had recommended only the first portion of the Indian workers' resolution to Governments, namely, that coloured workers must be represented and not the second portion which referred to the representation of coloured workers from South Africa. Not only should the workers of all white countries and free countries be represented on the Conference but also the workers of the Colonies and mandated territories who should have their voice heard in that international gathering. Coloured workers, according to the peace treaty drawn up at Versailles, were the sacred trust of civilisation. But in reality what were they? Only financial trust of Modern Europe.

Dewan Chamanlal next turned to the position in India. The most urgent question facing them in India was the important work of ratification of the conventions by the various Indian States. Lord Birkenhead and the Government of India might say that the regulations of hours of labour is a matter of internal administration and that it is not possible for the Government to interfere with the internal affairs of Indian States. But nevertheless Mr. Chamanlal was glad to note that the Indian Government were offering their good offices to Indian States to induce them to ratify the conventions. As for the powers of the Indian Government, he thought that the paramount power has a right to interfere in cases of maladministration and he only hoped that such non-ratification would be considered equivalent to mal-administration. Referring to the conditions of work in the mines, Dewan Chamanlal said that Government had no right to demand special treatment regarding the hours convention. Under the Indian Mines



Act Amendment shifts of twelve hours each were arranged for men and women working in coal mines. No civilised country had such maximum hours. He hoped the Indian Government would apply the hours convention not at special instances but enforce it as the standing rule of eight hours day. Factory inspection again in India was very inadequate. What was urgently needed was a large staff of trained Inspectors including an adequate number of women. The standard of sanitation and personal hygiene was so low among the workers that taking of health measures was an imperative necessity. Thirdly, there was the problem of unemployment. Being closely in touch with Labour conditions he was astounded to hear that the Indian Government considered that there was no industrial unemployment in India and even if it existed the Famine Code could cope with it. This was wholly absurd and inaccurate. Industrial unemployment was a growing problem in India and famine has become a chronic feature in India. The least the Government could do in this connection would be to establish unemployment exchanges and thus mitigate the evil. The condition of labouring classes was simply appalling. According to the statistics issued by the authorities themselves, figures of infant mortality among labourers between 1918 and 1922 stood as high as 557 per thousand. And what aggravated the whole situation was that the Government and the employers were equally indifferent to the welfare of the workers. Indian workers to-day were dragging a miserable existence faced with starvation every day, denied education and all opportunities for growth, physical mental or moral and very often terminating in premature death. Dewan Chaman Lal concluded his speech with a ranging declaration expressing his faith in the great strength that lay dormant in the Labourer and which alone would guarantee him his just rights. The International Labour Conference cannot guarantee peace to workers. He said that its value lies in that it affords a platform for carrying on propaganda. The work of the Conference is entrusted to various sub-committees and these committees which deal with health, protection of women and children, education, hours of work and incidence of venereal disease must lay emphasis on the conditions prevailing in countries like India. Otherwise the League of Nations will mean nothing but an Insurance Society for exploitation of the East and protection of the West. They knew that the Treaty of Peace drawn up at Versailles is not a 'magna charta' of the workers' rights and they realised fully well that the workers' strength lay in their own organisations. And in this full belief they extended their hand of fellowship to the workers in the West asking them to believe in the brotherhood of man and to march shoulder to shoulder until that high ideal was attained namely peace, prosperity and happiness for the working classes of the world.

Dewan Chamanlal's speech was the most impressive and eloquent of all speeches made that day and was greeted with great applause. Congratulations were showered upon him by many delegates at the close of the speech and Sir Atul Chatterjee paying tribute to Dewan Chamanlal said—"As an Indian I am proud of Mr. Chamanlal."

Sir Atul CHATTERJEE, Indian High Commissioner, who was the spokesman of the Government of India at the Conference then replied to the speeches made by Mr. Morarji and Dewan Chamanlal. Congratulating India on her worthy choice of the delegates this year to the Conference, he said that Mr. Morarji and Dewan Chamanlal had so ably represented the Indian employers



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and Indian workers respectively that there was every hope for progress of workers of India on right lines. He characterised Mr. Morarji's speech as full of hope and enthusiasm and paid a tribute to his solicitude for the welfare of and protection to his workers. He described Dewan Chamanlal as being imbued with a true desire for the betterment and upliftment of the working classes in India.

Referring to the suggestions made by Dewan Chamanlal that the Indian Government should impose their authority for ratification of the Conventions in Indian States, Sir Atul desired to know if such non-ratification of the Convention in the States could amount to mal-administration. If that amounted to mal-administration then the very great majority of the big States of the world could be considered equally guilty of such mal-administration. As for the charge made against the Government that they were permitting unduly long hours of work in the mines, Sir Atul said that Dewan Chamanlal seemed to have forgotten that the Treaty of Versailles had made special provision for countries with special conditions and that Dewan Chamanlal's predecessor Mr. N. M. Joshi, who had represented Indian Labour at the previous Conference, had acquiesced in special treatment for India. It was not correct, he said, to say that the Indian workers in coal mines worked for twelve hours consecutively.

Regarding the problem of unemployment and the remedy suggested for it, Sir Atul said he could not agree with what Dewan Chamanlal had said. He admitted that the unemployment problem was very acute among the middle classes of India. But the solution for it did not lie in the creation of Labour exchanges. It could be cured only in the natural manner by the progressive development of Indian industries and agriculture and their growing prosperity.

Director Monsier Albert Thomas in course of a reply said that Dewan Chamanlal's statements had shown the peculiar disabilities of labour in certain countries. Those statements had shown with what prudence the Labour Office must proceed in furtherance of its aims in countries which had their own peculiar conditions which called for special handling. They had shown how the Labour Office must develop its activities so that the International Organisation could bring immediate protection to workers in distant countries.

### Draft Convention of Minimum Wages Passed.

On th 16TH JUNE by the barest two-thirds majority required for its adoption the International Labour Conference passed the draft convention on the minimum wages together with the recommendation as worded by the Minimum Wages Committee. Seventy-three delegates voted in favour of the resolution while twenty-seven opposed it.

The Convention provided that workers who had been paid less than minimum wages shall be entitled to recover the difference. The recommendation, which after a good deal of discussion was finally laid down, was that each State shall create and establish a machinery for fixing the minimum rate of wages in certain trades including manufacture and commerce and in particular in home working trades where there was no arrangement for effective regulation of wages by collective arrangement or otherwise wages were exceptionally low.

Discussion at the open conference proceeded on lines similar to those on which discussion was carried on in the committee. The Employers' delegates and Workers' delegates were ranged on the opposite sides while Government representatives went with the Workers' delegates. An amendment similar to





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that moved in the committee by Mr. Forbes Watson was moved again in the conference by Mr. Kay who also was the British Employers' delegate. It was seconded by Mr. D. P. Khaitan, adviser to the Indian Employers' delegate. The amendment aimed at removing ambiguity in working and restrict the application of the convention to sweated trades. The convention, as it was at present worded, was liable to be so interpreted as to include in its operation trades other than sweated ones also.

Mr. D. P. Khaitan pointed out the necessity of wording the international conventions precisely so as to avoid all possibilities of interpretation which would take them beyond the intentions of the conference. He said that the aim of the conference should be to secure as many ratifications and as much unanimity as possible. That could be done easily if the conventions were worded precisely. He, however, took the opportunity to assure the conference on behalf of the Indian delegation to do their utmost to improve the condition of labour in India. The amendment was defeated.

Dr. Paranjpye on behalf of the Government of India announced the Government's desire to set up a committee to examine the whole question and practicability of ratification in India.

The convention was then passed.

The resolution given notice of by Mr. D. P. Khaitan for enquiry into drink evil could not be taken at the Conference but he availed himself of the opportunity furnished by the resolution moved by the Canadian delegate regarding causes affecting production to move the amendment for the institution of an enquiry into drink. He pointed out that drink was a factor which was very adversely affecting production and naturally any enquiry into the causes affecting production should include an enquiry into drink evil also.

The amendment met with opposition from various quarters. Mr. Tom Moore, Irish delegate, opposed it on the ground that drink evil was a problem by itself and required separate handling. And it should never be considered from the point of view of production alone. Opposition came from the Indian Workers' Delegation also and Dewan Chamanlal protested against the worker being deprived of his toddy.

Mr. Khaitan finally withdrew his amendment, however, reserving to himself the right of bringing up the question next year.

On the 17TH JUNE the work of the Conference concluded. The conference adopted the report of the committee under article 408 of the Peace Treaty. In moving the adoption of the report Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, adviser to the Indian Employers' Delegate said that the time had come to examine the results achieved so far. He said the Conference should now take up the task of investigating whether the member States who had ratified the various conventions had passed legislation in conformity with the spirit of the conventions. The progress in the matter was not uniform and the various countries had various difficulties to contend with and it was for the International Labour Office to see that the resolutions adopted at the conference were carried into effect in the several countries. An enquiry would not be enough if it concerned itself with legislation alone. It must also include investigation into the manner in which the laws of these governments were in harmony with the conventions and the way in which they were administered.]



# The Labour Party And The Empire.

What is the attitude of the British Labour Party to the British Empire ? There are Labour leaders, some of them among the most fire-eating section, who resent the suggestion that Labour is as Imperialistic as the other Parties. The participation of Labour in the Indian Statutory Commission to enquire into the question of India's fitness for self-rule has shown that the Colonial policy of Labour is in complete agreement with that of the older parties. In an article in the "Labour Monthly." Mr. Hugo Rathbone reviews the Labour position in regard to the Empire from the time of the adoption of the programme embodied in "Labour and the New Social Order" in 1918 down to the present day.

In "Labour and the New Social Order" there is an unqualified repudiation of "an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies" (p. 4). But further on we find the following :—

If we repudiate, on the one hand, the Imperialism that seeks to dominate other races, or to impose our will on other parts of the British Empire, so we disclaim equally any conception of a selfish and insular "non-interventionism," unregarding of our special obligations to our fellow citizens overseas, of the corporate duties of one nation to another, of the moral claims upon us of the non-adult races.....(pp.21—22.)

In the light of this then should be read the following :—

The Labour Party stands for its (the British Empire's) maintenance and its progressive development on the lines of local autonomy and "Home Rule All Round"; the fullest respect for the rights of each people, whatever its colour, to all the democratic self-Government of which it is capable.....(p. 22.)

At the 1918 General Election this policy was simplified in the following manner :—

Freedom for Ireland and India it claims as democratic rights, and it will extend to all subject peoples the right of self-determination within the British Commonwealth of Free Nations.

## Principle of Self-Determination.

At the 1919 Conference a plain unqualified demand was made, that "the principle of self-determination be applied to the Government of Egypt." In 1920, this same principle was again unanimously and unreservedly affirmed. But in the same year a resolution was moved on behalf of the Executive, and carried (so ran the report), "the whole assembly standing" as if to emphasise the solemnity of the occasion, defining more exactly the application of this principle to India in particular, though certain generalisations were also made. It was, indeed, a most interesting and important resolution.

It first reaffirmed its conviction that only on the principle of "democratic self-determination" could "a stable and satisfactory settlement of the world be arrived at." But then it immediately qualified this by saving that this principle "is applicable to all peoples that show themselves "capable" of expressing a common will." Therefore, this principle should be applicable to India "in such a way as to satisfy all the "legitimate" aspirations of the Indian peoples.

Yet the resolution "emphatically protests against the militarist and repressive methods adopted by the present British Government. It denies the right of any government to govern a country against the will of the majority." Finally, however,

while expressing the hope that all the peoples of the British Empire will prefer to remain as parts of that Empire so soon as their aspirations have been dealt with in a thoroughly "conciliatory" manner by the granting of adequate measures of autonomy, it declares that the final decision must rest with those peoples themselves."

In a resolution on Ireland passed in the same conference, again we find that,



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the principle of free and absolute self-determination shall be applied immediately in the case of Ireland, confirming the right of the Irish people to political independence.....

### Self-Determination Dropped.

In 1921, the general resolution does not include the right of self-determination, but there is a demand for

a relationship with "the non-adult races" which will secure the political and economic development of their countries exclusively in the interest and for the benefit of the inhabitants and in accordance with their own desires; the extension to them of the greatest "practicable" measures of self-Government.....

At the same conference a resolution on War and Imperialism was carried, which declared that "Imperialism distracts public attention from domestic affairs and introduces ideas of Government by a dominant race which are inimical to the principles of democracy." It then goes on to assert "the right of self-determination of all peoples" though in the resolution, quoted immediately above, quite definite limitations were placed on this right" as far as concerned these "non-adult races."

In 1922, we get a very interesting position. The Conference passed a resolution welcoming the support given by the Parliamentary Labour Party to the Government of India Act (the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms) and urging them to support any further legislation "In the direction of securing to the people of India the same measure of self-Government which is in operation in Canada, Australia and South Africa." Mr. Tom Shaw, in replying to the debate, in which it was asserted that the policy of non-co-operation was due to the "strong opposition" to the Government of India Act, pooh-poohed the idea underlying this assertion—namely, that the Labour Party was thus condemning non-co-operation. "Why," he said, most innocently, "the resolution itself was a declaration that the Indians should manage their own affairs....." "The Government of India Act was a mere detail in comparison with the real principles underlying the resolution."

### Far Towards the Right.

Unfortunately, however, for Mr. Shaw, this view which he with such brazen effrontery slipped across the Conference is quite other than the view as expressed in a resolution passed by the National Joint Council, of which he was then a member, on February 21 of that year (1922). "Whilst realising," so it ran in the best imperialist manner of a Joynson-Hicks, "the necessity of preserving order in India," it had the impudence to go on "to deplore the political arrests... etc." Returning, however, most speedily to its Joynson-Hicks manner it continued: "the Council deplores no less the action of the non-co-operators in boycotting those Parliamentary institutions recently conferred (a real majestic word: H. R.) upon India by means of which grievances should be ventilated and wrongs redressed." (Nothing here about self-determination or self-Government—merely grievances and wrongs—the true Goose Club conception). Of course, the resolution ends by appealing for a joint conference "to set a time limit," amongst other things, "for the transition stages of partial self-Government."

But in the General Election programme of 1922, owing to the need for a short slogan, happily divorced from explanation, the Labour Party could still come forward advocating "the recognition of the real independence of Egypt and self-Government for India." The unwary amongst the electors might think that the change in words as applied to Egypt and India were mere accidents, but as we have seen, the purpose of self-Government was merely that "grievances should be ventilated and wrongs redressed."

The references to Ireland, in the same programme, also are very illuminating; for the programme calls for "the prompt and cordial acceptance of the new constitution of the Irish Free State" thus most effectively trying to stamp out every remaining scrap of sympathy amongst British workers for the struggles of the Irish workers and peasants against the exactions and oppression of their capitalist Free State.

### A Plea for Empire.

In 1924, in spite of the experience of the Labour Government, the position



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was still unclear enough for a resolution to be passed calling for steps to be taken "to stop the persecution of workers for political or industrial reasons, particularly in India and Egypt; to provide adequate protection for the subject races of the Empire in their struggle for freedom...; to find ways and means..... to the speedy attainment of self Government throughout the British Empire..." The manifesto at the General Election in 1924 was even more shameless, for it claimed that the Labour Government "has maintained and even strengthened the ties of sentiment with the Dominions upon which, rather than upon either force or any Imperialism, the very existence of the British Commonwealth of Nations depends." Not a single word about what good things it had achieved for the Colonies—how through its mouthpiece, MacDonald, it immediately on taking office, peremptorily warned the Indian people against any attempt to revolt against British capitalism; how it had shot down strikers in Bombay and bombed peasants in Iraq; how it had laid the foundation in Bengal by the ordinances of that province for an intensified campaign of political persecution.

At the annual Conference of 1925 the only reference to self-Government occurring in the general resolution, headed "A Labour Policy for the British Commonwealth of Nations," was contained in one paragraph which invited the League of Nations to appoint an "observer" to all mandatories and dependencies whereby they "may benefit from the impartial supervision of the League of Nations pending full self-Government."

### Self-Government for India.

The separate resolution on India, however, begins in the time-honoured way by recognising "the right of the Indian peoples to full self-Government and self-determination." It goes on, however, to welcome "the declarations of representative Indian leaders in favour of free and equal partnership with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.....with a view to a new atmosphere of friendly discussion that all coercive measures and repressive legislation should be withdrawn." Finally, it ends up with a demand for the calling of a Conference of representatives of the various Indian parties "with a view to the immediate application of a constitution in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people."

### Zaghlul Betrayed.

The resolution on Egypt affirms its right to self-Government, suggests that it should be admitted into the League of Nations, and that the reserved questions, as, for instance, the keeping of a British military force to guard the Suez Canal, &c., should be referred to the League. In so far as, when Zaghlul Pasha came to negotiate these questions with the Labour Government and demanded that Britain should recognise the independence of the Sudan negotiations were summarily broken off by MacDonald, this achievement would seem to be still further from the reality.

Finally, we come to the year 1927, when with regard to India, the affirmation re: self-Government was repeated, leading to the time, so it went on, "at the earliest possible moment" when India would be an "equal partner" in "the British Commonwealth." It called for the appointment of the Royal Commission under the Government of India Act and laid it down that it should be so constituted, &c., "that it will enjoy the confidence and co-operation of the Indian people."

The process of clarification on the colonial question to "the normal condition of the Labour Party," however, had still to go one step further.

### Labour and the Commission.

This was achieved by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald himself. For after the repeated refusals of the Labour Party to withdraw the two Labour members from the recently appointed Simon Commission in spite of the nationwide movement in India for the boycott of the Commission, Mr. MacDonald considered that the time had come to send the following message to his colleagues on the Commission:—



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"It is reported here that if your Commission were successfully obstructed a Labour Government would appoint a new Commission on another and non-Parliamentary basis. As you know, the procedure now being followed has the full confidence of the Labour Party, and no change in the Commission would be made."

Here at last is clearly stated "the normal condition of the Labour Party." Not a word about "democracy," "self-determination," "self Government," "free will of the people themselves," &c., &c. What remains implicit is the "legitimate" desires, "the "progressive" development," the "moral" "claims upon us of the non-adult races," "our "special" obligations to our fellow citizens abroad, "practicable" measures of self-Government" and all the other similar phrases that we have found were so innocently scattered amongst the great and magnanimous resolutions expressing "democracy," "self-determination," &c. These phrases are all governed by what the British Government considers are "legitimate," "practicable," &c. The expressions of the will of the "non-adult races," or as MacDonald puts it, the "obstruction" of the plans of the British Government, would not move the great British Labour Party one inch from carrying out "its moral claims" towards "these non-adult races."

### Frankly Imperialistic.

So the normal condition of the Labour Party is one of frank imperialism. It only remains to be embodied in the coming new version of the Labour Party programme which, as the resolution of the 1927 Conference laid down, would form a "A programme of Legislation and Administrative Action for a Labour Government."

As Mr. Henderson reminded the Conference in speaking to this resolution, "thirty-three years ago he had voted at the Norwich T. U. C. for the socialisation of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, and he was still fighting for it." But then he proceeded to say:—

They wanted to get on, and the use of phrases, now that the Party had reached its present stage, was not going to assist them to get on as he thought they ought.

Precisely, Mr. Henderson, "the non-adult races," such as the Indian peoples, take you at your word when you declare for "self-determination" and naturally are inclined to "obstruct" your progress on the path of imperialism when they find that it is only a "phrase" and that you intend "to get on" only on that path of imperialism—"the normal condition of the Labour Party."



# The Indian High Courts Bill.

The Indian High Courts Bill was introduced in the Parliament early in June 1928. The Second Reading of the Bill was moved by Lord Birkenhead in the House of Lords on the 14th June. In moving it the Noble Lord said that the authorities had for many years held a view that it was indefensible and illogical that any class of men capable of being elected to be the Puisne Judge of the court in the first instance should be excluded from being made, on their merits the Chief Justice. The chief change made by the Bill was in this respect. The position of the Vakil had been assimilated to that of the Barrister and the qualifying period for appointment to the High Court Judiciary had been increased from five years to a decade and made the same in cases of both Vakil and Barrister.

Lord Haldane welcomed the Bill and said that he looked forward to the time when there would be calls to the Bar in India. It was a great evil that so many young lawyers had to come to England to get a training which was in no way perfect and that they should be at a loose end instead of pursuing their studies in India. He intimated that he might raise the matter by an amendment at a later stage.

The Bill then passed the Second Reading.

## Provision of the Bill.

The memorandum to the Bill states :—

Since the consideration of the statutes relating to India by the Government of India Act 1915 it has been customary, and necessary, to make all subsequent amendments in the law relating to the Government of India by means of textual amendments of the consolidated act. In consequence the provisions of amending Bills can rarely by themselves be made intelligible.

The provisions of this bill can be very shortly explained. Sub-sections (3) and (4) of section 101 of the Government of India Act are as follows :—

“(3) a Judge of High Court must be (A) a Barrister of England or Ireland, or a member of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland of not less than five years' standing; or (B) a member of the Indian Civil Service of not less than ten years' standing, and having for, at least three years, served as, or exercised the powers of a District Judge; or (C) a person having held judicial office, not inferior to that of a sub-ordinate Judge or a Judge of a Small Cause Court, for a period of not less than five years; or (D) a person who has been a Pleader of one of the High Courts referred to in this Act, or any Court which is a High Court within the meaning of Clause (24) of Section 3 of the Act of the Indian Legislature known as the General Clause Act, 1897, for an aggregate period of not less than ten years.

(4) Provided that not less than one-third of the Judges of a High Court, including the Chief Justice, but excluding Additional Judges must be such Barristers or Advocates as aforesaid, and that no less than one-third must be members of the Indian Civil Services”

It has been held that the effect of the words in the Sub-Section (4) “including the Chief Justice” is to debar any person who has not the qualifications of a Barrister from eligibility for the post of Chief Justice. Many of the ablest members of the Indian Courts have not this qualification, and it has long been felt that there is no justification for any provision which prevents selection for the office of Chief Justice of any person who is best fitted to hold it. The effect of omitting the words “including the Chief Justice but” will therefore be to remove this restriction and to enable any person qualified to be a Puisne Judge to be appointed Chief Justice.

The existing provision in the same Sub-Section which requires at least one-third of the Judges of a High Court to be Barristers has often tended to result in the necessity for selecting a Barrister for a vacancy in preference to a Vakil whose qualifications may be markedly superior. The addition of the word “or Pleaders” after “Advocates” will remove this inconvenience.

Incidentally it is proposed by the amendment to be made by paragraph (a) of Clause 1 of the Bill, to place Barristers on the same footing as Pleaders in respect of the standing in their profession which they must have attained to be eligible for appointment to the Bench of an Indian High Court.



## LORD BIRKENHEAD'S DONCASTER SPEECH

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### Text of the Bill.

The following is the text of the Bill :—

An Act to equalise the position under the Government of India Act of Barristers, Advocates, and Pleaders as respects the qualifications for appointment as Judges of High Courts, and as respects the proportion of such Judges required to possess special qualifications, and to render any person qualified under the said Act to be appointed a Judge of a High Court eligible for appointment as Chief Justice of such a Court.

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. In section 101 of the Government of India Act (which relates to the qualifications to be possessed by a Judge of a High Court) there shall be made the following amendments, that is to say :—

(a) in paragraph (A) of Sub-Section (3) thereof for the word "five" there shall be substituted the word "ten" and (b) in Sub-Section (4) thereof the words "including the Chief Justice but" and the word "or" shall be omitted and after the word "Advocates" there shall be inserted the words "or Pleaders."

2. (1) This Act may be cited as the Indian High Courts Act 1928.

(2) References in this Act to Section 101 of the Government of India Act shall be construed as reference to that Section as amended by the Indian High Courts Act 1922.

(3) Sub-Section (2) of Section 45 of the Government of India Act 1919 (which relates to the effect of amendment to and the printing of the Government of India Act) shall have effect as if it were herein re-enacted and in terms made applicable to the amendments effected by the Indian High Courts Act, 1922 and by this Act.

## Lord Birkenhead's Doncaster Speech.

The following speech was delivered by Lord Birkenhead at Doncaster on the 17th February 1928. Dwelling on the Simon Commission his Lordship referred to the criticism at the non-inclusion of Indians in the Commission and said that sixteen such would have had to be admitted in addition to the British to make it representative of the major interests even of India.

He had gravely considered the position before recommending to his colleagues the present form of the Commission. They were satisfied that the only form of the Commission that corresponded with the historical and constitutional facts of the situation and the practical modern necessities of the case was one which made it plain that this was, and would remain, a Parliamentary responsibility of this country.

He was of opinion that no more impartial or more efficiently manned Commission than the present had ever left Britain.

He then proceeded to pay a tribute to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald who, as the principal Opposition Leader, from the first had carried out what he conceived to be his duty never hesitating for a moment. All responsible Labour leaders had taken the same course.

Lord Birkenhead said that he had never discussed with Sir John Simon the terms or the substance of Sir John Simon's statement, indicating the limits within which the Commission was prepared to admit and welcome the Indian Committees' co-operation.

He was so little aware of the precise terms that Sir John Simon intended to propose that he had read them he would not say with little surprise, but as a new subject-matter to which his mind had not been applied before it was proposed to the Indian Legislature.

Those who delude themselves and India with the impression that by boycotting the Commission they can defeat its purpose, are living in a world that has no contact with reality.

We have attempted by every means in our power to make it plain that we shall welcome at every stage the contribution and assistance of Indian opinion officially represented and organised in the committees of the various assemblies. If we are denied the assistance which we have asked for, does anyone really imagine that the Commission



## LORD BIRKENHEAD'S DONCASTER SPEECH

will desist from its activities or refuse to carry out its task? I can, on the contrary, make it plain, as any words at my command enable me to do, that with the assistance of the Legislatures or without it, this Commission will carry its task to a conclusion.

Furthermore, whether on its return to Britain in March, the Commission has met with such co-operation or not, it will return to India in the following autumn and resume and complete its labours.

I would add this, that those who are organising boycott of this Commission will, in my judgment, discover month by month how little representative they are of that vast and heterogenous community of which we are the responsible trustees. They will discover millions of Muslims, millions of the depressed classes, millions of the business and Anglo-Indian community who intend to put their case and argue their case before the Commission, and that the Commission will ultimately report to Parliament.

If the organised political opinion, a very small fringe of the whole of India, chooses to maintain itself in silent boycotting aloofness, nevertheless the work of that Commission will be performed under this Government or under any Government of whatever political complexion that may succeed it.

I would recommend this as a subject for reflection, not in any provocative spirit, to those who have ranged themselves in organised premature hostility to our proposals. I would invite them to consider whether they think on the whole that the attitude which is being recommended by extreme elements of Indian opinion is likely or not likely to persuade the very experienced electors of Britain that the politically-minded in India have proved themselves to be deserving and fit for a great extension of their present constitution. They might easily by co-operation so prove it, they might prove it by sending the ablest of their members to sit with Sir John Simon and his colleagues but I wholly misread the temper and sophisticated political intelligence of my countrymen, if they succeed in proving that India is already ripe for an extension of existing constitution, by refusing in the first place to work it and declining in organised boycott to examine its present workings with a view to its reform and possible extension.

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CSL

# Congress & Conferences.

Jan.-June 1928.



# The Bengal Provincial Conference.

BASIRHAT—7TH APRIL 1928.

Basirhat which is about forty miles away from Calcutta was all astir with crowds of people of all shades of opinion when the Bengal Provincial Conference commenced its session on the 7th April in the afternoon under the presidency of Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta. The President delivered his speech in Bengali. In the course of his speech he said :—

“ Before we plunge into the fight, on this national day let us devote some time to take stock of our present position. If we are to correctly understand the present situation in India, particularly in Bengal, we have to remember the processes by which we have been reduced to the present position. For this we call your attention to the political history of the past few years.

The years between 1885 and 1905 may be called the age of petition, prayer and resolution. During that time there only grew in the heart of India the desire to find something but she did not know the best means of attaining it. From 1905 dates the age of partition and Swadeshi agitation. In those memorable days the hope and enthusiasm that were kindled in the heart of young Bengal will ever remain imprinted in letters of gold in the history of Bengal. During that period of great awakening United Bengal succeeded in making the British power realise that Bengal has life and would not tolerate any dismemberment of her limbs. As a result, the British Raj was compelled to undo the injustice to Bengal.

But was it the awakening of Bengal alone? Did it achieve its ends only by repealing the partition of Bengal? To the ordinary eye it seems so but the agitation of 1905 had its repercussion throughout India. It is the first step in the path of freedom. The stirring of young hearts in Bengal was felt throughout India and it marked the beginning of national consciousness and patriotism in India.

## Repression and Revolt.

The age that followed in the political history of the country may be called the days of iron and blood shed. We did not look with favour on the activities of those young patriotic Indians. We have blamed them for providing the British Raj with excuses for introducing a cruel policy of repression in the country. But what is the root cause of this unrest? Who are to blame? What lesson the haughty utterance of the French Emperor “ I am the State ” has for us all? Was not the country ablaze from the day, when his words unmistakably proclaimed that the interests of the State and the People were different? That political upheaval not only razed France to the ground but sent its repercussions through all Europe. This proves that until the State and the People are united by ties of common interest and the spirit of give and take, clash between the two is inevitable. The British Raj says “ Indians have to be repressed, they are rebels, they want blood-shed.” Well, may we ask who have made them rebels? Who have invited them to blood-shed? The only answer is “ the British Raj.” The cruel repression of the administrative machinery and the crushing weight of the bonds of slavery have made the youths who are freedom-loving by nature rebellious. But this does not mean we have lent our support to this party of rebellion. We are not advocates of unrest. We only want to say that the best means of removing the unrest—the remedy—does not lie in the way of mad repression. This unrest cannot be removed unless people's political and physical hunger is appeased. It is one thing to repress unrest, another to remove it. Deportation, internment and imprisonment without trial may be successful temporarily in keeping unrest in check; and it has no doubt, achieved some success for the moment. But has it uprooted the evil? To quote



an American writer, "if the flame of liberty is enkindled in a country, no amount of repression on the part of the State can quench it. It may succeed for the moment in keeping it under control, but like fire underground, it keeps itself alive and through the smallest outlet flares up with redoubled virulence."

So this spirit of rebellion should not be repressed, but the cause of it has got to be removed. But ours is not that responsibility, it is not within the power of any political party. It is for us to put forward our demands in a legitimate way. But what are we to do if others do not accede to them? So the whole responsibility of appeasing this party of rebellion lies with the British Raj. If they do not remove the cause of unrest by granting to the people their just rights, there is nobody who can deal with it. The policy of repression is not a proper remedy. Remedy lies deeper in the root—the physician in this case has got to be treated first.

### The Birth Right of Freedom.

We demand our birth right of freedom, the denial of which has dwarfed our manhood and is threatening us with extinction. He who thwarts us in the attempt is our greatest enemy. Who are to blame to-day—We or those who are stifling our voice?

But far from devoting any thought to our demand for just rights the British Raj is engaged in dealing repression with one hand and safe-guarding its own interests with the other. In 1914 when the conflagration of war set ablaze the whole of Europe and the British power trembled on the brink of ruin—what did India do in that hour of grim peril? England was then busy saving her life and honour, drawing forces from all parts of the Empire. Only a handful of army was left behind in India at that time. England may forget the words—so full of magnanimity, which Mahatmaji uttered at that time, but the world will not.

Mahatma said "India does not want to be free taking advantage of the grave peril of England." All India bowed to the command. India did not falter for a moment to rise to the height of magnanimity. When England called out standing on the verge of ruin, "save us, we will give you freedom," the heart of India responded to the eternal appeal of self-sacrifice. Men and money flowed from India to the succour of imperilled England.

But what is the result? When England got out of danger, her good intentions evaporated. The people, who, when England was in deathgrips with enemies, were greeted as equals, got blows by way of repression when England got out of it.

On the 17th of August, 1917, Mr. Montagu declared :—

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India."

### British Hypocrisy.

What was promised in the declaration of 1917 became a matter for consideration after two years in 1919 and we were assured that a Commission would be sent to examine and report as to how far we were to be allowed to enjoy our rights. The mask of 1917 fell off and in the short time of two years the British administration appeared in all its naked hypocrisy.

From this time the British Government conscious of its own security, began to forge new fetters for India. The Rowlatt Act was passed in the teeth of unanimous Indian opposition. In the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre the inhuman policy underlying the British administration of India stood before us in all its nakedness. Indians understood that the British Government had no compunction in massacring Indians at will.



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The result was that India spurned at England's gift of condescension and rose up to a man at the call of Mahatma Gandhi to fight a non-violent war. In this India has given a new message to the blood thirsty nations of the world as to how to conquer an oppressing enemy with patience and forgiveness. That glorious chapter of events is not unknown to you.

In 1921 came this crisis of which the English writer Seeley had contemplated when he wrote that the British domination of India would fall to pieces when the entire Indian people, awakened to their birthright, would demand freedom. The tottering Government towards the end of that year grew anxious for a Round Table Conference. The offer for a compromise came from the Government itself.

Here again the British Government played at its old game of posing as our benefactor and secretly working for our fall. After a prolonged consideration and hesitation the Government at last laid its hand on Mahatmaji with much trepidation. It was apprehended that India would not brook this tyranny. But it was otherwise. India peacefully stood by, as she had done when Deshbandhu and even his wife were taken to jail. This peaceful attitude had its own justification but the slackening of fight that followed resulted in immense injury. The Government was not slow to take advantage of this weakness. All talks of a Round Table Conference ceased and the policy of repression began to be pushed on with greater vigour. It should serve as a warning in carrying on our fight in future. If we are to win we must prevent the recurrence of such lapses, but it should also never be allowed to dishearten us.

After Deshabandhu's release he proposed to work from within the Councils to paralyse this oppressive administration and in spite of opposition he carried out his programme. This led to the creation of the Swarajya Party. These are all too recent to require any elaboration. What I want to point out is that following Deshabandhu our aim always has been to get a Round Table Conference. I shall presently explain what I mean.

### A Round Table Conference.

By Round Table Conference we do not mean the institution of a gathering for show. It must be formed of persons duly elected and with unquestioned probity and impartiality to decide on our just and legitimate demands. The Government must enter into an undertaking that its decisions will be respected and given effect to without any modification or restriction.

### Hindu-Muslim Unity.

Then we come to a shameful episode of Indian history—I mean the Hindu-Muslim troubles. Though I do not attach any undue importance to the question from the standpoint of politics and though I sincerely believe that in this national crisis it is now a thing of the past, yet I must say that it has provided the Government with a very handy excuse and opportunity. It must not be forgotten that it was on account of this Hindu-Muslim difference that the Britishers got into India and secured control over her and again on account of this difference they are now tightening their grip. With that end in view they have sent the Simon Commission before its time.

India did not ask for this Commission. But the British Government has sent it with such hurry with the object that taking advantage of the communal differences the Commission in the name of conciliation may tighten the fetters round India's feet.

### The Commission.

But India has seen through the game and that is why we hear all over the land the persistent cry asking the Commission to go back. The Indian National Congress, the Trade Union Congress, the Khilafat Conference, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Liberal Federation and all the other organisations have decided to boycott the Commission.

And this is perfectly justified. Why should we allow a third party to stand between us and our Motherland? Why should we tolerate their impudent demand to examine our fitness? As for evience, enough was placed before the Muddiman Committee. No, this gratuitous insult must be avenged.



Brothers and Sisters, we should no longer allow this playing with our birth-right. Let these impudent people understand that you ignore them. Let the demand of all political parties for the boycott of the Commission reverberate through the length and breadth of this land. Everyone must understand that co-operation with this Commission will bring about irreparable mischief but a complete boycott of it will lead to a distinct gain. If any one out of considerations for petty self-interest, co-operates with this Commission he will hereby be injuring the interests of all the future generations. I would particularly bring this to the notice of my Moslem brethren. I would request them to remember that if in this crisis in the life of the nation they overlook the greater issue out of consideration for personal or sectional or of any smaller interest that would result in bringing about ruin on the whole country on both Hindus and Mussalmans.

#### An Indian Constitution.

The Simon Commission came, toured the country and went back being satisfied only with got-up receptions and dinners. Now, we must realise exactly what the leader of the Commission said with regard to Ireland. Our main duty now is to prepare a constitution and I therefore earnestly request you that before the Commission comes to India again you should ratify that constitution in a convention of the representatives of all parties and communities. To this, I draw the attention of the Assembly, Congress, Muslim League and such other organisations.

Some people are of opinion that no good result would accrue from merely making a constitution, but I request you to grasp it particularly that there is great utility in this constitution making. It is not true that it is easy and at the same time useless to form a paper constitution but no government, however powerful and formidable, can resist the enforcement of a constitution which will be formed with the consent of all communities and which the different political parties in India will accept as their own. That such an unanimity and determination will be a terror to the Government, I said before, and is also indicated by what the 'New Statesman' wrote.

Again, the Britishers declare before the world that we do not know what we want and we have no administrative capacity. If therefore we can prepare a unanimous constitution we shall be able to demonstrate to the world that we are not children, we understand self-government and we understand our rights.

Already I have said that the misunderstandings between Hindus and Muslims are considered by the Government as one of the greatest weapons in their hands. They think that no unanimous constitution is possible in the face of these disunions. We will have to disprove it, we will have to show that the 30 crores of Indians can stand up as one great nation by forgetting communal discord—selfishness, and narrowness in this national crisis. We will have to show that Government, actuated by mean and selfish motives, is spreading lies and calumnies throughout the world. I appeal to you to-day to lead a campaign against the lies. Forget petty interests and patriots as you are, be prepared for the battle against this mendacious propaganda. There is another thing for which the drawing up of a constitution is urgently necessary. About 95 per cent. of the population in India is poor and illiterate. Incessant struggle against poverty has taught them to think that they are doomed to squalor and poverty and that any change is unthinkable, so long we had been telling them that Swaraj is coming; it will benefit us. We should explain to these 95 per cent. the real nature of Swaraj as also how Swaraj will benefit them. They are the soul of the country, the strength of the nation; and in the national struggle their co-operation is absolutely indispensable.

#### Boycott.

Now, I am drawing your attention to a very important matter. We will now have to carry on with full vigour the campaign for the boycott of British goods, specially British cloths. We know that we should wear Swadeshi cloths for the welfare of ourselves and of the country. But that is not all. Henceforth we should know this that the boycott policy is our most formidable political



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weapon. You know well that this boycott policy will solve our economic problems, but we should know also that boycott will weaken the Government. Our joint endeavour is bound to lead to a grave food problem in Britain. I request you, brothers and sisters, to accent the vow of Swadeshi on this National Day. Let us not touch British goods especially British cloths. Let India use Swadeshi goods. let her be prosperous, and let her enemy become weak. Let the weapon of boycott in the hands of India, excite terror in the minds of the foreigners.

### Volunteer Organisation.

Another proposal I place before you. A volunteer corps should be formed in every district and sub-division of Bengal. They will be in the service of the country, under proper leadership and under strict discipline. They will carry the message of the Congress to the illiterate, in propagation of Khaddar and in organising the people on the basis of their grievances. This All-Bengal Volunteer Corps will be an adjunct to the Congress organisation.

In this connexion I want to make one thing clear. We want volunteers, for the work of the Congress, for our freedom. And this corps should remain as a permanent Congress volunteer corps. But those who will enlist themselves should not forget the real import of the word Volunteer and should not hope that the Congress will maintain them. In fact it is impossible to do so. So, I appeal to able and young patriots of the land that unless they accept these honorary posts, salvation of the country will be impossible.

Our people are half-starved; the British have physically oppressed us, have made us starve and have destroyed the power of mental perception. So, we cannot afford to ignore this problem of hunger. I appeal to educated youngmen not to crowd at the door of the Government offices for slavery but to stand firmly and freely on their own legs and fall back upon the land. In this respect help both from the Congress and the distinguished is essentially necessary. If by the combined efforts of all, young Bengal is inspired to take to trade, commerce and agriculture, we will have self-reliant men and women of independent spirit.

If once this educated young Bengal goes back to the village, he will find there ample scope of work. But they must rest content with coarse cloth and plain food. The blessings of the whole country and the future nation will be fall them. I do not deny that it is easy to lecture in meeting or to utter some well-arranged words against the Government, but this campaign is really very difficult. Those who will be the pioneers in this work may not find much fame or pleasure in it and on the other hand may have to endure much hardship; but this is why I appeal to the youth of Bengal, for they have been doing the most difficult fight in freedom's battle. In all ages and in all countries, youths are the pioneers in struggle for freedom. Will they not take their place? Come ye and by your "Sadhana" bring ever-lasting good to your country.

For this work in rural areas the services of young Bengal are very necessary. That is why I make this appeal particularly to them. Taking advantage of the ignorance (which is due to want of education) of our peasant class Government are misleading them; and many of them have already left off working for the provision of their own food. They are now growing jute in their paddy fields and thus helping foreign exploitation in Bengal. It is fortunate that a propaganda has been started for the restriction of jute cultivation, and I draw your attention to this noble work.

To educate the ignorant masses in this rural economy and to promote indigenous industry and trade—all these things rest in the hands of the youth of Bengal and these are the first steps in our national struggle. It is our common experience that the young men of Bengal are not weak and this time too we hope to see their same capability and resourcefulness.

I think I shall be wanting in the discharge of my duty if I close this address without referring to the present unrest among the student community. The charge against this great awakening amongst the students is that they have become indisciplined, disobedient and impertinent. I do not deny there is excitement and unrest but when we think over it a bit deeply we find that the



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charges that have been levelled against the students are groundless. The cause of this excitement is not want of discipline on their part—that the students have become disobedient is not also true.

In every country in the youthful heart there is an independent spirit—the young men of all countries are full of vivacity and vigour. The youthful heart naturally wants to know and love the motherland. Naturally they are eager for their legitimate right. The fight of the youngmen is against the ruthless repression launched upon them by the Government. So if there is any body to blame for this upheaval, it is the oppressors and not the oppressed.

When the newly awakened youth of Bengal wants to realise their mission and cherish a love for the motherland the present unhealthy system of education and its directors are attempting to purge out all patriotism from them and give them a drilling in loyalty. From the early life heartless and organised attempt is made to create in the youths a slavish fascination for the British. But education and superstition cannot live together. And so when these authorities fail here they try to achieve their purpose by engendering a fear for the British through repression. The atmosphere is poisoned with suspicion and spies are set on the youth. This they can never stand and the only alternative for them is to succumb to it. But that too is against the nature of youth. So a reaction ensues and they seek to get out of these soul-killing surroundings. I can never regard this as culpable. To me the only solution seems to be the establishment of freedom and national education. There is no other means of checking this new uprising of youth.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,—Allow me to call you again to join the battle of freedom; let all difference be obliterated and all self-interest be effaced; stand up as a nation under the Indian tricolour, determined to recover your right. Do not fall back from fear of imprisonment, deportation, repression or even death, but send your call to the lowliest of the lowly and let them understand that the terror which keeps them down is all hollow and will give way to a challenge.

My appeal lies to the youth of Bengal. It is for them to bear the brunt of the fight and build up a glorious future. It is for them to reinsert into Indian heart messages of hope and courage.

To-day we can spare none. I appeal to the Musalmans, I appeal to the Hindus—I appeal to all the communities and institutions to join in this holy work. A great Indian nation—freedom for India—and peace for the world,—in the name of God I call upon every son and daughter of India to join in carrying out this noble mission.

### SECOND DAY—8TH APRIL 1928.

#### 1.—Complete Independence as Goal.

The Conference reassembled on the next day at 2 in the afternoon. After a condolence resolution has been moved from the chair. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose moved :—

That this Conference proclaims complete independence as India's goal.

In moving the resolution Sj. Bose said that the resolution which he was going to move was not a new thing in Bengal. When Sj. Arabinda Ghose preached that message through the columns of his "Bande-Mataram," it created a new enthusiasm in Bengal. After twenty years when this resolution was moved at the momentous sitting of the Congress at Madras it was unanimously carried. It was a glory to Bengal that her message was at last taken by the whole of India.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried.

#### 2.—Commission Boycott.

Sj. Bijoy Krishna Basu next moved :—

That whereas the British Parliament has appointed the Simon Commission in utter disregard of India's right to Self-Government this Conference proposes to boycott the Commission completely.



(a) This Conference also requests Indians to have no connection, either social or political, with the Commission when it returns in October next and boycott all receptions that may be arranged for them.

(b) This Conference further requests that no committee be formed in the Assembly, Council of State or Provincial Legislatures to co-operate with the Commission and requests all to reject the formation of any such committee if it comes or any proposal for their expenses.

(c) This Conference further requests that no evidence either private or public be put before the Commission and to have no connection with them in any way.

(d) This Conference requests the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee that considering the present political situation of the country the Working Committee should see that without any special reason no member of the committee or any member of the Assembly leave India.

In moving the resolution Mr. B. K. Bose said that after accepting the independence resolution it was needless to say that any body would go to the Simon Commission to ask any favour. The first act of the Commission Drama was over. The members of the Commission came to India and went away. They would come again in October, but the Indians should see that the Commission was completely boycotted. They should now go to every member of the Bengal Legislative Council and appeal to them not to help the Government in forming Committee. If necessary they would offer Satyagraha at their places.

Sj. Mohitosh Roy Chaudhury moved an amendment to the effect that inasmuch as the success of the boycott movement required that all nationalist leaders should remain in India and the goal of independence, as decided by the Congress, was inconsistent with participation in the Empire Parliamentary Conference and as the Government of Canada was hostile to the people of India, the Conference requests the Indian delegates to the Empire Parliamentary Conference to abandon their projected visit to that country.

Mr. Bijoy Krishan Bose rose to a point of order and said that if the mover liked he could draft another resolution on that subject.

The President ruled that the mover was not in order in referring to the Indian leaders joining the Empire Parliamentary Commission.

Mr. Rai Chaudhury said that if the last portion of his amendment was ruled out of order he did not wish to move his amendment for the present.

The original motion was put to the vote and carried.

### 3.—India's Constitution.

Pro. Raj Kumar Chakravarty then moved :—

That this conference expresses its sincere thanks to the All-Parties' Conference which sat from time to time in Delhi with the noble purpose to frame a suitable constitution for India and requests all the parties to reach an agreed constitution by September next.

The motion was put to the vote and carried.

### 4.—Boycott of British Cloth.

Sj. Bankim Chandra Mukherjee then moved :—

That this conference requests all to boycott British goods, especially British cloth.

He said that if they could successfully boycott British goods there was yet hope for India. To attain political salvation they would have to make them strong and self-sufficient so as not to depend on other countries for anything and to do that they would have to sacrifice their luxury and that was not much in comparison with the political salvation for which they were all crying.

Sj. Hemendranath Das Gupta moved an amendment to the effect that the conference would urge to boycott British goods as a protest against the calculated insult which had been flung upon the people of India by sending an all-White Commission and also as a protest against detention of the youngmen of Bengal in jail without trial.

After some further discussion the mover withdrew his resolution and the amendment was carried.

### 5.—Take to Charka.

Sj. Satis Chandra Das Gupta moved :—



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That in view of the fact that foreign cloth worth crores of rupees are being imported in this country and in view of the growing poverty of the people and in view of the fact that weavers of Bengal are threatened with destruction this Conference requests the people to take to Charka and Khadi and to revive lost cottage industries of the country.

Sj. Das Gupta in moving the resolution said that Charka would surely solve the problems for which they were all discussing day and night.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried.

### 6.—Communal Unity.

Sj. Kamini Kumar Dutta (Comilla) then moved :—

(1) This Conference requests Hindus and Mahomemans to work together for the good of the country. (2) This Conference also approves of the Hindu-Moslem resolution adopted at the Madras Congress.

In moving the resolution he said that Hindu-Moslem unity was absolutely necessary for the attainment of Swaraj. There were many cases of Hindu-Moslem trouble in the country and for that neither of the party could be blamed. They have now realised their mistake and he hoped that there would be no more fight between Hindus and Musalmans for the benefit of third party.

Sj. Purushottam Roy and others seconded and supported the resolution which was carried.

### 7.—Police Firing at Bamungachi.

Dr. Subodh Kumar Basu moved :—

This Conference strongly condemns the brutal firing on the unarmed and peaceful strikers of Lillooah at Bamungachi and expresses its condolences for those killed and wounded. It also conveys its sympathy to the relatives of dead and wounded.

This Conference expresses its indignation at the action of the Government, who far from remaining neutral in the fight between Labour and Capital were trying to suppress the agitation by opening fire as they have done in Bamungachi, Khargpur, Madras, Bombay and other places.

This Conference requests the Congress to take steps to make the Labour movement a success.

Dr. S. K. Bose in proposing the resolution said that those poor labourers wanted the increment of their wages and they got bullets in return.

Mr. Aftaf Ali seconded the resolution which was put to the vote and carried.

### 8.—Other Resolutions.

The following resolutions were also accepted :—

(1) To popularise Indian industries and make India self-supporting this Conference requests all people to use indigenous goods.

(2) This Conference requests all pasants of the province to curtail cultivation of jute by half on the ground that jute is the monopoly of Bengal and as no country can do without jute, the curtailment will not affect the people economically in the least whereas it would make them prosperous.

(3) This conference opines that a permanent volunteer corps be organised to carry out Congress work.

(4) This conference expresses its sympathy with those who are still rotting in jail in and outside Bengal under lawless laws without any trial and feels pride at the incarceration for the cause of the country.

(5) In accordance with the proposal of the All-Party Conference for the re-distribution of provinces on linguistic basis this conference requests the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to take steps to include Manbhum, Singbhum, Santal Parganas, Sylhet, Cachar, Surma Valley and other Bengali speaking tracts.

(6) To improve the deplorable state of health of the Bengalee youths this conference requests every district congress committee to organise gymnasium for physical culture of the youths.

This finished the day's proceedings and after a short concluding speech by the President the Conference dispersed.



# The Punjab Provincial Conference

The 13th Session of the Punjab Provincial Conference commenced its session on the 11TH APRIL 1928 in a spacious pandal erected for the occasion in Jallian-wala Bagh at Amritsar under the Presidency of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. The following are important extracts from the authorised English rendering of the address delivered in Hindusthani by the President :—

## The Presidential Address.

I have referred to industrialism and its effects on the modern world. Its evils are obvious enough and many of us dislike them intensely. But whether we like them or not we must realise that the spread of industrialism cannot be checked. Even in India it is taking giant strides and no country can stop its onward march. Must we also succumb to all the evils which come in its train or is it possible for us to adopt industrialism without its major evils? We must remember that industrialism means the big machine and the machine is but a tool to be used for good or ill. Let us not blame the tool if the man who holds it, misuses it and causes injury thereby.

### Imperialism in West.

In the West, industrialism has led to big scale capitalism and imperialism. Many of us who denounce British imperialism in India do not realise that it is not a phenomenon peculiar to the British race or to India, or that it is the necessary consequence of industrial development on capitalist lives. For capitalism necessarily leads to exploitation of one man by another, one group by another and one country by another. And therefore if we are opposed to this imperialism and exploitation we must also be opposed to capitalism as a system and to the domination of one country over another. The only alternative that is offered to us is some form of socialism, that is the State ownership of the means of production and distribution. We cannot escape the choice and if we really care for a better order of society and for ending this exploitation of man by man, we cannot but cast our weight on the side of socialism.

And if we so decide what consequences follow? The necessary result is that we must not only fight British dominion in India on nationalistic grounds but also on social and international grounds. This is all the more necessary as the modern form of imperial domination is not the old crude method of possession of territory but the subtler ways of economic imperialism. England may well permit us to have a large measure of political liberty but this will be worth little if she holds economic dominion over us. And no Indian, capitalist or socialist, if he appreciates the full significance of this new slavery, can willingly submit to it.

Another consequence that must follow our adoption of the socialistic view point is our changing all such customs which are based on privilege of birth and caste and the like. From our future society we must cast out all parasites and drones, so that the many who lack utterly the good things of life may also share in them to some extent. We must remember that poverty and want are no economic necessities; although under the present anarchic capitalist system they may be inevitable. The world and our country produce enough or can produce enough for the masses to attain a high standard of well-being but unhappily the good things are cornered by a few and the millions live in utter want. In India, the classic land of famine, famine are not caused by want of food but by the want of money to buy food. We have famines of money not food.

The third consequence will affect our international contacts and our international outlook. If we are opposed to imperialism and know that this is a phase of capitalism we must oppose the latter whenever we may meet it. England as a premier capitalistic and imperialistic power becomes our chief opponent in this field also and there can be no effective competition between India and England so long as she does not come into line with modern progressive thought.

### India's Claim to Independence.

In the light of these considerations let us briefly examine the question of independence for India. Even if the National Congress has not pronounced in its favour, I am sure, that none of you would require to be converted to it. But some of our elders and friends



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suffer strangely from various complexes and delusions and the British Empire is one of them. They cannot get out of the professions and habits of a life time, nor can they rid themselves of the chains of their own fashioning. What is the British Empire to-day the third British Empire as an ardent advocate has called it? If we leave out India and the dependencies it is like the famous Cheshire cat in "Alice in Wonderland" whose body has entirely disappeared and only the grin has remained. How long can this disembodied grin remain I leave to you to judge. The world has judged already and few imagine them it will endure long. The Empire is fast approaching dissolution and any world crisis may end it. The British people have shown extraordinary ability in adopting themselves to changing circumstances and to this they owe their strength and the long lease of power that they have enjoyed. But the world is moving too fast for them and recent events specially in relation to India, indicate that their old skill is gone. But whether the Empire endures or not how can India find a place in it when her national and international and economic interests conflict with it in almost every vital matter? We must recognise the internationalism of to-day and act internationally if we are to face realities. We cannot be independent in the narrow sense. When we win Independence we mean the severance of the British connection. Afterwards we can develop countries, including England. The British commonwealth in spite of its high sounding name does not stand for this international co-operation, and in its world policy has consistently stood for a narrow and selfish ideal and against the peace of world. If independence is our only and inevitable goal, we cannot in logic or in decency ask the British to protect us from other foreign countries. I am wholly prepared to accept the argument that if we want British help to defend our frontiers we are not fit for independence. But I wholly deny that we cannot face the risk of foreign invasion without British aid. No country is strong enough to-day, with the possible exception of the United States of America, to withstand a group of hostile countries. England certainly is not, but no one will say that England should therefore be deprived of her independence and put under alien control. The security of a country depends on many factors, on its relations with its neighbours, and on the world situation generally. If the problem of Indian defence is examined in the light of these factors, the strength of India becomes obvious. She has no great dangers to face and in a military sense she is by no means weak. But even if there was danger, it is shameful and cowardly to seek for help from a nation which has in the past and is to-day oppressing us and preventing all growth. Whatever independence may or may not mean and whether we use that word or another, the one thing that we must keep in the forefront of our programme is the immediate withdrawal of the British army of occupation from the country. That is the real test of freedom. Unless that takes place, all other talk is the merest moonshine.

### Economic Pressure.

We may demand freedom for our country on many grounds but ultimately it is the economic one that matters. Our educated classes have so far taken the lead in the fight for Swaraj. The economic pressure on them was considerable and they were the only vocal elements. And so, the demand has taken the form occasionally of an indianisation of services of higher posts being thrown open to Indians. They are not to blame for this demand. They have acted as every class conscious of its interests acts. But in doing so they have seldom paid heed to the needs of the masses. Whenever vital questions affecting the masses have arisen, they have been shelved, they have been asked to stand over till Swaraj has been attained. Why confuse the issue now? It has been said we can settle our problem later. Like all class conscious groups they have considered themselves the most vital elements in the nation and in name of freedom have really sought to advance their own interests and many of our intellectuals have become the staunchest defenders of the privileges of Empire as soon as they have had their share of the titles and power.

What shall it profit the masses of this country, the peasantry, the landless labourers, the workers, the shopkeepers, the artisans—if everyone of the offices held by Englishmen in India to-day is held by an Indian. It may benefit them a little as they can bring more pressure to bear on them than on an alien Government. But fundamentally, their condition cannot improve until the social fabric is changed and I think that the only effective change can be the formation of a democratic, specialistic state. But even from the narrow point of view of our intellectuals it is now well recognised that no effective pressure can be brought to bear on the British Government without mass support. But in spite of this recognition there is fear of the masses and little is done. Mass support cannot come from vague ideals of Swaraj. It can only come when the masses realise what Swaraj means for them. Therefore it is essential that we must clearly lay down an



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economic programme for the masses. This programme must have an ultimate ideal in view and must also provide for the immediate steps to be taken to bring them relief.

### Our Ideal.

Our ideal thus can only be an independent democratic state, and I would add a socialistic state, and for this we must work. What can be our methods? This is a revolutionary change from the present condition and revolutionary changes cannot be brought about by reformist tactics and methods. The reformer who is afraid of radical change or overthrowing an oppressive regime and seeks merely to eliminate some of its abuses becomes in reality one of its defenders. We must, therefore, cultivate a revolutionary outlook, and that desires a radical and far reaching change and not merely the anaemic and halting outlook of the half-hearted reformer. The way of violence not being open to us in our present condition the only other course is, some form of intensive non-co-operation. Everything that goes towards creating a revolutionary atmosphere helps, everything that lessens it hinders. I use the word revolutionary in its proper sense without any necessary connection with violence. Indeed, violence may be and I think is to-day in India the very reverse of revolution. Acts of terrorism often have this counter revolutionary effect and for this alone, apart from any other reason, are injurious to the national cause. No nation has yet been built up on such individual acts of terrorism.

There was a great controversy in this country some years ago on the merits of council-entry and the echoes of it still linger. It almost became a creed, a religious issue, a matter of faith. But the sole test of this as of others is the re-action it produces on the national mind. I can quite conceive work in the councils helping us to produce the right atmosphere in some measure. But it will only do so if it is carried on in the right spirit and with the ideal always in view, not with a desire to pursue petty reformist tactics. I must confess, however, that the able and decorous parliamentarians who throng our councils cannot be mistaken for revolutionaries anywhere.

### How to Eradicate the Communal Evil.

But you will tell me that all this may be very good but is very vague. The real problem before you is how to exorcise communalism. I have already indicated to you the kind of India that I should like to build up. There is no place for communalism or a dogmatic people in it. Communalism of course has to be fought ruthlessly and suppressed. But really I do not think that it is much a power as it is made out to be. It may be a giant to-day but it has feet of clay. It is the outcome largely of anger and passion and when we regain our temper it will fade into nothingness. It is really the creation of our classes in search of office and employment. How does the economic interest of a Hindu or Muslim or Sikh differ from each other? Certainly not, because they have to profess different faiths. It may be that if there is a vacancy for a Judgeship of a High Court or a like occasion the raising of the communal issue may profit an individual. But how does it generally profit the community. What does it matter to the Muslim whether a Hindu or a Muslim is a Judge at Lahore? Economic interests run along different lines. There is a great deal in common between Muslim and Sikh and Hindu Zamindars; and a great deal in common between the Muslim peasant and a Muslim Zamindar. We must, therefore, begin to think of and act on the line of economic issue. If we do so the myth of communalism will automatically disappear. Conflict there may be but it will be between different classes and not different religions.

What communal interests are sought to be protected? I think fundamentally they are cultural. Every country in this world has cultural minorities and it is a well-recognised principle that such minorities should have the fullest autonomy so far as their culture is concerned. So also in India every considerable cultural group should be given freedom and indeed should be encouraged to preserve and cultivate its culture. Only thus can we build up a rich and varied and yet common culture for India. Culture would include the question of language and education and schools.

### Election by Economic Units.

If this cultural question is settled satisfactorily and sufficient safeguards are provided for the interests of minorities and group which may be in danger of suppression, what remains of communalism? If in addition we replace our system of territorial elections by some method of election by economic units we not only introduce a more efficient and progressive system but also do away with problems of joint and separate electorates and the reservation of seats.

It is generally recognised now, or it ought to be, that separate electorates which are meant to protect the interests of minorities really injure them and reduce their effective power in the state. If anybody should be against them it is the minority. But such is



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the power of the myth that many of us have come to believe that separate electorates are a "valued privilege" which we must cling on to. I think a little clear thanking will convince any person who is not a bigot on the subject that separate electorates are not only a danger to the state but specially to the minority community. Personally I am not in favour of territorial election at all but if it is retained I am wholly opposed to separate electorates.

I do not fancy reservation of seats either on a communal basis but if this solution pleases people I would agree to it. We have to face realities and the fact remains that many people feel strongly on this subject. I am quite certain that any arrangement that may be arrived at will be of a provisional nature only. A few of us cannot bind down the future generations and I trust that those who come after us will cast upon all problems entirely free from all religious and communal taint. It is necessary however for such of us as do not believe in communalism and religion interfering with political and economic matters to take up a strong attitude now and not permit us extremists to have it all their way.

### Simon Commission.

In the course of this fairly long address I have hardly referred to the Simon Commission. I have not done so partly because the problem we have to face is a much bigger one and partly because none of you here want any arguments from me to boycott it. That boycott is going to continue in spite of defections of weak-kneed individuals and of well meant attempts to "Bridge the gulf." The gulf will not be so easily bridged. And it is folly to deceive ourselves that it can be easily bridged. Before a new bridge is built on the basis of friendship and co-operation the present chains which tie us to England must be severed. Only then can real co-operation take place. It may be that a few of us are over keen even now to find a way to lead them to the pleasant and sheltered paths of co-operation. If so they are welcome there but they will be none of us. We shall carry on this boycott regardless of back sliders. But a boycott of the commission confined to public meetings and resolutions is the feeblest of methods. It is merely a confession of our weakness. How can we make it really effective.

A boycott of British goods has been suggested and we are fully entitled to have it. I hope we shall carry it on to the best of our ability. But we must know that such a general boycott justified as it is on sentimental grounds cannot take us far. The only real thing that can be boycotted is British cloth. Can we bring about an effective boycott of British cloth?

The present position stated roughly is, I believe, as follows. Our mills in India produce one third of the cloth consumed by us. Our handloom weavers produce another third, and we import from foreign countries the remaining third, of this over 80 per cent. is English.

### Boycott of British Cloth.

There is a strong movement in the country to-day to boycott British cloth only. This is perfectly justified and if we could do so we would force the hands of England. But there is a serious danger of our failing to do so if we permit other foreign cloths to come in. British cloth will then creep in the guise of Japan or some other foreign cloth and it will be impossible both for the ordinary purchaser or the retailer to distinguish between the two. This practical difficulty seems to be insuperable and it would thus appear that in order to boycott British cloth we must boycott all foreign cloth. Another advantage this would bring us would be that Khaddar and mill cloths in India would compete for the boycott. If we favour other foreign cloths there will be no co-operation between the mills and the Khadi producer in India. We must therefore concentrate on the boycott of all foreign cloth though to-day it really means a boycott of British cloth. It means our displacing one third of the cloth we consume and which comes from foreign countries by cloth manufactured by us. This should offer no great difficulty if our khadi organisations and our cotton mills co-operate in the task instead of competing with each other. It is well known that khadi can be produced in almost unlimited quantities at short notice if there is a demand for it. Our mills even with their existing machinery can also greatly increase their output. Thus there is no doubt, that we are in a position to produce enough to boycott foreign cloth totally in the near future provided only the will to do so is present. It is for the public to express this will. If they do so all other difficulties will disappear. We cannot expect those who profit by the import of foreign cloth to feel enthusiastic over the boycott; it must cause loss to the importer and to others in the trade. But are we to sacrifice the interests of India and her millions for the sake of a handful of importers? Most of our mill owners also have not got good record. They have in the past sought to profit by national sentiment in





India, they have taken enormous dividends and yet have treated pitilessly the poor workers who were the foundations of their fortune. To-day instead of combating foreign cloth many of them are competing with coarse khadi and are thus profiting even by the khadi of the people. If they could see far enough and knew their real interests they would realise that their prosperity is bound up with the good will of the people and their whole hearted co-operation in the boycott would benefit them even more than it would do the nation as a whole. But this co-operation can only be based on full justice to the workers in their mills and a minimum of profit.

#### Co-operation of Mill-owners

An effective boycott is clearly possible with khadi and Indian mill cloth co-operating. Even if only few mill-owners are agreeable to our conditions, we can work with them and I am sure others will be drawn into our movement later. But if there is to be no co-operation with the mills what can we do then? Our duty is clear. We must by concentrating on khadi only to bring these misguided owners to reason and make the boycott of cloth as effective as we can.

I have in an earlier part of this address referred to the coming of industrialism to India and have stated that I believed it to be an inevitable process. I have no objection to the big or small machine and I think that properly used they can be made to serve man and not dominate over him. And yet I have advocated the use of Khadi also. I have done so because I am convinced that in our present condition in the future for some time khadi is a boon to the poverty-stricken millions of India. I cannot say if Khadi will be necessary for us in the distant future. But I can say that to-day it supplies a very real want and wherever it has been produced it has brought a treasure of well-being in its train. The theory of its being an ideal auxiliary to agriculture would prove this, but if there was any doubt our experience and the evidence of our eyes has removed it utterly. To bring immediate relief to our long suffering peasantry, to make India more self-sufficient in the matter of cloth in the near future, to make the boycott of foreign cloth successful, khadi to-day is essential. The necessity for khadi is even greater in case of war or crisis when automatically foreign imports will cease. How can we satisfy our needs then? Our mills will make vast profits, prices of cloth will soon go up and our poor will practically have to go naked. Only Khadi will meet the situation there. It will supply the growing demand and will force the mills to keep their prices down. So even from the point of view of war khadi is a necessity.

#### Punjab's Duty.

But if war comes, and every thing indicates that it will come before long, we shall have to face other and more vital problems than that of cloth. The Madras Congress has given us a lead in this matter and it is for this province to ponder over this lead, for the real burden of action will fall on the Punjab. You and your gallant soldiers have been exploited enough in the past, not in India only, but in the four quarters of the world. Even to-day they are made to do the dirty work of British Imperialism in China, in Persia and in Mesopotamia, and they are used to suppress people who are our friends and neighbours and who have done us no harm. It is time that we put an end to this shameful exploitation of the courage of our manhood. We are told that we are not capable of defending our country against the foreign invaders, but our soldiers are capable enough of defending the British Empire in Europe, in Asia and in Africa. You know how our man power and our wealth was exploited by the British Empire during the last war. You know also the measure of the return that we got for our help. It was the Rowlatt Act and Martial Law in the Punjab. Are you prepared to be deluded again, to be exploited again and to be thrown into the scrap heap again? Wise men, they say, profit by the failures and experience of ordinary men, by their own experience and fools by neither. We may not be very wise, but let us not be fools either. Let us make up our minds now that we shall do when a crisis comes, let us decide that whatever else we may or may not do we shall not permit ourselves to be exploited by British imperialism. Let us say with the Madras Congress that if the British Government embarks on any warlike adventure and endeavours to exploit India, it will be our duty to refuse to take any part in such a War or to co-operate with in any war whatsoever.

This will be no easy matter. It will mean our having to face and endure perilous hardships. But if we have the courage to face them and the capacity to endure them to the end, and the statesmanship not to compromise, we shall emerge triumphant from the ordeal and our dear country which has so long suffered alien domination will be free again.



# THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE [AMRITSAR] Proceedings and Resolutions.

SECOND DAY—12TH APRIL 1928.

The second day's proceedings of the Conference commenced at 1 p.m. in the afternoon, audience being larger than yesterday.

Resolutions paying tribute to the memory of Hakim Ajmal Khan, expressing sympathy with the Kakori prisoners and other political prisoners and congratulating Baba Gurdit Singh of the Komagata Maru fame on his recent arrest were put from the Chair and carried unanimously.

Dr. Satyapal then moved the following resolution :—

"This Conference cordially welcomes the resolution of the Indian National Congress on independence and is of opinion that there can be no real freedom for India till British connection is severed and India completely controls her economic, military and foreign policy. In particular this conference is of opinion that the British army of occupation in India must forthwith be withdrawn."

The resolution was seconded by Sardar Gopal Singh and being supported by others was unanimously adopted.

Following resolutions were also adopted :—

"This Conference draws special attention of the people of the Province to the "war danger" resolution of the Madras Congress and to the extensive war preparations which the British Government is carrying on in the North West Frontier of India. The Conference calls upon the people to stand by the Congress declaration in case of such war and to refuse to take any part in it.

"This Conference strongly condemns the vindictive treatment meted out by the Government of India to the Maharajah of Nabha. The Conference believes that the Maharaja of Nabha is being persecuted because of his sympathies with national movement in general and Akali movement in particular. The policy of the Government to separate the young prince of Nabha from his parents is in the opinion of this Conference cruel and inhuman.

"This Conference expresses its heartfelt sympathy with the Maharaja and his family in their troubles".

Dr. Shaik Muhammad Alam moved the following resolution which was passed :—

"That this conference condemns the attitude of the Government in not gazetting the name of Malik Lalkhan who was elected president of the municipal committee, Gujran-walla".

Dr. Alam explained that the Government's action was due to the fact that Malik Lalkhan was a nationalist and did not take part in the reception to the Simon Commission.

A resolution for putting up a tablet with the names of the martyrs in Jallian-walla Bagh was put from the chair and passed. The Government was condemned for not granting passports to Sardars Kharak Singh, Mangal Singh and Haracharan Singh for going abroad on private business. Recommendation was made to the Congress in a resolution to utilise the services of the exiled patriots for propaganda in the cause of Indian independence. The conference then adjourned.

THIRD DAY—13TH APRIL 1928.

The Conference adopted to-day the following further resolutions :—

"This conference expresses its deep regret at the sad demise of Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas who died at Delhi while faithfully discharging his duty and conveys heartfelt condolence to members of his family".

"This conference is of opinion that the only effective means at present available of demonstrating the united strength of the nation lies through boycott of foreign cloth. The Conference there urges all concerned completely to boycott foreign cloth and adopt handspun and handwoven Khadi".

"This conference denounces and condemns the action taken by Government regarding the release and treatment of martial law prisoners, conspiracy case prisoners who were tried and convicted by the special tribunal set up in Punjab in 1914 and 1915, all of



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whom have already served out their legal sentences, Bengal detenues and all other political prisoners and detenues incarcerated in Indian jails".

"This conference welcomes the resolution of the Madras Congress relating to boycott of British goods and requests the Provincial Congress Committee to take immediate action on it".

"This conference fully supports the national boycott of the Simon Commission and resolves to carry it on at every stage and in every form as directed by the National Congress and to tolerate no deviation from the principle of self determination in its application to India and no recognition of the right of the British Parliament to determine India's future".

"This conference congratulates the people of the Provinces on boldly carrying out the mandate of the Congress by organising boycott of the Commission, despite all opposition and repression on behalf of the Government. The conference condemns the action of members of the Provincial Legislative Councils and those municipal and district boards and individuals who betrayed the nation's cause by co-operating with the Commission and recommends to the electors to demand resignation of all such representatives. The Conference requests the Provincial Congress Committee to organise an intensive campaign for the boycott by means of tours and otherwise to make it thoroughly effective.

"The Punjab Provincial Conference emphatically declares its unshakable faith that the Indian National Congress, the Parliament of India, is the only political organisation which is the final authority for deciding all political differences and to frame a constitution and no other body has any right to interfere matters which fall within the jurisdiction of the Congress and thus weaken the prestige of the National parliament.

Complete Independence by "All Possible Means".

Dr. Satyapal moved the following resolution :—

"This Conference recommends to the Indian National Congress to change article 1 of the Constitution as follows :—The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment by the people of India of complete Independence outside the British Empire by all possible means"

Sardar Mangal Singh opposing said the term "all possible means" was ambiguous and included violence for which the country was not prepared. There was a prolonged discussion for over two hours.

Lala Dunichand of Ambala, Lala Raizada Hansraj and Dr. Kitchlew opposed it. Dr. Kitchlew observed that as long as the country was not ready and prepared to take to armed revolution it was no use passing the resolution and that Mahatma Gandhi's method of non-violent resistance was best suited to the present circumstances.

The President called for a division which resulted in the resolution being carried by 74 against 56.

The Conference also passed to-day a resolution expressing sympathy with the Dhariwal workers in their fight against the employers' demands.

In his concluding speech Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recapitulated the proceedings of the conference and thanked the delegates and congratulated the volunteers on their splendid work.

Dr. Satyapal thanked the Reception Committee and the President on behalf of the delegates. The Conference dispersed at 10 o'clock at night.



# Maharashtra Provincial Conference

The Sixth Session of the Maharashtra Provincial Conference opened at Poona on the 3RD MAY 1928 under the presidency of Sj. Subhash Chandra Bose. Proceedings opened with "Bandemataram." Mr. S. M. Paranjpe then delivered his welcome address.

Mr. N. C. KELKAR proposing Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose to the chair stated that the Reception Committee in selecting the President had to consider his personal virtues, relations between his province and our province, his position without the province and his relations with Government. In these respects they found that Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was qualified for the presidency. Subhas Babu succeeded Deshabandhu Das as the leader in Bengal. He did not boast but quietly showed worth through actual deeds. Bengal and Maharashtra have been compared sister provinces. His relations with the Government were well-known. He resigned the Civil Service and was sent to jail. He was among the first to receive the attention of the Government in pursuance of their policy in cutting off tall poppies. An old saying in India has been that a member of the Indian Civil Service should be neither Indian, nor civil, nor servant and Subhas Babu, if he continued to be a member would have proved an exception. Subhas was a Karmayogi, a disciple of Lokamanya Tilak. Our unity must last for ever and not until the Simon Commission boycott continued.

## The Presidential Address.

Mr. BOSE then rose to deliver his presidential address which was received with deafening and prolonged applause. The following are important extracts from his speech :—

The charge has often been levelled against us that since Democracy is an occidental institution, India by accepting democratic or semi-democratic institutions is being westernized. Some European writers—Lord Ronaldshay for instance—go so far to say that democracy is unsuited to the oriental temperament and political advance in India should not therefore be made in that direction. Ignorance and effrontery could not go future. Democracy is by no means a western institution—it is a human institution. Wherever man has attempted to evolve political institutions—he has hit upon this wonderful institution—democracy. The past history of India is replete with instances of democratic institutions. Mr. H. P. Jayaswal in his wonderful book "Hindu Polity" has dealt with this matter at great length and has given a list of 81 republics in Ancient India. The Indian languages are also rich in terminology required in connection with political institutions of an advanced type. Democratic institutions still exist in certain parts of India. Among the Khasias of Assam, for example, it is still the custom to elect the ruling chief by a vote of the whole clan—and this custom has been handed down from time immemorial. The principle of democracy was also applied in India in the Government of villages and towns. The other day while visiting the Varendra Research Society Museum at Rajshahi in North Bengal, I was shown a very interesting copper-plate inscription in which it was stated that civic administration in the good old days was vested in a Committee of five, including the Nagar-Sreshthi (i. e. our modern Mayor). With regard to village self-Government it is not necessary to remind an Indian audience about the village Panchayets—democratic institutions handed down to us from days of yore.

Not only democracy but other socio-political doctrines of an advanced character were not unknown to India in the past. Communism, for instance, is not a western institution. Among the Khasias of Assam, to whom I have referred above, private property as an institution does not exist in theory even to-day. The clan as a whole owns the entire land. I am sure that similar instances



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can still be found in other parts of India and also in the past history of our country.

The problem that have confronted the human race in different ages and in different climes—and the solutions that have been invented are about the same all the world over. Centuries ago the Greek philosophers laid down the dictum that political evolution follows a cycle course. Monarchy is followed by aristocracy or oligarchy which in turn is followed by democracy. Democracy is sometimes overtaken by anarchy and there is then a return to one-man rule. If the above dictum is taken in a general way it will probably hold good not of Greece or Europe alone but of the whole world. We, who represent one of the most ancient living civilizations of the world, have through the ages witnessed in our land the rise and fall of political institutions of all types. The fact that during the centuries preceding the advent of the British there was a powerful reaction in favour of autocracy or one-man rule—is no ground for saying that democratic institutions were unknown to India and are unsuited to the Indian temperament.

### Nationalism and Internationalism.

I think it necessary at this stage to warn my countrymen, and my young friends in particular, about the attack that is being made on Nationalism from more than one quarter. From the point of view of Cultural Internationalism, Nationalism is sometimes assailed as narrow, selfish and aggressive. It is also regarded as a hindrance to the promotion of internationalism in the domain of culture. My reply to the charge is that Indian nationalism is neither narrow, nor selfish nor aggressive. It is inspired by the highest ideals of the human race, viz. Satyam (The True), Shivam (The Good), Sundaram (The Beautiful). Nationalism in India has instilled into us truthfulness, honesty, manliness and the spirit of service and sacrifice. What is more, it has roused the creative faculties which for centuries had been lying dormant in our people and as a result we are experiencing a renaissance in the domain of Indian Art. Without the magic touch of the breath of liberty, what would have been the fate of our art and culture?

There is another point I would also urge in reply. Though there is a fundamental unity underlying human art and culture, it has to be admitted that art and culture have distinctive types. It is not by obliterating these differences and introducing dull uniformity that art and culture can be best promoted. I would rather maintain that it is only by developing these distinctive types along distinctive channels that human civilisation can be enriched. Unity we must have—but true unity can manifest itself only through diversity. Nationalism, to my mind, far from hindering the growth of art and culture acts as a most powerful incentive. Moreover, it is only by liberating India from the domination of alien ideals and methods that we can expect Indian art and culture to develop along distinctive channels in the light of our age-long ideals.

Another attack is being made on nationalism from the point of view of International Labour or International Communism. This attack is not only ill-advised but unconsciously serves the interests of our alien rulers. It should be clear to the man in the street that before we can endeavour to reconstruct Indian society on a new basis—whether socialistic or otherwise—we should first secure the right to shape our own destiny. As long as India lies prostrate at the feet of Britain that right will be denied to us. It is therefore the paramount duty not only of nationalists—but of all anti-nationalistic communists—to bring about the political emancipation of India as early as possible. When political freedom has been attained, it will then be time to consider seriously the problem of social and economic reconstruction. As far as I am aware this is also the opinion of prominent communists in other lands. To introduce fresh cleavage within our ranks by talking openly of class war and working for it—appears to me at the present moment to be a crime against Nationalism. To what straits we may be reduced by a mal-assimilation of Karl Max and Bakunin becomes manifest when we come across a certain class of Indian labourites (or communists, if you call them so)—who openly advocate the use of British or foreign cloth on the plea of Internationalism.



I hope I have said nothing which would in any way minimise the importance of the Labour movement in India. My object on the other hand is to clear up all misunderstanding between Labour and Nationalism and to pave the way for a rapprochement and a coalition between the organised forces of Labour and Nationalism. In this connection we would do well to take a leaf out of recent Irish History.

Nationalism is not in any way opposed to Internationalism; the latter rather presupposed the former. I believe in Internationalism as firmly as anybody else but I also maintain that the approach to Internationalism must necessarily be through the gates of Nationalism. Internationalism whether in the cultural or in the political sphere is possible only when distinctive cultures have first been produced or separate nationalities brought into existence. The fabric of internationalism can be built only on a federal basis and federations—we shall all agree—exemplify the principle of unity in diversity. My conception of Internationalism is a federation of cultures on one side and a federation of nationalities on the other. By developing our national culture and working for India's freedom we are really making India fit for internationalism. I would also like to add in this connection that India seems to me to be an epitome of the world. Through her the world-problem is struggling for a solution. When the synthesis of culture and the federation of self-governing states becomes a 'fait accompli' in India—it will be an object lesson to all the nations.

#### Labour and Nationalism.

I have already hinted that I desire to plead for a coalition between Labour and Nationalism. (I am using Labour here in a wider sense to include peasants as well.) It has to be admitted that though we have passed resolutions from the Congress platform time and again regarding Labour, much has not been achieved in that direction. This has been due mainly to two reasons. In the first place we have not been able to produce a sufficient number of workers who are fit—physically, intellectually and morally—for work among our Labour. Further, those who have gone in for this sort of work have had reason to complain of a certain amount of apathy on the part of Congressmen in general. In the second place, it has to be admitted that in our programme we have not always been able to include items, the promotion of which would 'ipso facto' further the interests of labour. In all countries under the sun comparatively few men desire freedom for its own sake—while the majority join the freedom movement because freedom is the panacea of their earthly ills. Personally I have no doubt in my own mind that we can free India from her economic bondage only after we have made her politically free and that is why I believe that all those who desire India's economic emancipation should swell the ranks of the Indian National Congress and liberate India from foreign yoke.

If we review the programme of the Congress during the last few years we shall find that only in our Khadi programme have we been able to offer something to our masses which would mean bread and butter to them. Khadi, I am glad to say, has brought food to thousands and thousands of hungry mouths all over India. Given money and organization, there is plenty of scope for pushing on Khadi. There are lacs and lacs of poor Indians living on the verge of starvation to whom Khadi can offer a means of subsistence. But the appeal of Khadi cannot be universal. We find from bitter experience in some parts of Bengal that as soon as the masses are a little better off, their Charkas lie idle;—and that the peasant who gets a better return from paddy or jute cultivator will refuse to cultivate cotton. In the same province where uniform conditions prevail, Khadi does not make much headway in those tracts which are less poverty stricken. In other words, as long as the economic condition of the masses is below a certain level they gladly take to the spinning wheel—but when that level is reached they have a tendency to look out for more lucrative employment whether in agriculture or in industry.

Except when Congressmen have joined the Kishan movement as in U. P. or have taken up the question of jute cultivation as in Bengal or have undertaken a campaign for non-payment of taxes in order to resist illegal taxation or oppressive legislation as in Gujerat—we have seldom been able to make a direct



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appeal to the interests of the masses. And until this is done—human nature being what it is—how can we expect the masses to join the freedom movement?

There is another reason why I consider it imperative that the Congress should be more alive to the interests of the masses. Mass consciousness has been roused in India—thanks to the extensive and intensive propaganda undertaken during the non-co-operation movement—and the mass movement cannot possibly be checked now. The only question is along what lines mass consciousness should manifest itself. If the Congress neglects the interests of the masses it is inevitable that sectional—and if I may say so, anti-national—movements will come into existence and class-war among our people will appear even before we have achieved our political emancipation. It would be disastrous in the highest degree if we were to launch on a class-war while we are all bed-fellows in slavery, in order that we may afford amusement to the common enemy. I regret to say that there is at present a tendency among some Indian labourites to belittle the Congress and to condemn the Congress programme. This recrimination should cease and the organised forces of Labour and of the Congress should join hands for furthering the economic interests of the masses and promoting the causes of India's political emancipation.

I doubt if it would be possible to lay down a uniform programme for the whole India which would attract the masses by making a direct appeal to their economic interests—because the conditions vary so much in the different provinces. But even if a uniform programme be not possible—each provincial Congress Committee can and should draw up a programme for itself. What this programme should be will depend on the conditions prevailing in such province.

### The Communal Problem.

While I do not condemn any patch-up work that may be necessary for healing communal sores I would urge the necessity of discovering a deeper remedy for our communal troubles. India is like a vast stream flowing down the banks of time and fed by culture—streams from different quarters at different points in her life's career. If we are to have a true conception of India we should follow with our minds' eye the whole course of Indian History and, as it were, live through the experiences of our fore-fathers from time immemorial up to the present day. We shall then recover our historic consciousness and realise that India has been charged by Providence with the mission of solving a world problem viz. the problem of unifying separate ethnic groups, harmonizing different interests and points of view and synthesising different cultures. Out of this apparent chaos we have to evolve cosmos—through this bewildering diversity we have to search for a fundamental basis of unity. The magnitude of this task is sufficient to appeal to any other people but an ancient and undying race like ours need not be frightened or discouraged.

From this point of view it will be clear that India has a place for Islam—as for every other religion. It is necessary for the different religious groups to be acquainted with the traditions, ideals and history of one another—because cultural intimacy will pave the way towards communal peace and harmony. I venture to think that the fundamental basis of political unity between different communities lies in cultural rapprochement and as things stand to-day, the different communities inhabiting India are too exclusive.

In order to facilitate cultural rapprochement, a dose of secular and scientific training is necessary. Fanaticism is the greatest thorn in the path of cultural intimacy and there is no better remedy for fanaticism than secular and scientific education. Secular and scientific education is useful in another way in that it helps to rouse our "economic" consciousness. The dawn of "economic" consciousness spells the death of fanaticism. There is much more in common between a Hindu peasant and a Muslim peasant than between a Muslim peasant and a Muslim Zemindar. The masses have only got to be educated wherein their economic interests lie and once they understand that, they will no longer consent to be pawns in communal ends. By working from the cultural, educational and economic side, we can gradually undermine fanaticism and thereby render possible the growth of healthy nationalism in this country.



### Youth Movement.

One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the awakening among the Youth of this country. The movement has spread from one end of the country to the other and, as far as I am aware, has attracted not only young men but young women as well. The Youth of this age have become self-conscious; they have been inspired by an ideal and are anxious to follow the call of their inner nature and fulfil their destiny. The movement is the spontaneous self-expression of the national soul and on the course of this movement depends nation's future weal. Our duty therefore is not to attempt to crush this new-born spirit—but to lend it our support and guidance. If we want to rouse the divinity in man, to awaken the infinite power and energy which lie dormant within him—we have to infuse into him the desire for freedom. The desire for freedom is the fountain head of all inspiration, the secret spring of all our creative faculties. When a man is intoxicated with the desire for freedom his whole aspect changes—as does Nature under the magic influence of Spring and, he goes through a process of complete transfiguration. We then begin to marvel at the personality he develops and the power that he wields.

Friends, I would implore you to assist in the awakening of Youth and in the organization of the Youth movement. Self-conscious Youth will not only act, but will also dream; will not destroy but will also build.

It will succeed where even you may fail—it will also create for you a new India and a free India—out of the failure, trials and experiences of the past. And believe me, if we are to rid India once for all of the canker of communalism and fanaticism we have to begin work among our Youth.

### Are we Fit for Swaraj?

Our benign rulers and our self-appointed advisers are in the habit of lecturing day after day on our unfitness for Swaraj. Some say that we must have more education before we can hope to be free; others maintain that social reform should precede political reform; still others urge that without industrial development India cannot be fit for Swaraj. None of these statements is true. Indeed it would be far more true to say that without political freedom i.e. without the power to shape our own destiny we cannot have either compulsory free education or social reform or industrial advancement. If you demand education for your people as Gokhale did long ago the plea is put forward by Government that there is no money. If you introduce social legislation for the advancement of your countrymen you find Miss Mayo's cousins on the other side of the Atlantic arrayed against you and on the side of your social die-hards. When you are working yourself to death in order to bring about the economic and industrial regeneration of India you find to your infinite regret and surprise that your Imperial Bank, your railways and your Stores Departments are least inclined to help your national enterprise. You pass resolutions in your municipalities and in your Council in favour of Prohibition and you find that the Government meets you with a stone-wall of indifference or hostility. You are a philanthropist administering relief in famine-stricken areas and you find it impossible to prohibit the export of foodstuffs while your countrymen die in shoals for want of food.

I have no doubt in my own mind that Swaraj and Swaraj alone is the sovereign remedy for all our ills. And the only criterion of our fitness for Swaraj is the will to be free. As a people we lack nothing that is necessary for winning and preserving our liberty except this national will. Compare India with China, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Russia etc., and you will agree that we are inferior to them in nothing—in fact we are superior to them in many respects except in moral fervour, in our desire to be free. The moment this will is roused in our people, the chains of bondage will break. British rule in India still rests on the co-operation of the people and a large section of the British people earn a living because we in India consume the goods that they manufacture. We have only to withdraw our co-operation in India to cease buying British goods and the collapse of the bureaucracy will be immediate and complete. Non-co-operation and boycott on a national scale will be possible only when the national will is roused.



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### Modus Operandi.

How to rouse the national will within the shortest period possible is then the problem before us and our policies and programme have to be drawn up with a view to this end. The Congress policy since 1921 has been a dual policy of destruction and construction, of opposition and consolidation. We feel that the bureaucracy has entrenched itself in this country by creating a net work of organizations and institutions and by appointing a hierarchy of officials to run them. These institutions are the seats of bureaucratic power and through them the bureaucracy has a grip on the very heart of the people. We have to storm these citadels of power and for that purpose we have to set up parallel institutions. These parallel organizations are our Congress offices. As our power and influence increase through the organization of Congress Committees we shall be able to capture the bureaucratic seats of power. We know from personal experience that in districts where Congress Committees are well-organized, the capture of local bodies has been possible without any difficulty. The Congress offices are therefore the forts where we have to entrench ourselves and whence we have to stir out every day in order to raid the bureaucratic citadels. Congress Committees are our army and no plan of campaign, however skilfully devised, can succeed unless we have a strong, efficient and disciplined army at our command.

I regret to say that confusion of the thought some times manifests itself within our ranks particularly when we begin to consider policies and programmes. We are apt to forget that there is a general plan of campaign which is the basis of all our activity and which we cannot by any means neglect—unless we desire to jeopardize all chances of success. This plan of campaign is the dual policy referred to above of political propaganda among the masses and with it, the removal of untouchability and intemperance, propagation of Khadi, establishment of arbitration tribunals and national schools—and of capture of local bodies and legislatures. The former will facilitate the capture of bureaucratic seats of power and the latter will in turn assist and strengthen all our work in the country—whether of a constructive or of an oppositionist character.

If we neglect the organisation of Congress Committees or our general plan of campaign we can be sure of bringing on a political slump in the country. And when we are in the midst of a depression—large doses in the shape of advanced measures will not produce any re-action. We have to remember that programmes like that of boycott of British goods are, as it were, sorties in a general campaign and these sorties of spurts are possible only when the army itself is fit and efficient. The efficiency of the national army can be maintained only by keeping up a spirit of resistance among our people. This spirit of resistance will strengthen our national morale and stimulate work in the country and in the local bodies and legislatures.

Friends, you will remember that when after the Gaya Congress of 1922 there was a tendency among a large section of our Congressmen to concentrate wholly on the constructive programme to the exclusion of everything else, Deshbandhu Das pointed out in the manifesto of the Swaraj Party that it was absolutely necessary to keep up a spirit of resistance to the bureaucracy. Deshbandhu firmly believed that without an atmosphere of opposition it was not possible to push on the constructive programme or to achieve success in any other direction. But this basic principle we often seem to forget. "Non-co-operation is barren"—"opposition has failed"—"obstruction is fruitless"—these are catch-words which mislead the unwary public. The most tragic element in our character is that we do not look ahead; we are easily upset by failures. We lack the dogged tenacity of John Bull—and unlike him we cannot therefore fight a losing game. We do not realise that during the Great War it was the tenacious nibbling policy of French's contemptible little army in the midst of a most hopeless situation which made subsequent victory possible. I, therefore, say that opposition to Government is never futile—it is the psychological basis of the nationalist movement. Through opposition alone has the principle of nationality asserted itself over and over again in history. It is only by uniform, consistent and continuous obstruction that we can keep up an atmosphere of resistance to the



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bureaucracy and develop that moral stamina, lack of which is the one psychological cause of our degradation and slavery. I ask you—how can an invertebrate subject race develop a moral backbone except by prolonged and consistent opposition to Government ?

The End.

I have often been asked how the end will come—how the bureaucracy will ultimately be forced to accede to our terms. I have no misgivings in this matter for I have already had a foretaste of what will come. The movement will reach its climax in a sort of general strike or country-wide hartal coupled with a boycott of British goods. Along with the strike or hartal to bring about which, Labour and the National Congress will heartily co-operate, there will be some form of civil disobedience, because the bureaucracy is not likely to sit idle while a strike is going on. It is also possible that there may be non-payment of taxes in some form or other but this is not essential. When this crisis is reached, the average Britisher at home will feel that to starve India politically means economic starvation for him. And the bureaucracy in India will find that it is impossible to carry on the administration in the face of a country-wide non-cooperation movement. The jails will be full, as in 1921, and there will be generally demoralization within the ranks of the bureaucracy who will no longer be able to count on the loyalty and devotion of their servants and employees. There will be a paralysis of the administration and possibly of foreign trade and commerce. The bureaucracy will consider the situation as chaotic—but from the point of view of the people, the country will be organised, disciplined and determined. The bureaucracy will then be forced to yield to the demands of the peoples' representatives—for saving themselves from unnecessary trouble and anxiety and for restoring their trade with India.

I am an optimist and I feel that though we should be prepared for the worst, we can also hope for the best. I, therefore, think that it is just possible that the movement may not have to be carried on to its logical conclusion. It is possible that Great Britain has profited by the lessons of history. It is possible that the internecine struggle with Ireland ending in England's final capitulation is still green in the minds of the British politicians. And it is possible that the remarkable words of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald are still ringing in the ears of Britishers—"India is determined to be free with our help if possible, without our help if necessary". It is therefore possible that if united India meets Great Britain with an agreed constitution as her minimum demand, the latter will find it more prudent and more paying, in the long run, to adopt a statesmanlike course and to accept and ratify that constitution. But I wish to make it perfectly clear that if for any reason the All-Parties Conference does not prove to be as successful as we wish it to be—the Congress will formulate its own demands and will carry on the movement to its logical conclusion.

## Proceedings and Resolutions.

### Release of Bengal Detenus.

After the Presidential Address was over the Conference adopted a resolution put from the Chair demanding the release of Bengal detenus, removal of restrictions on Dr. Savarkar, condemning the enhancement of revenue assessment in Bardoli, Alibag and other districts, called upon the Government of Bombay to suspend the operations of the revision of assessment and make proper amends by way of compensation in the Talukas in which enhancement has already been effected.

### Sympathy with Mill-Strikers.

Another resolution expressed sympathy with Bombay and Sholapur mill strikers, condemned the firing on them and supported the demands formulated by the Joint Strike Committee.

Another resolution expressed the disapproval of the Small Holdings Bill which was designed to prevent fragmentation and promote consolidation of land and called upon the Bombay Legislative Council to throw out the Bill,





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A number of supporters of the Bill opposed the resolution but had to run the gauntlet of hostile interruptions. The resolution was eventually passed by an overwhelming majority. The Conference then adjourned.

*SECOND DAY—4TH MAY 1928.*

Re-assembling this morning the Conference adopted a resolution expressing the opinion that in the interests of both the rulers and the people of the Indian States they should establish at an early date representative institutions and responsible government.

**Bardoli Satyagraha.**

By the next resolution the Conference fully approved Satyagraha being offered against the enhancement of land revenue at Alibag, Pen, Deogad and Bardoli, congratulated the leaders of the movement and asked the people of Maharashtra to help in the fight.

**Boycott of Simon Commission.**

A lively discussion followed on the resolution that as the British Government appointed the Statutory Commission in utter disregard of India's right of self-determination the Conference called upon Maharashtra to boycott it and have nothing to do with it at any stage and in any form.

Mr. Divekar, seconding the resolution, referred to the circular issued by Mr. S. R. Bhagwat, Secretary to the Local Self-Government Institute, inviting attention to the Simon Commission's request that the local bodies should submit memoranda and requesting those bodies to prepare their case. Mr. Divekar condemned Mr. Bhagwat's circular as a mischievous attempt to get behind the country's verdict on the question.

Mr. Bhagwat rose to support the resolution and explained that his circular only asked the local bodies to examine the position and form a case, not necessarily for submitting to the Simon Commission. It might also be submitted to the National Congress, for instance.

There were hostile interruptions at this stage, some delegates demanding that Mr. Bhagwat should circularise the local bodies again, asking them to submit memoranda to the Congress.

Mr. Bhagwat replied that the question of attitude to be adopted towards the Commission would be decided at the Local Bodies Conference to be held shortly. He could not, therefore, anticipate that decision.

Other delegates declared that since Mr. Bhagwat supported the boycott resolution there was no point in trying to censure him.

Eventually the president put the motion which was carried unanimously.

Another resolution was that as a step towards the attainment of India's goal and protest against the appointment of the Simon Commission the conference called upon the Congress Committees in Maharashtra to start a vigorous propaganda to boycott British cloth, yarn and other goods.

A resolution urging a vigorous propaganda in favour of Swadeshi cloth and goods, with special emphasis on khaddar was also passed.

Strong condemnation of the Bombay Government's excise policy and declaration of the faith in total prohibition were made in the next resolution. The speakers on this resolution condemned Government's action in giving up the proposed prohibition experiment in Satara.

The next resolution called upon each District Congress Committee to form a volunteer corps.

Other resolutions, put from the chair, urged the need of special attention to detailed study of the economic and social condition of the villages and making a sustained and concerted effort to reorganise them and appointed a propaganda committee consisting of five members to give effect to the resolutions of the Conference and undertake a programme of national work.

In his concluding remarks Mr. Bose congratulated the Conference on successful session which had restored unity within the ranks of Congressmen in the province and agreed to a common policy and programme.



# The Kerala Provincial Conference.

The Fourth Session of the Kerala Provincial Conference commenced its sitting on the 28TH MAY 1928 at Payyanur, a village in Tellicherry in the Madras Presidency where a spacious and a very beautiful pandal had been erected for this purpose.

The proceedings of the Conference commenced at 2 with the singing of national songs. About 500 delegates attended. Pt. Jawaharlal NEHRU, President, in the course of his speech said :—

“India has little in common with England and her economic interests conflict in almost every particular with those of England. An imperial bond between the two can only be an enforced union productive of ill-will and continuous friction and must of necessity be to the advantage of England.”

## Independence Resolution.

For the present however, the union must necessarily be the union of the lion and the lamb with the lamb inside the lion. This is evident if we study the relations of England with other countries like China, Persia, Mesopotamia and Egypt. She has opposed all attempts at freedom of all these countries and only recently we had an amazing example of her imperial policy in Independent Egypt. Even in regard to the countries of Europe, she is acknowledged to be the main obstacle to world peace and co-operation. It is inconceivable therefore that India can have only a real measure of freedom within the limits of the British Empire and you will welcome, I am sure, the resolutions of the Madras Congress laying down our goal as complete national Independence. This does not mean ill-will to England or to any other country, but it is a condition precedent to our future growth and to the development of peaceful relations with other countries including England. The Madras Congress resolution is important specially because it attacks the psychology of submission and slavery and helplessness which generations of foreign rule have developed in us. It prepares our minds for the will to be free without which freedom cannot come even to-day. There are so many of us who take an academic interest in Indian freedom who whilst they talk of freedom feel no inner urge for it. Doubts and difficulties assail them and fear born of a slave psychology hampers their efforts. We are told of the dangers that India may have to face in the event of England leaving us to our own resources, of the fear of foreign invasion and of our inability to cope with it, but is not realised that the strength that succeeds in enforcing India's will on England will also succeed in protecting India from other foreign incursions. It is not felt keenly enough that we are even now suffering under a foreign invasion and the future cannot bring any greater disaster to us. Not to get rid of our present domination because of future problematical dangers is the height of fear and weakness. But what external dangers will face us when the British leave India? We have an Indian army brave and efficient, well tried in many continents. It was good enough to fight for the freedom of the allies in the battle fields of Europe and it will be good enough to fight if necessary for the freedom of India and when freedom comes we shall develop our army and strengthen it and make it more efficient even than it is to-day. We have seen during the Great War how vast armies can grow up in time of need.

## International Situation.

The strength of a country depends not only on the defence force but even more so on the international situation and the balance of power. Poland, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Yugoslavia, Portugal, Bulgaria, Romania and many other countries are independent but no one of them can withstand one great power. Even the great powers cannot separately cope with a combination against them but they remain independent because none dare attack them for fear of complications that may arise. Similarly no country would dare attack a free India for fear of complications. The other countries could not tolerate that the rich prize of India should fall again to another power. But what power indeed could threaten us? France, Germany and Italy are too much involved in their mutual hatred and jealousies and are too afraid of each other to trouble us at all. The United States of America are too far away for effective action. Japan has to face the hostility of the United States and even of the Western European powers and cannot dare to embark on a new adventure which would be fraught with the greatest risks for her. Afghanistan is strong in defence but weak in



attack and it is inconceivable that with its limited resources it can do us any harm. It may at most carry out a number of successful raids before we can defeat it and hold it in check. But there is absolutely no reason why we should have any relations with Afghanistan. Russia remains the sole danger but even this danger is largely imaginary. She is preparing for war as everyone knows or ought to know that no country is in greater need of peace than Russia. The Great War, the civil war, famine and blockade have shaken her foundation and done her tremendous injury. She had made much good of her losses but above everything she desires peace to build up the new social order she has established. Experts tell us that although strong in influence she is weak in attack. Her whole Government is based on the good-will of the workers and the peasantry and she can not count on this good-will in an oppressive campaign. She had so many enemies that she dare not of her own accord start an invasion of India and leave her western flanks exposed to attack. Nor has she any economic reason to covet India. India and Russia are too alike to help each other much. Both are largely agricultural countries with raw materials and markets. Russia desires no raw material or markets. She wants capital and machinery and India can supply neither. We thus see that no danger threatens India from any direction and even if there is any danger, we shall be able to cope with it.

It may be, however, that we are unable to cope with it and go down in the struggle. That risk must be faced as it has been faced by every brave people in history. Because of risk we cannot give up our birthright or take the shameful position of asking for the British help to defend our country and liberties. We must make it clear that on no account are we prepared to have the British forces in our country. The alien army of occupation must be withdrawn.

#### Independence and Parties.

It is said that by laying stress on Independence, we antagonise other parties in the country just when the need for the unity was the greatest. Unity is certainly most desirable but can unity be achieved by the sacrifice of our principles? Our opponents and even those of our colleagues for whose sake we sacrifice our principles will respect us the less for it. Let us respect sentiments and even prejudices of others. But let us not give in on any matter which we consider vital. The Congress has already shown its desire to co-operate whenever it can with other groups and parties without giving up our ideals and our goal. We have co-operated whole-heartedly with others for the boycott of the Simon Commission and are to-day co-operating with numerous groups in the All-Parties Conferences. We could give no greater evidence of our good-will and our tolerance cannot extend to sacrifice of the principle and the goal. And the ideal we have set before us is too vivid to be forgotten or discarded for a temporary compromise. The road we have to travel is a long one and for the same distance it is a common road for others as well. Let us travel together respecting each other and it may be that when one reaches the cross roads we may have converted many of others to our view. If we fail to do so we would agree to differ and part company without rancour, or ill-will.

You must have been disappointed at the proceedings of the All Parties Conference in Bombay and yet the very fact that we are having so much difficulty in finding a solution to contending claims shows that we are at grips with the real problem. By ignoring them or making a patch work compromise we cannot solve them. It is a measure of our earnestness that we are trying to face them squarely and I have every hope that if we continue to do so we shall find a solution.

#### Fear Dominates.

What are these problems we hear, of controversies about the separation of Sind and separate and joint electorates and reservation of seats? But if you go to the bottom of all this you find one all pervading cause. It is fear of the Muslim that the Hindus may exterminate him, the fear of the Hindu that the Muslim may crush him, the fear of each community or group. It is a senseless fear. To protect itself each community wants a privileged and dominating position in each province. Surely no group should dominate over another and the rights of each should be safeguarded. The communal organisations, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League each desire domination and there can be no compromise between the two. Are we then to give up the task as hopeless? The duty of the Congress and of all other organisations which are not based on pure communalism is clear. After paying due regard to the fears whether justified or not they must evolve a constitution which should be as just and reasonable as can be expected under the circumstances and then should place it before the country. The Moslem League and the Hindu Mahasabha may oppose it in details. But there can be nothing which can



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satisfy both of them. And the country as a whole I feel sure will accept it if it is based on reason and justice.

### Ideal Constitution.

Unhappily it is not possible in this world of ours to-day to produce an ideal constitution. We cannot ignore prejudice and unreason but let us at any rate try to approximate to the ideal as far as we can. The history of India tells us that danger has always come because of the want of central authority. We have had too much decentralisation. If we are to build up a strong India we must have central Government but we can not afford to kill the rich and varying cultures of India by having too much uniformity and discouraging local effort and enterprise. In other countries the tendency to-day is to give full local autonomy to cultural areas. We must, therefore, while laying stress on a strong central Government accept the principle of giving considerable autonomy to different areas having traditions and cultures of their own. The best test of a culture is that of language. There may be too many small autonomous areas. The economic life of the country may suffer but this can be safe-guarded by the giving of powers to large areas including several autonomous cultural areas. If this principle is kept in mind and if in addition we have joint electorates and proper safeguards for all the minorities and backward groups, I think we might evolve a satisfactory constitution for the transition period at least. Let us hope that the committee which the All-Parties Conference has appointed will meet with success in drawing up this constitution. It is becoming clear that the Indian States cannot be ignored or excluded. Nothing can be more fatal for India than a division between the two independent entities. The problem has become an urgent one because we find that efforts are being made to raise a barrier between the two parts of India and should they meet with success it will become difficult for us not only to have a united Indian States but also to achieve freedom in what is called British India. Recently a scheme has been published on behalf of a number of Indian provinces under a superficial garb of good-will to the British India. This scheme lays down the dangerous principle of separation of Indian States and so far as the people of the States are concerned, we are told that they will live under a rule of law. We know well what rule of law and order means. This scheme must therefore be combated by us not only in British India but in the states. Even such of the ruling princes as are wise and far-seeing enough should reject it and take their stand by their own people and by the people of British India. We stand together and nothing must be allowed to separate us. But is it not feasible to boycott British cloth only as it will creep in under various disguises.

We must therefore boycott all foreign cloth. There has been some talk of an alliance between khaddar and Indian mill cloth to bring about this boycott. But as you know the mill-owners have refused to respond to Indian nationalist sentiment and are at present engaged in crushing the poor workers whom they have exploited: so far as we know, that in the past they have made vast profits because of the Swadeshi sentiment and recently they have not hesitated to exploit the khadi sentiment of the people by manufacturing khadi with Gandhi's picture and the charka printed on their cloth, it is not possible for them to co-operate with khadi but with foreign cloth and also agree to treat the workers properly. They refuse to do so and prefer co-operation. There is only one course open to us. We must lay stress on hand-spun khadi only.

We must make it clear to the mill-owners that their own interests dictate that they should co-operate with the nationalist India and not with the alien Government. When they have realised that, they will be in a proper frame of mind to work with us.

### Bardoli Struggle.

You are no doubt aware of the great struggle that is going on at Bardoli. It is an economical struggle but there is little to distinguish economics from politics to-day, so also is the gallant struggle of mill workers of Bombay. Against the great odds of such struggle is a nation's strength built up. Bardoli has ceased to be a provincial affair. The whole country is watching it with eager interest and I have no doubt that you will send your greetings and best wishes.

## Proceedings and Resolutions.

After Pandit Jawaharlal had finished his extempore speech the Conference adjourned and re-assembled on the next day, the 29TH MAY, in the noon and passed the following resolutions:—

- (1) The first resolution recorded deep sorrow at the death of Maganlal Gandhi and



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hoped that the people of Kerala would contribute to the fund started for establishing a khadi museum as his memorial.

(2) The second resolution was of opinion that in future constitutions Kerala should be a separate province.

(3) The third resolution reiterated its complete faith in the absolute innocence of Mr. M. P. Narayana Menon and opined that in continuing to keep him in jail in the face of the unanimous demand of the public and the Council the Government is guilty of gross injustice.

(4) The fourth resolution appealed to the public of Kerala to do away with untouchability and unapproachability.

(5) The fifth resolution extended its heartiest greetings to the brave men and women of Bardoli in their struggle for justice and called upon the people of Kerala to render them all the help that they could.

(6) The sixth resolution called upon the people of Malabar to continue the boycott of the Simon Commission in every form and at every stage and the representative from Malabar in the Provincial Council and in the Assembly to give full effect to this boycott.

(7) The next resolution was of opinion that the legislation giving fixity of tenure and protection from arbitrary enactment to all the tenants of Malabar should be immediately enacted.

(8) The eighth resolution called upon the people to refrain from purchasing as far as possible all British goods and requested the Provincial Committee specially to take immediate steps to prepare a list of such British goods as can and should be totally boycotted.

(9) The next resolution requested the All-Indian Spinners' Association to set apart khadi funds collected in Kerala for the development of khadi producing centres and sale departments in Kerala itself. Further it requested the All-India Spinners' Association to organise the Kerala branch of A. I. S. A.

(10) The resolution relating to the boycott of British goods was moved from the chair and passed unanimously.

(11) Another resolution urged upon the people of Kerala to boycott foreign cloths by using khaddar exclusively.

(12) The next resolution condemned the scheme of colonisation in the Andamans started by the Government to send away the Moplah families from Malabar against the repeated and unanimous protest of the people. The Conference condemned government's policy of continuing to keep in jail the Malabar Rebellion prisoners who were not guilty of any grave offence involving personal violence.

### (13) Relation with Indian States.

"This Conference is strongly of opinion", runs the next resolution, "that Indian States are an integral and indivisible part of India and cannot be politically or economically separated from it. The Conference is therefore of opinion that the constitution of India must comprise the States. This conference is further of opinion that the present unlimited autocracy of Indian Princes is a standing menace both to the people of the States and of British India and that the constitution of United India should provide for a responsible Government in the States."

Further the president was authorised to communicate this resolution to the All-India Congress Committee and the All-Parties Conference.

(14) The next resolution welcomed the resolution passed at the Madras Congress laying down complete national Independence as the goal of the people of India. This resolution was moved from the chair and passed unanimously.

### (15) Change of Congress Creed.

This over, Mr. Madhava Nair moved the following resolution:—"This conference recommends to the Congress to be held in Calcutta in December next that the present creed of the Congress be changed to that of attainment of complete Independence for India." The resolution was opposed by Mr. Manjeri Rama Ayer, Mr. U. Gopala Menon and others.

The President Pundit Jawaharlal before taking vote addressed the audience on the resolution. He said that it appeared to him that there was a great deal of confusion of thought in regard to the resolution. References to Bhishma and Avimanyu had been made and the respective merits of Dominion Status and Independence discussed. He would, therefore, try to clear up the position and try to sum up as a judge and leave it to the delegates to decide. There was no question before them of Dominion Status against independence. The Congress at Madras had already declared our goal to be independence.



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and this Conference had welcomed that resolution only a short while ago, so it was entirely beside the point to discuss our objective that had been settled. So far as the Congress was concerned the resolution before them sought merely to make a recommendation to the Congress that it should be limited to those who believe in independence. Its doors were open to those who desired Dominion Status. It was open to them to come and convert the majority to their views. The resolution shut this door. It thus raised a vital question, although it did so in the shape of a recommendation only.

Continuing he said: "We have thus to consider which is more desirable of the two methods of carrying on the fight, either having a single-minded group, small it may be but, strong in its convictions or a large group joining together for a lesser objective. I have no doubt that a strong and single minded minority is more effective than a vague majority. But a further question arises whether the whole of the Congress should be this minority, or whether this minority should try to make the Congress an exclusive body. This question cannot be decided on the pure grounds of principle; we have to take into consideration the actual facts of the situation. The position in India to-day must be examined and our decision can only be taken after we have fully considered this aspect. The question is there full of difficulty. I cannot at this stage go into the full consideration of the position to-day in the country. Besides I told you that I would merely try to clear the point at issue to sum up as a judge and leave the decision to you. You have already had so many speakers for and against, that I do not wish to make another lengthy contribution to debate. I would only as President point out the difficulties to you and ask you to decide regardless of appeals to sentiment which has been made."

The resolution was put to vote and carried by a majority amidst shouts of "Bande Mataram". After the concluding speech of the President the conference ended with a vote of thanks proposed to the Chair by Mr. U. Gopala Menon.

## Karnatak Provincial Conference.

The fifth session of the Karnatak Provincial Conference was held at Dharwar on the 27TH MAY 1928 under the presidency of Mr. K. F. Nariman. The President referring to the present political situation detailed the history of the British rule in India at some length and said:—

"In short, the history of this administration may be recorded briefly in a few words by a series of destruction such as the economic destruction as illustrated by the pitiable condition of the agriculturists, the mental destruction as evidenced by the utter neglect of education amongst the masses, the physical destruction as has been achieved by emasculation by the Arms Act, and last but not the least the destruction of the very soul and spirit of India by the imposition of such a farcical, hypocritical and fraudulent constitution as the one under which by misnomer is called "The Government of India Reforms Act", whereas as a matter of fact, far from reforming the constitution, it has thoroughly deformed the whole administration.

"Such is the result of the administration after a long experiment of century and more and the only justification of our rulers in continuing their existence from their own standpoint is their supposed fitness and superiority to carry on the administration in refusing to hand over the reins of their government to our own countrymen is our unfitness to discharge the heavy responsibilities of the Government."

### No Charm For Us.

"After the ignominious record of over a century of the British Raj, it is but natural that the British Empire should not have any particular charm for us. If this Imperial unit called the British Empire is a hindrance in our way and obstructs our passage to freedom and emancipation then we will sooner get rid of this Empire than give up our struggle for freedom. There is a limit of human



patience and human suffering. Even the docile, timid halting and cautious people of India are tired of the game. The most recent Imperial outrage, an admixture of fraud and folly, the "Simon Commission" has come as a last kick even to our moderate and liberal friends. Even these friends of the British have discovered rather late in the day that the British statesmen whom they had hitherto considered as their genuine and sincere allies and on whose good-faith and bona-fides they all along depended to attain their modest goal of Dominion Home Rule are the greatest humbugs, and they all these years have been fooled by the British Buffoons of the Imperial Parliament. This discovery is of immense political importance and of very great political significance. This discovery has led to the political unity of all parties in India because the cause of the split is now luckily removed.

#### Boycott—A Settled Fact.

"So far as this part of the country is concerned, I take it for granted that complete Boycott of the Simon Commission is a settled fact. The Commission is based on the arrogant presumption of British Race superiority and Indian unfitness. It is not possible to fool this country any more by such hypocritical and fraudulent parliamentary devices.

By this time even a child in this country knows that the British want to continue their hold on India for the most immoral and selfish consideration of profiteering and exploitation. Britain will not voluntarily part with such a vast and lucrative dumping ground for the British unemployed and such resourceful hunting ground for the British exploiters. Their false pretences of British trusteeship and solicitude for the teeming masses or for protection from internal discord or external aggression deceives no one. It is only when India has been bled to the last drop of her blood and there is no further field for British exploitation, British loot and British profiteering that the British capitalists will feel that all the wealth and resources have been sufficiently drained off and the country is left dry and unfruitful, then and then alone will the British Parliament consider the Indians fit to manage their own affairs and India fit for the Dominion Status. If Indian's fitness is to be judged by a Nation outside India, if scores of Indian communities cannot be trusted to be the judges of their own affairs, then on that account the British Parliament and the British nation shall be the last persons on the Earth to be accepted as impartial judges.

"So far as our presidency is concerned, the efficiency and fitness of our Rulers is simply proved and demonstrated by that most efficient and up-to-date working of the Development Department! I do not think there is any other Government or private Department in any other part of the world, East or West, civilised or uncivilised, modern or ancient, either a small native state or a large foreign state, that will come up to this important department of the Government of Bombay in point of corruption, fraud, inefficiency, waste of public funds and callous disregard of public interests. We should have thought that after these ruthless exposures we should have heard no more of the alleged superiority and efficiency of the British administrators. If an Indian administration had been guilty of such vandalism, such gross mismanagement, such open day-light loot and corruption, through sheer sense of shame, it would have retired from field and never shown its face to the public, but the British administrators in this country, by their long habit of bossing and bluffing, have not only become heated, arrogant and proud, but have also lost all sense of shame.

"After such exposures and positive proof of their inefficiency and dishonesty instead of submitting to an examination to prove their own fitness for future government before a board of Indian judges, they still desire to pose as judge, and question our fitness and capacity to manage our own affairs".

"The only course open to a self-respecting Indian patriot is to ignore this Commission altogether not only because it has not included one or two Indians but because we question the right of the British Parliament, the Parliament of a nation outside India, to sit in judgment over us and to be our dictators. India may be in chains, India may be in bondage, she may be poverty-stricken and in a physically helpless condition but she will not allow even the proudest and



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most arrogant and most powerful race on earth to insult her. She will preserve her self-respect because Indian soul and spirit is not yet dead. We may not be able to get our freedom for some time but in the meantime we will not be willing instruments in the hands of our enemy, we will not willingly co-operate with them and help them to fasten additional links in the chain of our slavery.

### Constructive Work Needed.

"But the mere boycott of the Commission is, to my mind, not enough. It is a mere negative programme asking us to refrain from certain action in order to keep the agitation alive. It is necessary to have side by side with the negative programme, some constructive positive proposals and active propaganda. Our first and immediate task in this direction should be the preparation of a constitution for the future Government of India, that would be generally acceptable to all. Lord Birkenhead with his usual swelled headedness and pride has challenged India to frame such a constitution. If we have an ounce of self-respect left in us we should accept that challenge and frame such a constitution and fling it in the face of Lord Birkenhead and his arrogant colleagues of the British Parliament.

"Our duty is plain and simple. Having lost all faith in the British, having lost all hopes of securing justice and fair-play from this selfish nation, obviously we have to agitate and create a situation in India by our individual efforts till the hands of our opponents are forced and they are compelled to acknowledge our birth-right and leave the country in good time with all bag and baggage.

"In order to create that desired and much aspired situation in India it is necessary for us to start a persistent organised and forceful campaign throughout the country.

### Boycott of British Cloth.

"In order that the country and the Nation might be prepared for such a campaign and for such self-sacrifice and exertions, it is necessary to concentrate on some definite means, particularly on some constructive agitation and programme. Boycott of foreign goods and particularly British cloth might occupy our first attention. Though a very weak weapon, still under the present circumstances it is the only effective economic weapon in our hands both to expose our feelings and to relieve the economic pressure in this country. The nation that gave birth to Dyer and O'Dwyer and sent them to this land for inhuman butcheries, deserves no quarter, no mercy, no consideration at the hands of any single patriotic Indian. This feeling, not of hatred but resentment, of the people of India is genuine and real and based on solid foundation of justice.

"Other problems that are to be faced and solved instead of shelved under one pretext or another, are the communal problem of Hindu-Moslem unity and the sectarian problem of Untouchability.

### Untouchability.

"As regards the question of untouchability, I desire to be rather emphatic and clear in my expression of opinion. Unless and until this class domination is removed root and branch, our case for Swaraj is considerably weakened and loses a great deal of its force. With what justification and with what face we complain of foreign domination, foreign exploitation in this country so long we permit in any form or any shape this cruel and unreasonable class domination over our own brethren and our kith and kin. These foreigners who dominate have at least the justification, howsoever unreasonable or unjust, of conquest, but to my mind there is no justification of any kind in perpetuating this adverse and invidious system. We must face and overcome this local and indigenous orthodoxy as much as the foreign bureaucracy, for to my mind they both are equally detrimental to the ordinary progress and prosperity of the country and obstruct as much the attainment of our ultimate goal.

### Hindu-Moslem Unity.

"The next knotty point is the Hindu-Muslim Unity. You must admit and face the fact that the relations between the two communities are not of a nature



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that is desirable for the political and economical progress of the country; but I also believe that these differences at times are greatly exaggerated by our opponents to serve their nefarious and selfish objects, and very often they are engineered and ignited by the interested parties. However, the All-Parties Conference is striving to solve that problem and it is hoped that with leaders like Dr. Ansari, Pundit Motilal, Lala Lajpatrai and Madan Mohon Malaviya, on our side, the problem will soon be solved to the satisfaction of all.

"I refer to the struggle, the brave peasants of Bardoli are carrying on against a most unscrupulous and powerful opponent, a life and death struggle which is not only to decide this small insignificant issue of enhanced land assessment question of Bardoli alone, but to my mind is a pitched battle that will go a great way to decide the larger issues of freedom or slavery for the whole of this country. I ask you to consider the importance and magnitude of that struggle, and I feel constrained to state that this agitation is not meeting with that support and response that it fully deserves not only from the Presidency of Bombay but also from the whole country.

"My last appeal, as usual, is to the youth of the province, and through this province to the youth of the whole country. This awakening of the youth is the real hopeful sign of the times, the one silver lining in the clouds of depression and darkness. I have not the least doubt that with this new awakening of the youth, who will always be acting with the co-operation and guidance of the elders, the goal of Swaraj for which we are all struggling and aspiring is not very distant, and although unfortunately we are all born slaves but we will gain our emancipation and freedom before we quit this Motherland."

### Resolutions.

After the presidential address was over 24 resolutions were adopted of which the important were the Independence Resolution and resolutions on the boycott of the Commission, Bardoli Satyagraha, unification of Karnatak, removal of untouchability and forest grievances in North Canara. Pandit Taranath moved a resolution urging Indian princes to give responsible Government to their people. Mr. Hosakoppa Krishna Rao moved a resolution for including the Indian States in the Swaraj constitution for India as Swarajya without Indian States is unthinkable and unworkable. His resolution elicited a warm debate in the Subjects Committee and was unanimously adopted in the open conference. The President Mr. Nariman in concluding the proceedings congratulated the organisers on the unadulterated success of the conference and wishing the coming conference invited at Belgaum to be a greater success.

The Conference closed its sittings amidst loud and prolonged cheers.

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# The All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

The eleventh session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha opened at Jubbulpore on the 8TH APRIL 1928 at 4 p.m. in the spacious and very tastefully decorated pandal which was packed with delegates and visitors. A large number of ladies were also present. Many leaders were unavoidably absent and therefore when Pandit Malaviya unexpectedly made his appearance, a wave of mild enthusiasm was witnessed.

Rai Bahadur Mathuraprasad, Chairman of the Reception Committee, did not read his printed address of welcome but made extempore speech on the same lines. He declared that the Hindu Sabha movement arose to solve the problems of Sangathan, Shuddi and the uplift of untouchables. It was never meant to be aggressive nor did it seek to hatch plots against other communities. The Chairman appealed to all Hindus to give up the beaten track and strike out out a new course of conduct according to the changed circumstance. In conclusion, he briefly outlined a programme for the Hindu Sabha.

## The Presidential Address.

Before Mr. Kelkar took the chair His Holiness Shri Shankaracharya blessed the movement in a Sanskrit speech.

In the course of a lengthy presidential address Mr. KELKAR made a broad survey of the purpose of Hindu Mahasabha and the justification of its activities of Shuddhi and Sangathan and Hindu-Moslem compromise proposals. He asked the Hindu Community to go on with the organisation of the society without being afraid of the accusation that it was a narrowly communal movement. He justified Shuddhi movement as the logical reaction against the proselytising activities of the other communities. Mr. Kelkar then dealt at great length with the Hindu-Moslem compromise proposals and by an analysis of the position taken up by the Moslem League, Congress and Hindu Sabha he showed that the attitude taken up by the Hindu Sabha was the most reasonable. He criticised Mr. Jinnah's policy of presenting the compromise proposals on behalf of the Mahomedans in a solid block which could be either accepted or rejected as a whole and which, therefore, Mr. Kelkar said were mainly responsible for the impasse.

Regarding Hindu-Muslim problems Mr. Kelkar said :—

On the merits of Joint electorates, both parties are agreed. The Hindus objected to communal electorates from the beginning, and Mr. Jinnah has now openly admitted the futility of communal electorates, even from the point of view of Mahomedans. Both recognise that Joint electorates will have the effect of returning, in the elections, men of either community who are less bigotted or less typically communal than others. This would so far be a decided gain by itself, and the resulting benefit would be not only to any one community, but to the whole nation. On their merits, therefore, both parties should agree to joint electorates.

## Reservation of Seats.

The demand of the Mahomedans for reservation of seats under mixed electorates is, in my opinion, perfectly reasonable, at any rate, to commence with. The reservation could be made on two principles :—

- (1) Strength of population, and
- (2) Tax paying or electoral strength of the minority community.

Now, taxpaying qualification can alone be a legitimate claim for a vote in political democracy. But the Hindus have declared their readiness to agree to reservation for Mahomedans of seats even according to the population basis. I do say that this is a concession on the part of Hindus, and the Mahomedans should accept it as a concession,



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But the reservation of seats even for a "majority" population in any province is, I must say, simply an absurd demand. It strikes at the very root of the fusion of interests to be secured by the natural operation of joint electorates. It shows want of communal self-confidence by Mahomedans in themselves which, however has never been realised in practice before, in fact, this double propping up of reservation for a "minority" and reservation for a majority, is absolutely unnecessary and indefensible.

The same considerations apply to the demand of the reservation of one-third seats in the central legislature. If reservation is to be made on the basis of population, the Mahomedans would get and should be satisfied with the proportional quota which would be due to them, and would be returned to the Central Legislature by each Province.

### Reforms in N. W. Frontier Province.

As for the Reforms in N. W. F. Province and Baluchistan I may say that as a resolution this subject was passed without a division in the Legislative Assembly in the last session, and without opposition from the Hindus, there should be no doubt or difficulty about understanding the attitude of the Hindus towards this demand. If this question were to be considered on its own merits, I am personally in favour of the amalgamation of the Settled Districts with the Punjab rather than the grant of these reforms to the N. W. F. Province as at present constituted. At any rate I shall never be prepared to concede either proposal as a "condition" of communal settlement. The demand put forward by the Mahomedans in the present manner necessarily gives political reforms a communal character, and the Mahomedans should not blame the Hindus, if the demand for political reforms made in a communal spirit is also demurred to in a communal spirit.

### Separation of Sind.

As for the separation of Sind, the same considerations apply also in this case. One can legitimately ask for the separation of Sind only if it can be proved that, as a matter of administrative efficiency or the economic well-being of the population as a whole, it is desirable to separate it from Bombay. But no secret has been made of the fact that the separation of Sind is being demanded for no other than communal reasons, and with the object of securing a set off or an additional hostage in Mahomedan hands as against the advantage which the Hindus have over the Muslim minorities in other provinces. If provinces are to be reorganised on the linguistic basis or any other principle, let those principles be applied to Sind along with the rest of India. There is no point in the Muslim's insistence upon the separation of Sind immediately and apart from the reformation of the Andhra, Karnatak, etc., as separate provinces. It does not seem to be realised that provincial reorganization is a very difficult problem, and no one should be easily misled by the example of the National Congress in redrafting its constitution seven years ago, could easily form new provinces for its own administration and propaganda purposes on the linguistic basis, because it involved not a pie worth of extra expenditure to anybody. No one can seriously suggest, however, that the regrouping of provinces for actual political administration, involving as it does, an expenditure of crores of rupees, is on the same footing as the distribution of provinces under the Congress Government. The linguistic basis is, of course, a plausible criterion. But it would be wrong to assume that all provinces could be reorganized on that basis for political administration immediately, though there may be a vocal demand for it ever now by several provinces. It would be still more wrong to seek the separation of a province like Sind for manifestly communal reasons. An important question like the redistribution of a province which affects vitally the welfare of the population as a whole ought not to be decided by the strength of a communal majority alone; it should have behind it the support of a considerable section of the minority community also. Even those, who in the National Congress, favoured a resolution for an immediate beginning of Sind, Andhra, Karnatak and Utkal as new linguistic provinces, were not satisfied with the financial merits of the proposition, as has been proved by the appoint-



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ment of a Committee for considering the financial position of Sind though strictly speaking the Committee should have been given the task of inquiring into the cases of Andhra, Karnatak, Utkal as well at the same time. The appointment of the Committee is again futile, when we take into account the fact that Mr. Jinnah's block presentation of Muslim demands so far stands as it is, in case the decision of the Committee were conceivably adverse to the separation of Sind.

### Public Services.

As regards the demand for reservation of a share for the Mahomedans in all public services, I must say that I personally cannot agree to it on principle. The thing can be easily reduced to an absurdity in practice. I confess, I have no idea as to how shares are to be carved out and maintained from time to time for particular communities in every administrative department. Logically there must also be proportionate division of total amount of salaries or grades of seniority. The Government have already gone or are going as far as they could, out of their pronounced good-will for the Mahomedans, and consistently with the maintenance of minimum efficiency in administration. Fixed numerical shares in representation in elective body is a practical proposition, but the reservation of posts in public services in every administrative department is a sheer absurdity.

As regards the veto on initiation of legislative matters in legislative bodies to be given to Mahomedans, I have no clear idea as to how that can be done. But I do think that some understanding will have to be arrived at, in this direction. Even as it is, in the working of the present legislative bodies, we find that religious and communal matters are dealt with in an unsatisfactory manner, owing to the hurly burly of the legislative procedure. But that is a subject on which I am not prepared to offer any more definite views at present.

### Resolutions.

The full text of the resolutions passed in the Mahasabha by an overwhelming majority only five voting against, runs as follows:—

(1) "The Hindu Mahasabha reiterates its conviction that communal representation is fundamentally opposed to the principle of responsible Government and regards the following propositions as essential to be incorporated in any future constitution of the country:—(a) that there shall be uniformity of franchise for all committees in each province; (b) that elections to elective bodies shall be by mixed electorates; (c) that there shall be no reservation of seats on communal considerations in any of the elective bodies and educational institutions, but to start with it a minority community in any province was to demand reservation of seats, such reservation may be granted only in the Legislatures for a short period and on the basis mentioned in the clause; (d) in no circumstances, however, shall there be any reservation of seats in favour of any majority community; (e) the basis or representation of different communities shall be uniform, such as adult population, voting strength, or taxation; (f) redistribution of provinces in India if and when necessary shall be made on their merits in the light of the principles capable of general application with due regard to administrative, financial and similar other considerations, but no new provinces shall be created with the object of giving a majority to any particular community; (g) with regard to the Muslim demand for the separation of Sindh the Hindu Maha Sabha is of opinion that the creation of new provinces primarily or solely with a view to increasing the number of provinces in which a particular community shall be in majority is fraught with danger to the growth of sound nationalism in the country and will divide India into Hindu India and Muslim India.

(2) As the redistribution of any province without the consent and agreement of the two major communities residing in that province is likely to increase the area of communal conflict and endanger relations between the two major communities not only in the province but throughout India, and

(3) As the separation of Sindh will not only be a costly financial proposition, but would also arrest its economic development and its educational advancement and deprive the people of Sindh of many undeniable benefits of their association



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with the more advanced people of other parts of the Bombay Presidency in their economic as well as political development, Sin'h should not be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

(4) In case of provinces like North West Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Scheduled Districts steps should be taken to secure with as little delay as possible the benefit of a regular system of administration both judicial and executive so as to leave no ground for refusing them the full benefit of the future reformed constitution of the Government of India.

(6) There shall be no communal representation in public services which must be open to all communities on the basis of merit and competency ascertained through open competitive tests.

(6) This meeting appoints the following committee to confer with any committees appointed by other public bodies for the purpose of drafting a Swaraj constitution for India. The committee is directed to adhere strictly to fundamental propositions laid down in the above resolution. The President is authorised to amend the list as the situation arise—

Dr. Moonje, the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair, Member, Council of State, Mr. C. Vijairaghava Chariar of Salem, Mahatma Hansraj, Bhai Parmanand Dewan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath, the Hon'ble Rai Ramsarandas Bahadur, Member, Council of State, Professor Gulshan Rai, Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, Pandit Devaratna Sharma, Hari Har Swaroop Shastri, Neki Ram Sharma, Babu Jagat Narainlal, the Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K. C. I. E. Member, Council of State, Kunwar Rananjaya Singh, Shanker Misra, Harish Chandra Bajpai, Mukut Beharilal Bhargava, Kumar Ganganand Sinha, Hirendra Nath Dutt, Mr. K. C. Neogi, Padamaraj Jain, M. S. Aney, Dr. Cholker, Dr. Choithram, Mr. Jairamdas Daulat Ram, Prof. H. L. Chabiani, La'a Sri Ram Lala Deshbandhu, and Mr. Shivdas Chamsi. The amendment moved by Sardar Narmadaprasad Sinha which was seconded by Mr. Mukut Beharilal Bhargava supported by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was for deleting clause (f) on the ground that its purpose was amply served by clause (e) which all of them fully supported. Without clause (f) the resolution was the same as the February resolution of the All-India Hindu Sabha meeting at Delhi which was placed before the All-Parties Conference. It is not the same as the All Parties Conference resolution which contemplates the possibility of separation of the Sindh on the fulfilment of certain conditions and which was dissented to by Maha Sabha representatives. It is wrong to state that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and a few others supported in the Conference the decision of the All-Parties Conference in favour of the separation of Sindh.

The mover and the supporter of the amendment spoke against the separation of Sindh. Pandit Malaviya interrupting, Dr. Moonje's suggestion that he might favour the separation expressly repudiated this interpretation of his attitude and said he entirely supported the Delhi resolution of the All-India Hindu Sabha.

The amendment secured only five votes and was defeated. The C. P. delegates, including tried Congressmen and thorough nationalists present in the Assembly solidly voted in favour of the main resolution.

## The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference.

The fourth session of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference held its first sitting at Mymensingh on the 21ST APRIL 1928 amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. The huge pandal was tastefully decorated with wreaths, multi-coloured flags and numerous mottos befitting the occasion. There was a large attendance of delegates and visitors. Many lady delegates were also present. Amongst the distinguished persons were Dr.



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Moonje, Bhai Parmanand, Swami, Satyanand, Swami Viswanand, S. Padamraj Jain and many local zemindars as well as a large number of Brahmin pandits hailing from different parts of the district. After the "Bande Mataram" song the Chairman of the Reception Committee read his speech welcoming the delegates.

### The Chairman's Address.

Maharaja Bhupendra Ch. Singha of Susang in course of his address as the Chairman of the Reception Committee after offering a cordial welcome to the assembled delegates dwelt on the steady evolution of Hindu religion and culture under the conserving influence of Barnasram Dharma and the free spirit of Vaishnavism.

He also referred to the rise of Islam in these parts and emphasised the extremely fraternal relations between the sister communities to which not only a living memory but literature of the type of the Mymensingh ballads so refreshingly testify.

He pleaded for the restoration of the time-honoured amity by rooting out from the minds of the Mahomedans the seeds of antagonism. He reproved the dubious methods of conversion pursued by Christian agencies among the hill people and the depressed classes and called upon the conference to decide the question of proselytisation and removal of social disabilities of the lower sections.

The speaker concluded by citing among other questions for consideration the need of devising suitable methods of reclaiming dishonoured women, the desirability of arbitration for settlement of social dissensions and the provision of adequate representation for minorities in Bengal.

The President Mohamopadhyaya Pramathanath Tarkabhusan then rose amidst cheers and delivered his presidential address.

### The President's Address.

The President who rose to speak amidst scenes of deep enthusiasm stimulated by the singing of the national song by a chorus of girls delivered a striking address which he frequently supplemented by extempore comments.

He said that he undertook the responsibility though conscious of the stupendous nature of the task for which his capacity was too limited, because he had robust faith in the power of their united call born of honest purpose, and if he could say anything satisfactory in the conference it should be regarded as due to the influence that their united call would exert on him rather than to his own individual merit.

### Present Condition of Hindus.

Referring to the present condition of the Hindu race the president said that in no period of Indian history the Hindus were faced with such a terrible catastrophe as at present. To think how many forces have arrayed themselves to exterminate Hinduism from the face of the earth is sure to give rise to terror and despair in the heart of every Hindu. On the one hand the grinding poverty, appalling ignorance, disunion and evergrowing mutual jealousy among the Hindus and on the other the materialistic civilisation of other countries with their thoughtfulness, pride of wealth and invincible self-conceit are trying to destroy what is good, pure and captivating in Hinduism. The present day Hindus who have not only forgot their past but have lost even the power to guess what would be their future were



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not in the least ashamed to pave their way for the destruction of the whole race for their individual selfish ends.

He then eulogised those who had established branches of the Hindu Mahasabha in different provinces of India as their actions bespoke of patriotism and love of religion. As regards the future of the Hindus the President could see a silver lining to all these disheartening aspect of the present time. He maintained that the Hindus in near future would permeate the whole world with their ideal and bring peace and happiness by the spiritual elevation of mankind. Though disliked by selfish peoples in whom beastly propensities predominate the Hindus would continue living till eternity.

### Characteristics of Hinduism.

Dwelling on the characteristics of Hinduism the president said Hindus differed from other races in that they had the wonderful powers of mouldering every antagonistic feeling in themselves as well as in others in such a way as to make it help their own elevation. No nation had been able to make others as its own as the Hindus did. The Hindus never stood in the way of other races coming into the Hindu fold by preserving their respective distinctness. In this connection he mentioned the cases of the Sakas, Yavanas, Hunas and others who came to India either for conquest or trade and who took what were good and pure in Hinduism and prided themselves in proclaiming Hindus. Continuing, the President said history is full of instances of foreigners embracing Hinduism. He referred to the cave writings recently discovered at "Beshanagar" which recorded the conversion of Heliodora, a foreigner. He cited "Vaishnavism, Sainism and minor religious system" by Sir R. G. Vandarkar for further reference on the subject. Many instances of foreigners being converted to Hinduism, the president said, may be cited.

The President next compared the present state of degradation in the Hindu race with its ancient days of glory. The greatest enemy that the Hindus have to fight, the president said, is within themselves—their want of confidence in their own power, greatness and their own self.

The presidential speech was occasionally punctuated by cheers and it was much appreciated by the audience. After the conclusion of the president's speech the sitting was adjourned.

### The Subjects Committee Meeting.

The Subjects Committee met inside the Town Hall and no outsider was allowed in. Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed amongst the delegates on account of the manner, method and personnel of the Subjects Committee as being confined to a particular group controlled by the Calcutta Hindu Sava. The allegations were made that election of members to the Subjects Committee was not made with due notice and in conformity with the usual constitutional procedure. It transpired that speeches were made in the Subjects Committee by some of the prominent members of the Calcutta Hindu Sava declaring that protection of Hindu rights was the only consideration which should guide the Hindu in all their endeavours and for the attainment of this they were prepared to sacrifice the Congress and the Hindu-Moslem unity. When the Jubbulpur resolution about the Unity Conference proposal came up for discussion objections were made that no political question should be discussed in the Hindu Sava. While the committee adopted the Jubbulpore resolution by a majority of votes, it declined



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to discuss any resolution on the Simon Commission. The leakage of those discussions and the manner of the formation of a Subjects Committee created immense sensation.

### In the Open Session.

The atmosphere was electrical when the Conference reassembled in the evening. A printed notice was given to the President by some of the delegates to form a new Subjects Committee, as the Committee already formed was unconstitutional. After the condolence and a non-controversial resolution were moved from the chair and adopted the president appealed to the objectors to waive their objections, though he fully admitted that the Subjects Committee was not properly constituted, as formation of a new Subjects Committee was not possible at that stage. This was ultimately accepted by the Oppositionists when the President declared that before the Conference met to-morrow a new Subjects Committee would be formed according to constitutional rules to discuss the remaining proposals.

Mr. Makhan Lal Sen proposed the Jubbulpore resolution for adoption which was seconded by Mr. Ananga Mohon Dam and Mr. Charu Chandra Ray proposed an amendment for putting off the consideration of portions of the resolution regarding Sind and the North Western Frontier Province till the All-Parties Conference met in Delhi. This was duly supported. Babu Surja Kumar Som proposed a second amendment to drop that resolution on the ground that no political matter should be discussed in the Hindu Sava as it was constituted. At this time the President Mahamobapadhya Pramatha Nath Tarkabhusan left the meeting asking Dr. Sunity Chatterjea to preside. Dr. Chatterjee ruled out of order the amendment of Surja Babu who pointed out that he had intended to move his amendment as a separate resolution but the President requested him not to do so but to move it as an amendment. In spite of this the President declared that as he was the President then, he was not bound by any undertaking given by the President who had left the meeting. Speeches were made for and against the amendment of Charu Babu. After Babu Satyendra Mitter and Dr. Moonje had spoken elaborately one for and the other against the amendment, the President put the amendment to vote and as voting could not be counted owing to the hugeness of the gathering and the lateness of hour the meeting was adjourned till 9 A.M. the next morning. The proceedings throughout were tumultuous.

The number of delegates came up on 3000 in the evening. In view of the strong feeling amongst the delegates a compromise was arrived at between Dr. Moonje on the one side and Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitter and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar on the other to request the President to rule out all controversial and political resolutions concerning All-India matters from discussion. We give below a short resume of the proceeding of the conference as given in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of Calcutta :—

### A Short Resume of Proceedings.

“The third annual session of the Provincial Hindu Conference at Mymensingh is over. It is a pity, that the Provincial Hindu Shabha had not framed rules for the Conference earlier. The rules regarding the formation of Subjects Committee of the Conference, were framed in a Executive Committee meeting of the Provincial Shabha at Calcutta on the 17th April,—and the Reception Committee got those rules only on the 20th. These rules provided that the Subjects Committee would be formed by the members of



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the Provincial Hindu Shava, ten members elected by the Reception Committee, and two members elected by each District Hindu Shava. The Reception Committee met on the evening of the 20th April—on a very short notice—to elect ten members for the Subjects Committee, and as a result of the short notice,—not more than 30 or 40 members, out of a total strength of 500 members of the R. C. could participate in the election. Objections were raised by various members, but after about two hours' debate, a compromise was made, and ten members for the Subjects Committee were elected. The Conference commenced at 8 a. m. on the 21st April—the whole pandal with an accommodating capacity of about five thousand people, was full.

"The address by the Maharaja of Shushang, Chairman of the Reception Committee and the Presidential address were highly appreciated and greatly applauded. After these addresses were finished, the Conference adjourned at 11 a. m. It was announced then, that the Subjects Committee would meet from 2 p. m., and the open conference at 7 p. m. In the meantime demonstrations of lathi, sword and dagger plays, and other physical feats, were arranged for, in the pandal between 2 p. m. and 6 p. m.—which could not unfortunately be witnessed by members of the Subjects Committee.

"Many resolutions were adopted by the Subjects Committee, in that sitting, the most controversial two being,—one adopted by the All-India Hindu Mahasava relating to joint electorate, and separation of Sindh—and the other relating to boycott of Simon Commission. The general sense of the members was that Political questions, affecting the Hindu community in particular should be taken up, and those affecting all the communities in India, should be left for decision by the Congress. On this principle the members of the Subjects Committee by majority of votes decided, that the policy to be adopted with regard to the Simon Commission should not be taken up and discussed in this conference. As regards representation in legislative bodies,—distribution of services, separation of Sind from the Province of Bombay, grant of Reforms to the N. W. F. P. the Committee by a majority of votes, adopted the resolution of the Hindu Mahasabha. This upset the Swarajist members of the Subjects Committee and they gave notice of an amendment to be moved in the open conference on the Sindh question.

"The open session commenced at 8 p. m.—and after a few resolutions had been moved from the chair,—the President left the pandal, leaving Dr. Suniti K. Chatterjee in charge of the Presidential seat.

"When the resolution regarding representation in Legislative bodies, reservation of seats, and separation of Sindh, came up, two amendments were proposed, one by Babu Charu Chandra Ray, and the other by Babu Surya Kumar Shome. On a reference, the President ruled, that the proposal of Babu Surya Kumar Shome could not be taken as an amendment, it being in the nature of an original resolution. On the ruling of the President, the House became chaotic—so much so, that it became doubtful for a time, if it would be possible to continue the conference. After enormous trouble, however, peace was restored for a time, and support and opposition of the original resolution and of Charu Babu's amendment went on for a considerable length of time. At about 11 p. m. the amendment was put to vote, and apparently it was lost by a majority, but the Swarajists claimed a division. As it was already too late at night, the President ordered that votes would be taken again on the next day (i. e. 22nd April).

"In the morning of the 22nd April the President got a notice, that a resolution would be moved in the open conference,—that the Subjects Committee was not properly constituted and therefore the conference could not proceed without the Subjects Committee being formed anew. Owing to the rules about the constitution of the Subjects Committee, having been drawn up by the Executive Committee of the Provincial Sabha,—and not by the Provincial Committee itself, and the Reception Committee having elected members for the Subjects Committee in a hurry, without sufficient notice,—the constitution of the Subjects Committee was thought doubtful. Moreover, if that question came up before the open conference,—the session would take at least one day more to finish. That would upset all arrangements for the accommodation of the delegates and volunteers, who had been accommodated in schools,



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on the express condition, that the school premises would be vacated positively in the night of the 22nd.

"Negotiations for a compromise opened. Thanks to Dr. Moonjee and the leaders of all the parties, a compromise was effected, in this way, that in the open conference, the President would give his ruling, that the organisers of the conference and many delegates being of opinion, that controversial, All-India Political questions, such as the separation of Sindh, and boycott of Simon Commission, should not be taken up and discussed in this conference,—the resolution regarding representation in Legislative bodies, reservation of seats, and separation of Sindh, that was taken up and discussed in the open conference, should be given up, and no votes should be taken on that resolution. After this compromise was arrived at,—and before its announcement in the open conference,—the Subjects Committee met again, and drew up fresh resolutions on various other subjects! The open conference, began its sitting at 2 p. m. and the President gave his ruling as noted above. The other resolutions were then moved and carried peacefully, and the conference terminated at 10 p. m. after a stirring speech from the President.

"In his concluding speech the President said that the organisation of Hindu Sabhas, all over India was a happy augury of the times. The orthodox Brahmin Pandit Samaj, had kept aloof from the movement, only on the apprehension,—that the organisers would not show any respect for them, and the Hindu Shastras. But he came here—as a representative of that Brahmin Pandit Samaj—and went with the belief that the organisers of the Hindu Shava would not be disrespectful to that Samaj, nor to the Shastras. The Brahmins are the descendants of 'Dadhich' and know how to perish for the good of others. The Shastras are vast, and can meet any situation that arises—only another 'Vedavyas' is necessary to give a correct interpretation for the present critical stage of the Hindus, and he carried the hope that by the present Hindu Shava movement, the Hindus are only preparing the country for another Vedavyas to come".

## The Kerala Youth Conference.

The first Kerala Youth Conference commenced its sittings at Payyanur in Tellicherry District on the 27th May 1928. At the outset Mr. Kombarball as Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates. This over Doctor Varadarajulu Naidu was proposed to the chair amidst loud cheers. The following is his Presidential Address:—

Referring to the mission of the youth Dr. Naidu said:—"Your immediate mission is national. It is now high time that you should decide whether India should be free or be a subject country of a foreign nation. The fate of unborn Indians depends upon your courage and sacrifice and our mother country calls upon you for vigorous and manly action. The eyes of all our countrymen, are now upon the youth of Kerala, because the social and economical iniquities under which the people of Kerala suffer are a stumbling block in the way of real political work in your province. It is a national problem and it could be solved only by youngmen with burning patriotism which would face machine guns. Our liberty and national honour are in danger. If the young men of to-day would act bravely, national victory is certain. If you fail our children and grand-children would curse you. Our cause is noble. You may have to die in the struggle for freedom, but your memory would live. Under the influence of the enemy of our national freedom, some of our own misguided countrymen may abuse us or stone us to death. But your country should be your idol and its service your religion,



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Swarajya your goal. British Imperialism, which keeps us in bondage, not only denies us our birth-right, but suppresses our natural desire for our national growth and development. It has enslaved our body and mind and as a result, there are parties and individuals in this country, who are prepared to sell their national and individual honour for a job in the Government service”.

The president condemned in strong terms the present day caste system which “has destroyed all consciousness of self-respect and liberty in the masses.” “Our social wrong are sapping the very foundation of our national life.” And the president said “your first and foremost duty is to rebel against caste system and its horrors. The caste-ridden Hindu society is the most disintegrating force in the way of solving the National problem.”

According to the president, the way of cleansing Hindu Dharma of all the black-spots does not lie in excluding Brahmins altogether—but lies in the direction of actively co-operating with such Brahmins and Panchamas as are interested in the welfare of the society. While advocating a bold fight against orthodoxy and caste distinctions, Dr. Naidu condemned the idea of carrying on a crusade against a particular community which will be suicidal.

While declaring that nationalism is the highest form of Dharma, Dr. Naidu said that the path of the Nationalist is not strewn with roses. They will have to incur the displeasure of the Government and submit to all the tyranny that the Government and its henchmen inflict on them.” It is only men with grim determination, he said, and of strong will that can resist an all powerful Government and demand liberty.

Continuing the president said that he did not believe in the idea that Swaraj can only be obtained where all our caste and communal differences were removed. On the other hand he believed that Swaraj will remove all these evils and cited the instances of Turkey and Afghanistan which have made a tremendous progress only after they have become politically free. “True nationalism,” said Dr. Naidu, “is the only remedy, for all these evils.”

He said that we could not eradicate our communal and religious ills with the help of the foreigners. “Even the most bigoted of the Brahmins”, said Dr. Naidu, “is not racially so arrogant as the ordinary whitemen. We are hearing daily of stories of Negroes being lynched in America”.

“The social system” concluded Dr. Naidu “obtaining in our midst today and the foreign political system under which we live are both unsuited to our future growth as a nation. The one denies political freedom, while the other denies social justice to the masses. Caste and communal movements are no remedies to our national wrongs. On the other hand communalism is a positive harm and an impediment to national solidarity. The recent evils in the Punjab and Madras have shown us that communalism is a menace to the national struggle for freedom. Progress, political and social, is possible only when you have succeeded in driving away the communalists from the political field.

Pledged to these ideals of political freedom and social justice, young men should organise themselves in small groups to promote and foster the growth of a United Indian Nation to remove all causes of inter-communal discord and separatist tendencies by vigorously working for the equality and liberty of man, by throwing overboard caste and creed distinctions. Young men should plunge headlong into the national service unmindful of the consequences. You may perish in this struggle. India wants thousands of



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youngmen with love and life that Lakshmana offered to Sri Ramchandra in the Ramayana. Wherever our national self-respect is in danger, whenever the British attempts to tighten the grip over our country, youngmen should offer their services unsolicited. Nationalism is the most potent power that would make you a brave soldier. It is a panacea for the weary spirit. Kerala Youngmen should look out and lose no time otherwise you should fail behind in the race for National service. I ask every one of you assembled here to realise the great responsibility of a young man. Indian Nation is in the making and the work is great ; your path is full of thorns. Your sacrifices may go un-noticed and unrecognised and even un-heard of. Our own countrymen would persecute you and belittle your great services.

### Resolutions.

After the presidential address was over Pandit Jawaharalal Nehru moved the following resolution :—This conference is of opinion that youngmen should dissociate themselves from communally separate activities and urges that they should unite and organise themselves on nationalistic principles to work for the liberation of the country."

The resolution was unanimously carried.

The next resolution appealed to youngmen to take to Swadeshi articles especially khadi in order to boycott the British and foreign cloths.

Another resolution called the Kerala youth to join the Hindusthan Seva Dal in large numbers. By the last resolution it was resolved that in order to carry on a vigorous campaign, politically and socially effective among the masses a band of whole time workers may be appointed and sufficient funds collected to maintain them.

With the concluding speech of the president the conference terminated.

## The Bombay Youth Conference.

An enthusiastic start was given to the Youth Movement in the Presidency at the first session of the Bombay Presidency Youth Conference which opened at Bombay on the 21ST JANUARY 1928 with Mr. K. F. Nariman in the chair.

A large number of messages from prominent leaders were read including one from Mahatma Gandhi, who hoped that the conference would fire the youth with the spirit of real service and declared that such services would not be of any use without the adoption of khaddar.

All the different problems facing the country were dealt with and the ways of approaching them adopted by the present day leaders were severely criticised both by the Chairman of the Reception Committee Mr. I. K. Yagnik and the President.

Mr. Yagnik appealed to the audience to concentrate on the education of the masses on the lines followed by the Russian Soviet Government, by which the students were charged with responsibilities of educating the peasants of selected villages.

While the Chairman did not stress on the details of the political aspect of the work before the youth, Mr. Nariman did not hesitate to urge that



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even as the honour of Egypt was secured by the youth of Egypt, particularly by its attitude towards the Milner Commission, so should the honour of India be secured by the youth of India.

With reference to the Simon Commission, Mr. Nariman exhorted the youth to discard insincerity in political and social matters, and to establish an institution untrammelled by Government connection or control, where the national literature could be studied by the young men and women.

### Resolutions Passed.

Next day, the 22ND JANUARY a large number of resolutions bearing on social and political problems were adopted by the Conference.

The most practical of them was one by which the Conference decided on mass education propaganda through a volunteer corps under the leadership of Mr. K. F. Nariman.

It was resolved that the volunteers should visit villages and working class areas and cooperate with the Central Youth organisation and other organisations in starting and supervising schools, libraries, etc., in the villages and cities.

Another resolution called upon the youth to encourage Swadeshi in its purest form and boycott British goods in particular.

A third related to communal unity and demanded that communal electorates should be abolished, and joint electorates be established in their place and that the recruitment to the public services should be based solely on the principle of merit.

Other resolutions proposed the establishment of an Unemployment Bureau, called upon the youth to form volunteer organisations, urged eradication of social evils, condemned Miss Mayo's book, declared in favour of making racing illegal and urged the immediate enforcement of prohibition in the Bombay Presidency, and protested against the Scout movement being made an Imperial movement and urged that it must be conducted on purely national lines, adopted to Indian conditions.

The last resolution condemned the Simon Commission and called on the youth to boycott it at every stage and in every form.

There was only one dissident who tried to put his case against the boycott, but could not get a hearing. The Conference then concluded.

## The Karachi Youth Conference.

The Karachi Youth Conference met on the 27TH MAY at Karachi. The audience amounted to about 5,000. Prof. Vaswani was elected president amidst great enthusiasm. The spacious pandal was decorated with inspiring mottoes. The youth band played.

The following are extracts from Prof. Vaswani's address :—

"I come to you as a Bhikshu in India long ago appeared. Millions do him reverence to-day. He became Buddha. In his heart was compassion for all creatures, in his heart was love for humanity and he said to his disciples : 'Go ye my disciples and ask people, if they keep remembrance.' I—a Bhikshu come to you with the question : 'Do you keep remembrance? Do you remember her—India, the mother,—in your dress and diet, in your



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studies and daily life? Do you remember Bharata? I know many of us talk of her but when did trick of talk help people? Look not for freedom in talk, in noise and excitement. What is needed is Shakti and Shakti grows in silence. Strength, more strength is what will take the nation forward. Not paper resolutions, but silent resolves have made nations great. Japan is a great nation; Japan is a silent nation; Japan has developed constructive qualities of character.

"India needs Ashramas for the young. In the nation's youth is my hope. They can make the nation new, but they must be bound together in the service of India. The Bharat Yuvak Sangha (or Fellowship of Young India) is meant to link together youngmen in different provinces for a common service through common love and reverence for India and her essential message is love for all races, for all religions. I believe that all nations are limbs of the one body of Divine Humanity and I believe that all religions are in a measure, small or great, reflectors of the one light—the light of the Spirit. I believe that we must build the national in the universal; we must build a new nation in Truth and Love. I believe also that a true international must reflect itself in the national. I believe that the world is waiting for a new type of nationalism—a nationalism that will be human, that will be spiritual. I believe also that the world is waiting for a new type of the international that will not be abstract, but a concrete international that will show itself in national institutions and make for the revival and reconstruction of the life of the nations. In other words I believe that international without national is empty even as the national without the international is blind. We need both and I may say that this ideal inspires the Youth Movement concerning which I am to speak.

"I attach great importance to bodily culture. To-day youngmen go about with broken bodies. I often say body-building is nation-building. I believe this to be profoundly true. Ancient Greece was great and I have asked myself the question what was the secret of the greatness of ancient Greece. Ancient Greece was highly intellectual but the civilization of ancient Greece was not merely of the intellectual type; her civilization was also aesthetic. More I study the history of Humanity the more I find that every vital civilization has been in a measure, small or great, a synthetic civilization. I believe the note of the coming age—the note of the new civilization is going to be built through fellowship between East and West. One fundamental note of the new civilization will be a note of integration. India fell because matter was sundered from the spirit. The body was separated from mind. India fell when she developed a contempt for the physical. Over and over again in the pages of Upanishads the Rishis sing that matter is a manifestation of the mind. I desire that body and mind, body and soul, which for a long time have been kept apart, should be reintegrated in the life of India. The conception of the spiritual life as divorced from the earth,—divorced from the material or physical needs—is to be combated. Youngmen should build up their bodies.

"I want young men to study lives of great heroes of India and those of the heroes of the other parts of the world. Let young men study the lives of Bhishma, Sivaji, Prithviraj, Hanuman, McSiney, Garibaldi, Abraham Lincoln and other great men of action. So will youth grow in the spirit of courage. In every month one day may be set apart as sacred to the memory of a great hero.



"The Sangha believes also in the value of ancient culture. It seems to me there are two extremes in regard to this subject. There are some who think that Indian culture is useless. I am afraid this was the view of Macaulay who said that the whole library of oriental literature was not worth a single shelf of occidental library. He thought Indian culture as useless. Then there is the other extreme. According to some Indian culture is perfect. I do not believe that any culture is final. I believe that human cultures progress as civilizations progress. Recognising that Indian culture is not the final, I submit in all humility that Indian culture has a great message for the modern world. Indian culture is permeated with the spirit of a great ideal and I want that the high, spiritual ideal to flow again into the life of India and modern world."

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## The Assam Youngmen's Conference.

The first session of the Assam Provincial Youngmen's Conference commenced at 8-30 A.M. on June 11th at Nowgong in the Hindu Conference Pandal. Sj. Tarunram Phukan, President-elect was conducted to the pandal in a huge procession singing national songs marking time with shouts of Bande Mataram etc. Proceedings began with a national song in chorus. Then Mr. Haladhar Bhuyan, Chairman, Reception Committee read out his welcome address. In the course of his speech the Chairman regretted the lull that overtook our national life. He appealed to all youths to wake up and take to service of the motherland. If they did not listen to the clarion call of the nation no youth from outside would come to the rescue. Outsiders came there only to plunder the riches of the land, for instance he revealed a huge monthly drainage of about 5½ lacs of rupees from Assam in lieu of cigarettes. He condemned the use of foreign cloths. The Chairmen finished his speech in a business like way chalking out the programme on the line of co-operative movement, physical culture, establishment of libraries and reading rooms etc. He appealed for Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programme. Then he appealed to have inspiration from liberalism of Mahapurush Sankar Dev and the sacrifice of Swami Vivekanand.

Then Mr. Harendra Chandra Chaudhury while proposing the President to the chair paid a great eulogy to Assam in the days of non-co-operation. He said that under the leadership of Sj. Phukan Assam found no mean place in the history of India. He believed that even now if Sj. Phukan, leaving the Assembly Hall to some other, goes to the villages Assam would rise again from where she had fallen. As regards the aim of this Youngmen's Conference he said that all the organisations, be it political social or religious, should have one and the same goal that was country's salvation. He appealed to Sj. Pukhan to come among them to lead the youths of Assam.

Then in the midst of thundering cheers the President delivered an eloquent, impressive and persuasive speech, in course of which he said that even at this ripe age of sixty he was ready to lay down his life for the country, but the apathy and callousness of his countymen had disheartened him. Finding no other means he had been yet clinging to the Assembly. He said that though the N. C. O. movement was gone the spirit was there. This sort of non-co-operation was practised by the Hindus whenever and



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wherever their religion was attacked. Non-co-operation was the only means to attain our goal. He fully believed that the day should come when the country would again be mad after non-co-operation. Though some people for want of foresight thought that all our activities failed he assured those sceptic mind that materials were kept ready and the time was coming when a little spark would burst it into a great volcano.

He then dwelt at length on the boycott of the Simon Commission and how it was entrapping our leaders with the help of leaders as tamed elephants did wild ones.

He dealt with the urgency of physical culture and regreted physical degeneration of the youth. He said that though he was old he could challenge any young man present to fight a duel. He asked the young men to do all those things neglected by others. Young man should have no programme, their programme was to rush to where others do not.

The Presidential speech lasted for about one hour and a half. Resolutions forming Executive Committee, organising Akharas and associations throughout the Province etc. were adopted. Dr. Moonje and His Holiness the Garamouria Satradhikar were very kind to point out the physical degeneration of the youths and advised them to build their body and to have moral courage to take to constructive works for the Indian nationality.

Immediately after the Conference, the Assam Provincial Youngmens' Association passed a resolution requesting the All-India Jubak Sangha to send delegates to All-World Youth Conference nominating Professor Mohan C. R. D. Naidu the renowned Phycho-Physical culturist to represent India.

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## The All-India Depressed Classes' Conference.

Amid scenes of enthusiasm, the business session of the All-India Depressed Classes' Conference commenced in New Delhi on the 26TH FEBRUARY 1928. The large audience included delegates from all the major provinces of India; and among the distinguished visitors were Mr. J. A. Shillidy, I. C. S., Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya and Pundit Shambehari Misra from the Council of State.

### Presidential Address.

Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja, in opening the session, said that their presence in large numbers, indicated the interest they were taking in the movement. It showed that they were nearer their goal, and would soon come into their own.

At the outset he outlined some of the points which would be placed before the Statutory Commission on their behalf, and then pointed out that their movement was a national one for the uplift of 60 millions of people. He did not want to include in the term depressed classes any class that did not belong to the "untouchables" or Adi-Hindus, for there were many who liked to come under this category only to get special treatment from the Government. The main question before the depressed classes was whether they had gained by the transference of power from the bureaucracy to those returned as representatives of the people, and whether the Montford Reforms had increased their happiness. His answer was an emphatic "No." The greatest



calamity that could befall India was the immediate grant of self-Government. The administration of the transferred subjects in the Provinces had not been a success, because they had not produced the proper type of men whom democracy required—men with liberal sympathies transcending distinctions of caste and creed.

The depressed classes would co-operate with the Simon Commission in order to tell them that, for two thousand years and more, the so-called high caste Indians had treated them worse than beasts. A dog could sleep on the bed of its Brahmin master, but a person of the depressed class would be treated as a barbarian of the darkest ages of the world, and would be denied water to drink and made to live in a hovel not fit for pigs to live in. They would tell the Commission that they could not but view with fear and anxiety, the decreasing power of the British element and the increasing power of the caste-bound oligarchy, and that the Commission should on no account sacrifice the interests of the weak minority communities, to the wishes and sentiments of the majority community. They would tell them that the politically minded classes formed but a microscopic minority who were now nervous of being exposed regarding their real attitude towards the depressed classes, and were therefore afraid of facing the Commission.

Unless the depressed classes, who formed one-sixth of the population, were given the fullest opportunity for development, physical, mental, moral and spiritual, India would never get Swaraj.

They wanted proper and adequate representation in the various legislatures through communal electorates, and not by nomination. Communal representation, through special electorates, was needed to enable them to send real representatives who alone could faithfully communicate to the Government the wishes of the depressed classes and not the selection by the Madras Government of a Brahmin to represent the depressed classes—a nomination which was a negation of all principles of democratic representation. Mr. Raja also urged the appointment of one member of the depressed classes to the Provincial Cabinets, and also one to the Executive Council of the Viceroy. Concluding, he declared that the depressed classes did not want to join any party. They had their own party and they would do what they thought was right and wise.

#### Proceedings and Resolutions.

The Conference then adopted three resolutions. The first resolution expressed loyalty to the British Throne and also recorded its condolence at the deaths of Sir George Paddison, Mr. K. Munuswami Pillai and Mr. Likiram Chaudhri.

#### The Simon Commission.

The second resolution expressed confidence in the composition of the Indian Statutory Commission, and recorded its appreciation of the British action in appointing it before 1929. The Conference requested Sir John Simon not to overlook the representation of the Depressed Classes on any Committee, central or provincial.

The Conference also appointed a committee to collect material to be placed before the Royal Commission, and called upon all associations in different provinces to place their case before the Commission.

Mr. B. C. Mandal (Bengal) in proposing the resolution, said that India was weak socially, politically and economically and could not win freedom



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by force. The only course now open for them was to get self-Government by supplication and by co-operating with the Commission. All through the past for centuries, inhuman treatment had been meted out to the depressed classes by the Hindus; and their lot did not improve under the Mussalman regime. Under the British rule, they were politically equal to the highest castes in the country, and with Lord Birkenhead's assurance their future was safe. Unless and until the high classes removed the caste barriers, they (the depressed classes) would not co-operate with the higher castes, either socially or politically. The Depressed Classes were equal in number to the Mussalmans and therefore should be given the same treatment as was accorded to the latter.

The resolution was largely supported by delegates from Bombay, Berar, Central Provinces, United Provinces, and the Punjab and was passed unanimously.

### Demand for Separate Electorates.

The last resolution urged upon the Government to create separate electorates for the Depressed Classes and to widen the franchise to enable their representatives to seek election to the various Provincial and Central Legislatures. They also requested the Government to increase the number of seats in the legislature for the depressed classes in proportion to their number, and condemned the present systems of nomination as inequitable, as non-depressed class people were nominated to represent them. The Conference adjourned.

Next day, the 27TH FEBRUARY the first resolution urged upon His Majesty's Government to appoint members of the depressed classes on the Executive Councils in all provinces.

The second resolution demanded of the Government of India proper and adequate representation of the depressed classes in all the public services.

The third resolution requested the Government to appoint members of the depressed classes as "chief protectors" in all provinces, apart from Labour Commissioners, to safeguard their interests.

The fourth resolution appealed to the Viceroy to appoint a member from the depressed classes to the Council of State.

The fifth resolution, urged upon the Government of India to proscribe "Manu Smriti" and the "Chamar Nama" written by Sher Khan.

By the sixth resolution, they appointed a committee consisting of Messrs. Gayai, Devidass and Mandal to investigate into the grievances of the depressed classes in the Punjab and authorised them to place the same before the Government. The Conference sympathised with the Satyagraha started in Amraoti and other places.

The next resolution urged upon the Government the necessity of appointing members of the depressed classes to represent labour in the various legislatures of the country, as they formed the bulk of the labouring population of India.

The eighth resolution requested the Maharaja of Kutch (Mandvi) to repeal the "Bhundi Bhuchi", which was levied on the depressed classes only, and causing great hardship.

The last resolution urged upon the Government of India to take steps to put an end to the evil practice of employing poor depressed class tenants by the landlords in U. P., Punjab and C. P., without any remuneration.



# The Indian Science Congress.

The fifteenth session of the Indian Science Congress opened at Calcutta on the 2ND JANUARY 1928 and divided into sections on the next day when the Presidents of the Agriculture, Botany and Mathematics and Physics sections delivered their presidential addresses. There was no Medical Section this year as all papers were read during the Tropical Congress.

Dr. De Groff Hunter who opened the Section of Mathematics and Physics, in the course of his speech dwelt on the shape of the earth and the views of the early inhabitants on this problem. He said orthodox persons refused to believe that the earth was a globe and would not tolerate a different view. Sir George Everest's constants were the basis of all the maps of India to the present day. Archdeacon Pratt of Calcutta took up the calculation of the attraction of the Himalayas. He formulated the hypothesis of compensation of mountains, by which it was supposed that the matter underlying mountains was of less than average density. At that time the earth was generally believed to have a molten interior, and mountains were considered as in a sense floating.

The Geology Section was opened under the presidency of Prof. H. C. Das Gupta of the Presidency College, Calcutta. Mr. D. C. Nag read a paper on the occurrence and genesis of the tin deposits of Gaya District. The deposits presented several remarkable features.

Mr. Swaminathan read a paper dealing with Garnets. The scientific as well as the economic aspects of the deposits were the subject of active discussion in which Professors Krishnaswami and Mr. J. C. Gupta took the leading part.

## Anthropological Section.

Over the section of Anthropology Dr. M. S. Gupta presided.

Mr. Asoke Chatterjee, in the course of a paper entitled "A plea for the protection of Aborigines in India" stated that some of the Aboriginal tribes in India, such as the Andamanese, were fast dying out. It was necessary that steps should be taken for their protection and preservation before it was too late.

It was resolved that in view of the fact that it would be prejudicial to the economic and cultural interests of the aboriginal tribes of India, should there be unrestrained contact between them and individuals representing a different state of culture and progress, the Government be approached by the Indian Science Congress to institute an immediate enquiry by competent anthropologists and other men to go into the situation and to formulate protective legislation in the light of such an enquiry.

It was further resolved that the Statutory Commission be approached specially to consider the case of the aborigines of India and to allow the Anthropological Section of the Science Congress to state before the Commission in detail the case of the aborigines in British India and Indian States.

## Agricultural Section.

In the section of Agriculture under the presidency of Rao Sahab T. S. Venkatraman papers were read on "Electricity and Agriculture" and "Factors influencing the growth and sugar-contents of cane".



Rao Sahab T. S. Venkatraman, in the course of his presidential address, referring to the sugar industry in India said: "The Indian consumption of sugar and sugar products is at present, largely, in the form of jaggery. A fourth of it however is in the form of refined sugar and now the bulk of this article—over 85 per cent—has to be imported from outside, at a cost of about Rs. 15 crores each year. In one year, the value of the article thus imported exceeded 26 crores. The dumping of refined sugar into the country is a serious drain on our wealth. It further exerts an adverse effect on the home industry, and might ultimately lead to the extinction of this crop.

"It is now widely accepted that sugarcane probably originated in India and spread to other countries from here. It was an interesting curiosity to our visitors in the years before the Christian Era. Alexander the Great was much struck with it, and his followers named it the "Honeyed Reed" or the reed which makes honey without the help of bees. The Indian area under sugarcane is nearly half that of the world and hence much greater than that of any other single country. This ought to give India the premier position as sugar producer. But to-day she has to import large quantities of refined sugar from outside and across wide seas even to meet her domestic needs."

#### "Radiations and their uses."

A very interesting lecture was delivered by Prof. G. R. Paranjpye, Professor of Physics of the Royal Institute of Science, Bombay. He dealt with "Radiations and their uses." The lecture was illustrated by cinema films and lantern slides. The lecturer said:—

"Light is perhaps the most wonderful of all visible things. Light enables us to see things about us; but it does something more than that. Although light has been a very familiar thing to mankind, its constitution and structure and the very rich variety of its effects, physical, chemical and biological, are still shrouded in mystery. The study of the composite nature of light began with Newton in 1666. Following him the famous astronomer, Herschell, discovered that there was more heat in the region beyond the red end of the solar spectrum than anywhere else. Later on, it came to light that there exists beyond the violet end of the solar spectrum an invisible region which is very efficient in bringing about chemical reactions. These are Ultra-Violet rays, and popularly known as chemical rays. It is known to-day that outside the rays of light that we see and the rays that we feel but cannot see, there are millions of rays on either side of the spectrum.

"About fifty octaves of radiations are known to-day. One octave covers visible rays. About nine octaves of infra-red rays are associated with heat. There are twelve octaves of waves known popularly as electro-magnetic. Longer than these are the wireless and radio waves occupying something like twelve octaves. Among the shorter waves having higher frequencies than those of visible light, are the Ultra-Violet rays covering nearly three octaves. Beyond these are something like seven octaves of X-Rays. Any one of these radiations can now be produced, and in fact most of them have been brought under remarkable control and pressed into the service of man. The longest waves are used for commercial and social wireless purposes, and the shortest waves given out by Radium are used for medical purposes to cure the dreadful disease, cancer.

"The natural sources of light are obviously incandescent bodies, typical of whom are the sun and the stars. The vibrations of light emitted by the



sun are most varied and of wonderful complexity. The sun and the stars are emitting countless quantities of energy. Of the sun's energy, only two thousand millionth part reaches the earth, i.e., what we receive is an infinitesimal amount of the energy emitted, and what we perceive by the eye is an infinitesimal amount of what we receive. The sun is regarded as the prime source of all energy, and it is recognised that a large number of chemical can be started from radiant energy. The living animal takes as food the stored-up energy from the sun.

The ultimate source of all radiant energy is found in the movement of ultimate units that go to constitute matter. These units are electrons and protons, which are very minute charges of positive and negative electricity. The possibility and indeed the fact of the diversity of the world, as we know it, is supposed to be mainly a consequence of the varying combination of the two units. In the atoms of different substances the number and movement of the electrons are different. Owing to some unknown forces of attractions and repulsions, the normal pulsations change their orbits and consequently their frequencies. When an electron is jerked out of this orbit, and when it moves to an inner orbit a quantity of energy is emitted, This energy is radiation. The most complicated question in connection with this, is to find the cause which ejects an electron. The subject is at this stage, a matter of great speculation. Of late however there has been brought to light a good deal of chemical evidence to account for the movements of electrons. The emission of radiation indicates a large amount of energy which is stored up inside an atom and naturally therefore such stores of energy cannot be found in all atoms. It is the property of only a small special class like radio-active atoms.

Solar radiations that reach us consist of about 80 per cent of infra-red heat waves, 13 per cent of light waves, and only 7 per cent of ultra-violet waves.

This is due to the fact that the majority of ultra-violet rays are absorbed by the thick atmosphere surrounding the earth. In the late War, invisible ultra-violet rays were used successfully for signalling purposes. None except the parties concerned were aware of the despatch of signals. The signals were received only on a special screen fitted in telescopes and field-glasses.

Although ultra-violet rays were the first known agency to set up a chemical reaction, it is recognised that chemical reaction takes place in the presence of all radiations, visible and invisible. Those of short as well as those of long wave-lengths are effective, only differing in quantity. A peculiarly interesting application of the ultra-violet ray is found in the leather industry. There an exposure to radiations makes patent leather more deeply coloured and glossy.

The sun has always been regarded as the prime source of radiant energy. The knowledge of the purifying power of the sun is about as old as the human race. The effect of radiations on tissues and living cells are very complex. The action of ultra-violet rays on the skin is very interesting. Considerable dilatation of the blood capillaries takes place. This relieves congestion of the deeper parts, and improves blood circulation in the exposed region.

Radiations are capable of destroying bacteria. One great use of this action is found in the purification of water. Water can be made so steries that if fresh bacteria are added to water treated with ultra-violet rays within



an hour 90 per cent of the organism are killed. A most remarkable effect of the rays is found in Rickets, where the harm done by bad-food, is neutralized by the exposure of the body to radiations. Most of the ill-effects of deficient diet are delayed by exposure to sunlight, which contains seven per cent of ultra-violet rays. Human beings suffer from lack of sun light. Vegetations depend upon the sun for their proper growth. If sunlight is deficient, the vegetable part of our food suffers, and we in consequence. In a similar way cows in the larger towns are affected. This has an adverse influence on the child's life, in whose food, milk plays such an important part. The normal individual in normal surroundings may not need either of these radiations. But it is not an exaggeration that the lives of the people in the large towns are anything but normal. The cities are characterised by numberless tenements having no light at all, or very poor light. Cities are characterised by a large number of diseases and epidemics, with a high percentage of tuberculosis. Cities are also characterised by a large number of medical men who restore normal health by administering drugs. This may all be superfluous if only a sufficient supply of sunshine is guaranteed to rich and poor. Villagers in the country may be ignorant. They may be poor and they may not have swallowed any drugs at all. But they are healthy in spite of their extreme poverty, because they have at their disposal an unlimited supply of the sun's energy. Their doctor is the most powerful and the most energetic of all doctors i.e., the sun. He cures them of their illness, and he does something more. He never lets them fall ill."

#### Meeting of Zoological Section.

The Congress met again on the third day, the 4TH JANUARY. The presidential address was delivered in the Section of Zoology by Dr. B. Sundara Raj, on "A Neglected Aspect of Biology." In the course of his address he said :—

"I cannot express, in adequate words, my sincere thanks for the signal honour you have done me by electing me president of the Zoology Section of the Science Congress this year. My hesitation in accepting your gift was great. When I looked at the list of my distinguished predecessors, I was far from sure that I deserved the distinction you have so generously bestowed upon me. The accepted convention of this august assembly imposes upon me the duty of delivering a presidential address on some aspect of the science we represent, which is of immediate interest and significance, not only to members of this section, but of other sections and to those of the general public who have an interest in Zoology.

"It is no light responsibility to be called upon to address a gathering of Indian Zoologists. The choice of a suitable subject has weighed upon me heavily for a long time, especially as I found that others before me had already dealt with those aspects of the subject with which I may claim practical acquaintance. At least two presidents before me have dealt with Fisheries and Oceanography; and, though it is expected that the president should deal with some subject in which he has himself been interested, I have reluctantly to set aside my temptation to speak on that branch of zoological research. Further, I am in entire agreement with my distinguished predecessor, Lt-Col. Sewell that the presidential address should not be confined to any one particular branch of zoological research, but should deal with some aspect that has a general interest for all. I therefore crave your indulgence for departing from the beaten track, and for choosing for to-day's



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discourse a theme which is of the very greatest importance and interest to humanity, even though it may not be of immediate practical concern to any of my audience."

Proceeding he said: "It is true that as Biologists, we are concerned only with life; but the life that we are concerned with in our researches, is life which has a physical basis. Even the most elementary knowledge of Biology is sufficient to show that its subject matter is primarily concerned with the size, shape, age and activities of living things which constitute organic phenomena. Of the character, that distinguish one species from another, the most outstanding are the anatomical differences, that is differences in shape and size, and the physiological differences such as birth, growth, age, death, including the nutritive, respiratory, excretory, and reproductive functions of the organism. All these involve, without exception, physico-chemical properties and processes such as, size, shape, mass, motion, velocity, molecular and atomic structure, to all of which relativity has a direct and vital bearing. Therefore, the application of the principles of relativity to such physical phenomena of life becomes an imperative duty, if the full implications of Biological truth are to be comprehended."

Concluding he said: "We are gradually led, step by step to the view that both living and non-living things are far more intimately related than ever suspected before, and form a coherent whole or unity. The universe is appreciably one composite whole; and relativity would seem to have knit together the aims, methods and concepts of all the sciences on the one hand, and even of philosophy and metaphysics on the other."

### The Chemical Section.

Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar presided over the chemical section and spoke on the progress of chemical research in India. In course of the paper he dwelt on the works of the late Sir Alexander Pedler, F. R. S., Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. N. R. Dhar and Sir J. C. Bose. He referred to the work of Prof. J. N. Mukherjee in this connection, and concluding said: "The success of Professors Raman and Saha ought to be an object lesson to the physical chemists in India, who should realise that with the imagination and versatility of intellect which they possess, they could have achieved very much more if their mathematical equipment had been better than that provided for by the Indian universities when they were students. It is time that the educationists in India recognised the importance of a better knowledge of mathematics for all students of physical science. The chemists themselves should come forward and learn mathematics and advocate improvements in the teaching of it in our university curricula."

### Psychology Section.

Prof. West presided over the section of psychology and dealt with psychology and education. Summarising his paper he said: "I have shown you two diametrically opposed schools of educational psychology, the one emphasising the type, the other emphasising the individual growth. The essential function of the school as it exists to-day is to produce conformity of knowledge and skill which are the common needs of all. The function of Educational Psychology here is to make the process of learning these necessary things as efficient as possible. The more efficiently and expeditiously we are able to dispose of this uniform and inevitable part of education, the more time and energy will remain for the free and more self satisfying part.



There is need for a type of this institution which shall give to the growing child the means and the opportunities for developing his own peculiar interests. The more advanced experimental schools of the present day tend in this direction. For myself, I doubt whether it should be called a school save for mere etymology. I am doubtful whether it should even be in the same building. It would perhaps be better to leave the traditional type of school to fulfil its traditional and very necessary function, and to develop this new type of institution untrammelled by precedents which are so far opposed to its nature and purpose. Man's essentially constructive mind, in the past, found a great affinity to the work of a potter than to that of a gardener. Later there was a reaction to liberty and individuality. In some ways this has been found to be a misguided reaction; and now education is in a state of flux, and Educational Psychology no less so. It is the task of the future, a task in which the schoolmaster and the psychologist and the parent must co-operate to reconcile and to delimit the spheres of these two equally necessary purposes in education. There is no country which has greater opportunities than India of contributing to this work, if it will but use them."

Prof. Chatterjee opined that the most immediately important problem was to detect the backward child, who impeded the progress in schools of the normal.

Mr. A. K. Dutt said that only 6 per cent of the population was at school; but only 20 per cent of that 6 per cent obtained literacy. This was due to the failure in the schools to make separate provision for different grades of intelligence.

Mr. Haridas Bhattacharya said that the rapid change from agriculturalism to industrialism in India placed an increasing strain upon the youth of Bengal. They could not adjust themselves to the rapidly changing circumstances.

Lt.-Col. Berkely Hill: It is economically unsound to make the parent of the clever child pay for the education of the dull.

Dr. G. S. Bose referred to instances in which genius and mental deficiency were found in the same family.

Dr. West said that owing to the absence of any effective system of primary education in the country the high schools contained a random grouping of the whole population, covering the full range from defective to super-normal. Most of the educational difficulties were due to the fact that they were endeavouring to give higher education in a foreign language suitable only to the supernormal.

Mr. Hemchandra Banerjee described three languages of gestures independently evolved by dumbchildren, and the deaf and dumb schools of Calcutta, Dacca and Barisal. In certain cases some signs had been independently evolved in the three schools. He discussed how far these signs took the place of words in the thoughts and dreams of the deaf mutes.

Mr. A. K. Dutt gave an account of intelligence tests applied to Bengali children. He concluded that owing to the difficulty of discovery of the true age of Bengali children and owing to absence of schools for treatment of defectives, such tests were at present less valuable than adult intelligence tests, used for the selection of candidates for admission to colleges.

Mr. D. K. Chakrabarthi gave the results of enquiries made to determine the relative importance of various arithmetical processes in the actual



lives of adults living in Bengal, and discussed the significance of this research in reference to the framing of the curriculum.

Mr. A. K. Dutt described the objective examination of school-subjects made by means of numerous questions requiring short answers and compared the results with those of the traditional essay-type examination. He concluded that the objective examination was both more searching and more reliable.

A resolution was passed by the section urging the Central Government to organise research into the problem of mental deficiency in India.

### "Chemistry in Modern Warfare."

Prof. J. C. Ghosh delivered an interesting lecture on "Chemistry in Modern Warfare." He said the initial success of the Germans in capturing the fortresses in France and Belgium was due to the use of high explosives. These explosives were manufactured with Nitric acid, as the basic chemical. The Germans feared that the English supremacy at sea would cut off supply to the ordinance factories at Germany. Hence, their chemists at the beginning of the present century devoted considerable attention to the manufacture of nitric acid from Nitrogen in the air. The great success which the Germans achieved when the War began, was by the free use of poisonous chemicals for the destruction of enemy-soldiers and for making uninhabitable considerable tracts of country in the enemy's possession. The Germans used these chemicals in the year 1915 and large casualties occurred in the Canadian division and the connection between the French and British army on the western front was almost snapped. The measures used by the British army consisted in the use of charcoal box-respirators as it had the property of absorbing poisonous gas; but at a later stage of the War when the Germans used an extraordinary gas which produced temporary blindness, masks with big glasses for the protection of the eyes had to be used. In 1918, the Germans improved upon their gas warfare by using a solid compound of Arsenic which produced a violent sneezing effect. The gas defence therefore had to be considerably improved and the soldiers had to be provided with complete Oxygen respirators.

### Anthropology Section.

On the 5TH JANUARY, in his presidential address before the Section of Anthropology, Dr. S. B. Guha of the Zoological Survey of India, mentioned the chief gaps in the knowledge of the racial history of India. He said the Anthropological work carried on under Government initiative and private enterprise had been, so long, mainly of a preliminary nature only. The time had come for a close and most intensive study. The problems brought to light were of great complexity and could not be solved except by deeper researches.

The most important of these problems so far the living population was concerned, were in the opinion of Dr. Guha, four, namely, (1) a thorough investigation among the aboriginal population of India to find out if there were traces of a truly Negrito element or not. Evidence on the question was conflicting, though the prevailing opinion did not seem to favour its existence. (2) A settlement of the so-called Dravidian question. The term "Dravidian" was linguistic, and included three distinct racial elements among its speakers, e.g., a Vedda-Australoid type, a dark Mediterranean type and a more or less mixed Alpine type. The last was concentrated in the



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West up to longitude 78 east and did not extend beyond latitude 12. It appeared merely to be the southward extension of the Brachycephalic race seen along the Western littoral of India up to Guzrat. In the opinion of Dr. Guha it was an intrusive element in Southern India, and had nothing to do with the race responsible for the introduction of the Dravidian language. In the absence of conclusive archaeological evidence, however, nothing more could be postulated than the probability that the Mediterranean type was also an alien element, which came in with Sanskrit culture. If that view was finally borne out, then the original racial type of the Dravidian people would come to be the Veddah-Australoid type as Risley and Turner had supposed. The third problem to be investigated was how far the element dominant in the Punjab and North-Western India extended eastwards. Did it really stop at the boundaries of the Punjab or did the main type in the United Provinces belong fundamentally to that category? The evidence was not conclusive, and further investigation was necessary.

The other problem was the study of the distribution of the Brachycephalic type in India. As already noticed it was present along the western borders of India, but the question was whether it extended through Central India to Bengal. The Mongolian origin of the dominant type in Bengal, as attributed by Risley was, in the opinion of Dr. Guha, entirely erroneous, for the typical Mongolian characters did not occur in Bengal. Besides, both culturally and physically, the Bengali Brachycephalic type was linked up with that of Bombay whose original immigration probably dated back from some unrecorded very early times. Finally, from whatever standpoint it was approached, the proper reconstruction of the racial history of India was not possible unless a thorough search was made for the remains of the pre-historic inhabitants in the extensive archaeological sites seen throughout India.

In the past, research in Indian archaeology meant only the reading of inscriptions. Fortunately the recent discoveries in the Indus Valley and their direct supervision under the present Director-General of Archaeology boded well for the future, and there was no doubt that important branch of knowledge would proceed on the proper scientific lines, which would help gradually in the correct reconstruction of the racial history of India.

After the presidential address, Mr. K. N. Chatterjee, (Calcutta), read a paper on the use of nose-ornaments in India. Several other papers were also read and discussed.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy (Ranchi) read a paper about the primitive religion in Chotanagpore criticising the conception of Sir Herbert Risely.

Dr. Kalidas Nag (Calcutta) discussed India's contributions to the culture of Indonesia.

Dr. B. Prasad read a paper on "a primitive type of boat used in E. Bengal" and compared it with the buffalo skin rafts, which are used in other parts of India as substitutes for boats.

Mr. Ramaprasad read a paper on culture contact in ancient India, and showed that possibly the caste-ban originated because of differences in culture.

## Geology Section.

The Geology Section met under the presidency of Prof. H. C. Das Gupta. Among those present were Dr. Simonsen, General President, Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose, and Dr. Pilgrim.



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Prof. Das Gupta in his presidential address said that Geology as a science had not had the same amount of encouragement at the hands of the University authorities as some might have expected. It was pointed out by him that the general public very often failed to realise the importance of Geology as a pure science. He referred to the speech delivered by Sir Thomas Holland in 1926, wherein Sir Thomas pointed out the neglect of the science. The speaker appealed to the educational authorities in India to consider seriously the remarks of Sir Thomas Holland, and give Geology a place in the university studies that rightly belonged to it, to equip the Geology departments with men and money, and afford facilities to the teachers that they might carry on their two-fold duty of training up the students and carrying on research.

He concluded his address by saying : " Hopeful indications are already on the horizon, and I am quite confident that if the university and other educational authorities do not fail to encourage the teachers of Geology in every possible way, the teachers will also not fail in their turn to contribute their quota to the investigation of the geological problems of this country.

### Psychology Section.

In the psychology section, Mr. Haripada read a paper on the problem of Hindu-Moslem unity. He suggested that the culture of any people was the outward presentation of certain fundamental ideals which were rooted in the unconscious mind. He said that on historical grounds, it was to be expected that the Hindus and Moslems should possess essentially different attitudes towards the mother-country. The increase of political self-consciousness had tended to emphasise the difference. He emphasised the importance of inter-communal social intercourse, and inter-communal dinners as preventive measures. He suggested that eating together possessed a special psychological significance.

In the discussion which followed Prof. Chatterjee referred to the educational aspect of the problem and deplored the organisation of education on a communal basis. Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta emphasised the importance of a study of the causes of the conflict in the light of Social Psychology.

Lt. Col. Berkeley Hill said that the crux of any sociological problem associated with such intense emotion must lie in the unconscious mind. Those who relied upon merely cultural and educational measures to mitigate the communal tension, were doomed to disappointment. Such measures were not likely to touch or influence the unconscious mind.

### Botany Section.

In the Section of Botany, the President Prof. Parthasarathy Iyengar, delivered his address on Tuesday, the 3rd January. In his address he summarised the work done on Indian Algae from 1830 up to the present time, and stated that although the work was fairly considerable, there was still plenty of scope for further research. The address appealed to the Botanists of India, to devote more attention to that group of lower plants, as many of the important problems relating to higher plants and animals were more easy of solution through study of the lower plants, the conditions of life in Algae being less complex and more easy of control for purposes of experimentation than in the case of higher plants. One of the many lines of research which might be profitably followed in India was the study of soil Algae. The proper functioning of the Bacteria



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depended a great deal on their association with the soil Algae. The interesting problem of geographical distribution of Algae was discussed. Finally the advance made in other countries on the Cytology of Algae was discussed. The need for intensive research in that direction by Indian Botanists was stressed as its study besides being scientifically interesting had an economic interest as well.

### "Inheritance in Plants."

In the evening, Dr. M. A. Sampathkumaran of Bangalore, delivered a popular lecture on "Inheritance in Plants and Animals".

Both the morphological and cytological changes that take place in progeny were illustrated. Those laws of inheritance, the lecturer said, could be applied to the cultivated plants and domestic animals. In all the civilised countries where agriculture and animal husbandry were improved every day, those scientific laws were taken advantage of and many diseases of plants and animals were eradicated. He explained that even in human inheritance, the application of those laws could be instanced in the case of certain diseases like Epilepsy, Insanity, feeble-mindedness and congenital deafness. The lecturer made an appeal for improving human population by enacting better marriage-laws, and freeing the world from the offspring of those that suffered from such diseases. Considerations of wealth and social position should play no part in the contracting of marriage alliances, but on the other hand they should be physical, moral and mental.

### Chemical Industry in India.

At the sitting of the Congress on the 6TH JANUARY, the annual meetings of the Indian Chemical Society, Indian Botanical Society and the Indian Psychological Association were held.

The meeting of the Indian Chemical Society was held at the Presidency College, under the presidency of Prof. Gilbert J. Fowler, Director, Cawnpore Technological Institute. Among those present were Dr. P. C. Roy, Dr. J. C. Ghosh, Dr. Bhatnagar, Dr. J. N. Mookerjee, Mr. Stapleton and Mr. Smith. There were assembled about 500 persons, mostly chemists and students of Chemistry.

Dr. Fowler delivered a very interesting lecture on "Chemistry in the Service of India." In the course of his lecture, he said that in India untold millions were eking out a bare living on the verge of starvation. The poverty trouble was not confined to the tillers of the soil. The difficulties of the Indian middle class were well-known. How chemistry could help in the solution of that problem and how in the solution of that problem Indian chemists could help themselves was the subject which he desired them to consider.

He continued : "At this point I should like to emphasise what has been so well stated by Sir P. C. Ray in his note to the report of the Thorpe Commission, that chemistry in the service of India does not necessarily mean the same thing as Indians in the Chemical Service. Until an increasing number of Indian students of chemistry are able to earn a living outside of appointments under the Government or outside of subordinate positions in large business concerns, the problems will not be solved ; nor will the chemical science be really applied to the service of this country in any effective way. Moreover, year by year, more and more young students of Chemistry are being turned out in increasing numbers by the universities and technical institutes.



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All of these cannot expect to find Government posts. Already warning voices have been heard from the commercial world that the existing mills and factories are nearing saturation point so far as the employment of chemists is concerned. Moreover, many of those who are employed cannot be termed anything more than analysts whose prospects are necessarily limited. On the other hand, those of a wide-training who can claim to be technical chemists, or at any rate would become such, if given opportunity, have great difficulty in obtaining suitable employment. Some especially brilliant men have, to my great regret, forsaken the profession for lucrative employment elsewhere. To arrive at some remedy for this state of affairs, we may perhaps usefully consider the situation systematically under the following heads: (1) industrial conditions in India, (2) chemical education in India, (3) existing outlets for chemical students and (4) future developments.

We have to bear constantly in mind the fact that industries nearly always have begun as arts; and, it is only after a certain stage of development has been reached that the assistance of advanced science is called for. Metallurgy has now been applied on a vast scale and in an industrially developed country affords employment for many specially trained men. But outside of Jamshedpore, how many such openings are in India? Nevertheless, excellent steel was made in Sheffield before the advent of the chemist mainly because a large population of labourers had grown up in whom the knowledge of iron and steel production and working was inbred.

Until the chemist is able not only to give scientific descriptions, but also to be responsible for the actual control of the technical process, possibly the illiterate workman, who can actually do things, is the more valuable individual. Industries come into existence, and carry on, at any rate, to some profit before thinking about chemists. Therefore, the chemist has to prove his value to the manufacturer. I am as certain as ever that no serious progress can be made in application of science to industry in the absence of men who possess this technical sense. On the other hand it has become clear that development in India of large-scale manufacturing industries, requiring the service of such men, will be at a much slower rate than was at one time thought likely, owing to the absence of an industrial population such as I have referred to in the case of Sheffield. I feel therefore that the industrialisation of India must come gradually by careful utilisation of the material obtainable. The material we are primarily concerned with is the Indian chemist, which brings to our second matter for consideration.

Speaking in Calcutta, there is no temptation to question the ability of Indians to carry out scientific research of the highest order. It is sufficient to mention the names of Sir J. C. Bose, Dr. Ray and Prof. Raman. I feel strongly that the whole programme of the teaching of science in our schools and colleges needs revision in the direction of a greater sense of reality. What is required is something of the nature of what used to be called Natural Philosophy, which might be defined as the illustration of scientific principles from the world we live in. Such a course was to be found in an excellent handbook for French schools by Paul Bert in which were given in a most interesting fashion, with copious illustrations, the elements of Botany, Zoology, Physics and Chemistry.

It is encouraging to find from the statistics in my possession that, although the proportion of chemical students turning to teaching of Government service is still high, there is a distinct increase, of late years, in the



number of those engaged in manufacturing industries. A number of manufacturing concerns have recently employed a trained chemist for the first time and have found that he has more than earned his salary. There is a large opening for scientifically trained commercial travellers to develop the demand for the products of chemical and kindred industries. The extraordinary success of the advertising campaign of the Tea Planters' Association should stimulate the like enterprise in other directions. I look for a great increase in chemical work in connection with agriculture as soon as the Royal Commission has reported.

Every man who can start a paying industry, and carry it on, by his own initiative, is doing the very finest service to his country, as well as building up a happy and independent career for himself. Here will be the test of the reality of the training which our schools and colleges can give, not necessarily a training sufficient to qualify for immediate financial responsibility in industry, but at any rate a training in essentials and in the right attitude of mind. It has been said that the young subaltern on receiving his commission is not expected to perform the duties of a general, or to be able to devise schemes of strategy and tactics; but at least he should be able to deliver a squad of men at a given place, punctually at a given time.

It is this quality of trustworthiness that, more than anything else, is required of the budding industrialist. I would urge that the Indian chemist has an unlimited field for his energies. It seems impossible to conceive that such a fascinating work could, for a moment, be deemed derogatory to social dignity. Unintelligent, monotonous toil may be felt to be unworthy of so-called educated people, but such work afford possibilities of great increase of material wealth to the individual, and to those associated with him and ultimately to the whole country."

#### Chemical Society's Report.

The report of the Chemical Society which was adopted showed that it had a unique record of rapid progress made within the space of three years and a half. It had 400 members on its rolls. Its journal, as was evident from the fact that all the papers were abstracted in leading chemical journals all over the world, had an international status. The society had two sections, one at Lahore and the other at Bombay. The Bombay section owed its existence mainly to Dr. M. Mulla Prasad. The Lahore section owed its existence to Mr. Bhatnagar. The Chemical Society of the Presidency College owed its present position to the strenuous work of the retiring secretary, Dr. N. Mookerjee, who was selected Vice-President in the place of Dr. J. L. Simonsen.

A resolution was passed expressing deep regret at the death of Sir Ganga Ram and offering condolences to the bereaved family. This was carried, all the members standing.

#### Discussion on "Power-Alcohol."

Prof. H. K. Sen of the University College of Science, read a paper on "Power Alcohol." Two natural products of the province of Bengal were Gangwe and Water Hyacinth. The former was a tree growing very abundantly in Sunderbans and the cheapest wood in the market. There were at least 100 tons of sawdust available from the saw mills of the city. By introducing proper forestry regulations the growth of the tree in the forests could be maintained perennially. Prof. Sen obtained 30-40 gallons of Alcohol



from a ton of Gangwe sawdust. The usual figure obtained with other varieties in other countries was in the region of 20-22 gallons. The cost of production per gallon of spirit was shown to be 6'05 annas, which pointed therefore to a great prospect for the industry in the province. It was also stated that the Union Distillery of Calcutta managed by Dr. Bose's Laboratory were arranging to erect an experimental plant to give the process a large-scale trial. The chemical interest of the problem was also great, as the work would bring out certain results of fundamental interest in Cellulose Chemistry.

The water hyacinth, the other natural product of the province, for destruction of which the Government and the people were so anxious, was found to yield good results. The method adopted by Prof. Sen differed from that followed previously.

A large number of distinguished gentlemen took part in the discussion that followed, amongst whom were noticed Dr. Chunilal Bose, Dr. P. Neyogi, Dr. Pandya of the Agra University, Dr. A. C. Sarkar, Dr. N. N. Goswami, Dr. J. K. Choudhuri of Dacca, Mr. J. N. Dutta of Sylhet and others.

Dr. Panchanan Neyogi asked if the collection of water hyacinth would be feasible to which the author replied in the affirmative from certain statistics both local and foreign. He emphasised however, upon the need for careful organisation. Dr. Sarkar also expressed a similar view.

President Bhatnagar in his closing remarks said that it was a proud privilege to preside over the Calcutta sitting, as Calcutta might be called the cradle of chemical investigation, of which Sir P. C. Ray was the presiding nurse. He came not to preside, but to carry inspiration home. He thanked the members for their courtesy and consideration, and assured them all that his feeling of obligation was deep. He thanked the members once again and declared the session of the section over.

#### Calcutta Session Concluded.

The fifteenth session of the Indian Science Congress concluded on the 7TH JANUARY. The Congress opened on Monday and continued its sittings till this afternoon.

In the section of Chemistry alone, more than 140 papers of high technical value were read and discussed. Calcutta contributed a large number of them, with Madras and Bombay coming second.

The section of Mathematics and Physics, presided over by Dr. Hunter contributed 81 papers. Allahabad and Calcutta submitted more papers than any other centre in this section.

The section of Psychology attracted about 23 papers. Dr. Michael P. West presided.

The section of Agriculture, presided over by Rao Saheb Venkataraman, attracted 34 papers, as compared with the very meagre number in the first session of the Congress.

44 papers were submitted in the Zoology section of the Congress, presided over by Dr. Sundar Raj. Allahabad contributed more papers in this branch than any other single place, with Calcutta as the second best.

Mysore and Southern India and the Punjab submitted a large number of papers in the Botany section.

Dr. B. S. Guha, formerly of the Calcutta University and at present of the Geological Survey of India, presided over the section of Anthropology.



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which attracted more than 50 papers. Mr. S. S. Metha of Bombay read an interesting paper on "Indian and Roman marriage ceremonies compared."

Thirty six papers were read in the Geology section, many of which contributed much to this branch of Science and greatly added to the possibility of industrial expansion and commercial development. A paper on the iron resources of Mandi State by Dr. S. K. Roy was read by Mr. Maitra.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the contribution of the Geological section of the Science Congress was considerable. In this connection the remark of Dr. Fermor of the Geological Survey of India may be mentioned, who stated that so long the popular idea was that it was only the Geological Survey of India who contributed to the sum total of geological research and advancement, but it was now seen from the number of papers read during this session, that people other than those connected with the Survey had no small share in the development of the science.

In rising to offer a vote of thanks to the chair, Prof. K. K. Mathur, of the Benares Hindu University, said that thanks were due to the President Prof. H. S. Das Gupta, not only for making the present meeting a success, but also for the manner in which he had worked for the advancement of Geology in India. The Congress then came to an end.

## The Indian Economic Conference.

The eleventh session of the Indian Economic Conference commenced at the Lucknow University Hall under the presidentship of Mr. M. H. Darling on the 3rd January, 1928 and continued till the next two days. Dr. CAMERON, Chairman, Reception Committee, in a speech showed the dangers of over-simplification in a science which dealt with human life, and ironically alluded to that objectionable monster, the economic man, and all the soulless doctrines against which Carlyle and Ruskin vigorously protested. At Lucknow the Professor of Economics, he said, had taken up a very decided line in endeavouring to keep her teaching of the subject in closest contact with the real world, while the Post Graduate students were engaged in regional surveys in the villages of Oudh and were accumulating material that might be useful.

### Agricultural Position.

The Hon'ble Rai Rajeswar Bali, Minister of Education opened the Conference with a long speech in the course of which he examined the agricultural position of the United Provinces. The introduction of a crop like wheat by canal irrigation into wide areas where it was unfamiliar had been perhaps the most phenomenal agricultural improvement in the whole of India. They were also not unfamiliar with the deterioration of farming methods and practices which an excessive use of canal water had brought about. He hoped that before long there would develop at the Lucknow University a really efficient school of Indian agricultural economics under the control of Dr. Mukerjee. He pointed out the difficulties of consolidation schemes, which did not take into account the present system of rotation on different areas in the village and also touched on the gravity of the cattle problem. In the end he deplored the conflict between the modern ideal of economic efficiency and India's cherished social values and ideals, and emphasised that economic activity must be brought before the August tribunal of supreme values, the true, the good and the beautiful.

### Economics and Ethics.

Mr. M. H. DARLING in his presidential speech discussed the relations of economics with ethics and sociology and constantly referred to his wide personal



knowledge of the economic life of the Punjab peasantry. He explained how the leading religions could not ignore vital economic issues and illustrated how monotheism in Islam had not opposed the idea that "where is water, there is God," and how the injunctions as regards the irreligiousness of charging interest had not been scrupulously followed by the Punjabi Mahomedans. The Hindus similarly no longer maintained disabled and useless cattle on religious grounds, while the Sikhs were also changing their outlook, for example, towards birth control. In the end he suggested that the gospel of sufficiency and service should be preached to the peasant and sufficiency should include food, cleanliness, health, education and a more abundant life.

#### Co-operative Marketing.

Dr. H. SINHA in an interesting paper on co-operative marketing showed how the small holding and poverty of the cultivator necessitated a large number of middleman. Corrupt weighing, malpractices on account of different measures of weight, as also arbitrary deductions are quite common. He also examined the difficulties of co-operative sale for cotton and jute in India, and included by emphasising the need of local investigation into marketing conditions especially in regions where commercial crops are important.

#### Long Term Mortgage.

Dr. J. C. SINHA, Dacca University, in his paper pleaded for long term mortgage credit for peasants on a co-operative basis. This might be run, he urged, as a separate department of Central Banks as the advantages of efficient management would outweigh the disadvantages.

#### Elasticity of Funds.

Mr. P. N. BANERJEE, Calcutta University, also dwelt upon the importance of elasticity of funds and proper facilities of long term credit for the cultivator. He alluded to the Irish Agriculture Credit Co-operative, which seeks to mobilise credit for use among the peasantry and also suggested the inclusion of a provision giving facilities for long term credit to co-operative organisations in the Reserve Bank Bill.

#### Compulsion in Rural Areas.

Mr. S. Kesava IYENGAR, Nizam's College, pleaded for compulsion in rural areas to deal with the problems of health, construction and repairs of roads, maintenance of tanks and well for irrigation etc. and referred to the provisions of the Mysore Village Panchayet Regulation in this connection.

#### Agricultural Problems.

The SECOND DAY of the conference was devoted to the problems of agriculture. Dr. Radhakamal MUKERJEE showed by an examination of agricultural statistics that the canals in the Upper Ganges Valley could hardly withstand the effects of a bad monsoon. In the more recent famine years there was a sudden shrinkage of areas irrigated from wells below the normal and instead of an expansion of canal irrigated areas there was rather an opposite tendency. The canals in years of normal rainfall had to serve such wide cultivated areas that it was impossible during drought to provide an adequate supply of water. The decreasing resistance which irrigation works now offer against the fluctuations of rainfall supports the fear that some of the world's greatest engineering schemes have brought about a prosperity phenomenal no doubt, but exhibiting to some extent the nature of the mushroom growth under unfavourable natural conditions. Dr. Mukherjee showed the precariousness of agriculture by classifying the districts and comparing them with the percentages of irrigated area. He grouped the semi-protected districts of the province in a black list so far as liability to famines is concerned in the following manner; Agra, Muttra, Farrukhabad, Etah, Jhansi, Aligarh, Etawah. All these districts had exhibited declining conditions and lost in numbers as revealed by the censuses.

#### Double Cropping.

Mr. B. N. GANGULI, Dacca University, showed that double cropping and a high density of population co-exist and explained how soil, canal or well irriga-



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tion governed a more intensive farming in different areas of the Gangetic Plain. The tendency to resort to more elaborate double cropping was really a sign of agricultural property, and acts as a safety valve under the pressure of an excessive population.

### Demonstration Farms.

Mr. Bhatnagar, Allahabad University, pleaded for a net work of demonstration farms in the villages and a careful local examination of farm practices and methods for the improvement of agriculture.

### Social Economics.

On the THIRD DAY'S sitting the scope of social economics and farms of social insurance were discussed. The Rev. James Kellock, Bombay, examined the necessity of bringing economics into close touch with ethical ideals, and suggested the consideration of economic factors of amelioration as the scope of social economics.

Mr. K. B. Madhava, Mysore University, examined the various forms of social insurance in vogue in Germany and England and pleaded for the creation of a separate department like the Government Actuary's Department.

### Group Insurance.

Mr. D. P. Mukerjee, Lucknow University, pleaded for group insurance among the Indian masses utilising the caste, punchayet and other community organisations. He stressed that the community spirit was very much alive and might be utilised in forms of insurance experts to support his contention.

### Central Banking.

The proceedings closed in the afternoon. Principal Findlay SHIRRAS read a paper on the fundamental principles of a Central Bank with special reference to the proposed Reserve Bank of India. Prof. Shirras made it clear, at the outset, that he wished to discuss the question from a purely scientific spirit because, in his opinion, discussion on the reserve bank had hitherto been unnecessarily complicated by importing political considerations. He enumerated ten principles which he considered essential for central bank, the chief of which were, (1) sole power of note issue, (2) liquidating of resources, (3) freedom from Government and political influences, (4) rediscounting facilities, and (5) concentration of gold reserves. Referring to the question of gold reserves he suggested that not only should there be a reserve for note issue, but there should be a reserve for deposits also, as was the practice in the Federal Reserve Bank.

A lively discussion followed Prof. Shirras' speech, in which Principal Tannon of Bombay, Prof. Duraiswami Aiyar of Madras, Mr. B. T. Thakur of Lucknow, Dr. Banerjee of Calcutta and Dr. Sinha of Dacca all took part.

The consensus of opinion was that a Reserve Bank was absolutely necessary in the economic interests of India and that it should be free from political and state interference.

Mr. THAKUR was emphatically in favour of a shareholders' bank on economic grounds, the chief of which continuity of policy and creation of a live interest in the electorate. An important safeguard suggested by him was the constitution of two classes of shares, one for Indians and the other for non-Indians without the right of transfer.

Prof. Batheja said that the importance and urgency of the Reserve Bank was so great that there was no occasion for a war of words. It was possible to arrive at a satisfactory constitution, both under the State Bank and shareholders' scheme, eliminating the undesirable features which were at present associated with either scheme.

After this the Conference came to an end. Prof. Kale of Poona was elected President of the Economic Association for the current year. It was decided to hold the next session of the Conference at Mysore.



# The Women's Educational Conference.

Amidst impressive scenes the All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform opened at the Royal Cinema Hall, New Delhi on the 7TH FEBRUARY 1928. A large gathering of distinguished ladies and gentlemen was present.

On arrival H. E. Lady Irwin was received by Mrs. Das, Chairman of the Reception Committee, who presented the members of the Standing Committee of the Conference to her. Her Excellency, accompanied by the Begun Mother of Bhopal, then proceeded to the dais, and was accorded a rousing ovation by the ladies assembled.

The hall presented a picturesque scene. Special arrangements had been made in the gallery for purdah ladies. About 150 delegates from all parties of the country attended.

The visitors included Sir John Simon, Lord Burnham, Mrs. Naidu, the Princess of Baroda, the Rani of Mandi, Mrs. K. C. Roy, Mrs. Coatman, Mr. Chatterjee, Mrs. Sarla Devi Choudhrani, Mrs. Nehru, Sir Mahomed Habibullah, Mr. S. R. Das, Mr. Stow, Sir San-karan Nair, Prince Akram Hussain, Sir Abdul Qayum, Nawab Mehr Shah, Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Mr. Khaparde, Raja Sir Rampal Singh, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Col. Gidney, Mr. Harbilas Sarda, Mr. Kunzru, Mr. Fazal Rahimtulla and Raja Ghaznafarali Khan.

Lady Irwin was profusely garlanded by Mrs. S. R. Das. The proceedings commenced with prayers from the Vedas, the Bible and the Koran welcoming Her Excellency and delegates.

## The Welcome Address.

Mrs. S. R. Das, welcoming the delegates on behalf of the Reception Committee said :—

At the outset I must apologise to you for the many shortcomings in our arrangements for your comfort. Delhi is a place of distances and some of us reside in the Old City and some six miles away in New Delhi. Our resources are also limited, but I can assure you we have spared no pains to make your sojourn amid us as happy and comfortable as possible. We are grateful to you, sister delegates, for the long journeys you have undertaken to help us to make the Conference a success. It is a good augury for the future of women's education that so many ladies, even purdah ladies, are showing such keen interest that the discomfort of travelling long distances has not detained them from being present to-day. I am sure in the interest you are taking in the objects of the Conference you will overlook the discomforts you may be put to by the mistakes in our arrangements. It is not necessary for me to make any elaborate mention of places of interest, both historical and modern, to be seen in Delhi. Arrangements have been made for you to see some of the sites of Delhi both old and new; and I trust that that pleasure will be some compensation for all your troubles.

We are very grateful to Her Excellency Lady Irwin for so graciously consenting in spite of her numerous engagements to open the Conference to-day. Her presence here is a source of great encouragement to us. We hope to hear from her message what woman can do for her country and what part a woman can play in bringing up her sons to right ideas of citizenship and in bringing up the daughters as capable mothers and companions to their husbands. We are peculiarly fortunate in having Her Highness the Begun Mother of Bhopal to preside over our deliberations. She has taken a lifelong interest in education; and to-day she is at the head of one of the important universities in India. She is the only woman who is the Chancellor of an Indian University. In her own beautiful city of Bhopal, she has founded schools for the education of girls, where you will find the very latest methods employed. We are confident that under her wise and able guidance we shall achieve success in our deliberations.

Delhi has never seen such a gathering of women from all parts of India interested in their educational needs. The ancient and historic city of Delhi where they are meeting and which has been the capital of both Hindu and Mahomedan Kingdoms will serve to remind us, in our march towards progress, of our traditional culture, which must always be the foundation on which further progress must be based. The appalling illiteracy now among our women is partly due to the lack of facilities and partly to the apathy of parents. This apathy is however gradually disappearing. A very general desire on the part of parents to educate their girls is now clearly discernible. This is just the time for us to meet and decide upon the kind of education which should be imparted to our girls. A few years hence, when parents have become accustomed to their girls being educated on the same lines as their boys it might be too late to persuade them to follow a course of study more suitable for girls. We are at the parting of the ways, when we must take steps to steer in the right direction of our girls. I hope and pray that this Conference



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which has brought together the women of all castes and creeds, will help towards the unity of India. Many speakers will deal with the different questions which will arise for our decision and we are all anxious to hear Her Excellency Lady Irwin. On behalf of the Reception Committee once again I offer Your Excellency a hearty welcome.

Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya then read messages from the Maharanis of Baroda and Sangli. The former drew attention to the legislation that had been passed in Kashmir and Baroda whereby the marriageable age for girls had been fixed at 15, and she hoped other parts of India would follow the example set by the two States.

### The Secretary's Report.

The Honorary Secretary then read the report for 1927-28. During the period under review the Conference, she reported, had come to be a force and a power, and had revived women's whole consciousness and given womanhood a status of its own. The modern system of education seemed something which was quite apart from the real and intimate life of the students and particularly girls. It seemed to ill-fit them for either domestic or public work. As a result of Mrs. M. Cousins' labours, 22 constituent Conferences were held all over the country. Various resolutions of immense importance were passed, and a memorandum of women's demands formulated. The Conference had defined Education as the training which would enable the child or individual to develop his or her latent capacities to their fullest extent for the service of humanity. It laid great stress on the necessity of placing before the students high ideals of social service, with a spiritual atmosphere as the back ground. It demanded compulsory primary education, and the introduction of physical training and the promotion of spiritual culture in schools in addition to mental. The Conference also sought to widen the scope of the university courses by introducing fine arts, social science, advanced domestic science, journalism and architecture. They were quite convinced that if they were to lay a really strong foundation and bring about an appreciable change in the whole system of education, women must begin to get greater representation on all educational and local bodies that controlled education, as also on administrative bodies. One of the main activities the Conference undertook was to secure support for the Child Marriage Bill, both now pending before the Legislative Assembly. Signatures in favour of the bills had been collected and Gujerat alone contributed nearly ten thousand.

The Rani of Mandi after eulogising the service of Lady Irwin in the cause of the welfare of Indian women, requested her to open the Conference.

### Lady Irwin's Speech.

Lady Irwin, declaring the Conference open, spoke as follows :—

I deem it an honour to have been asked to-day to open this great Conference, the second of its kind to be held in India, and I hope a forerunner of many more in the years to come. Its very existence is a sign that India is now (as she is doing in so many other spheres) also taking her part in the great world movement for the advancement of women's education.

A decade or so ago, the Government of India took into their serious consideration the education of girls, and in a resolution then issued they commented upon the lack of zeal for girls' education and the need for the co-operation of women. This Conference, commanding as it does a widespread influence and numbering among its supporters members from all parts of this country, is only one of the many indications that the co-operation of women in the work of educating the girls in India, has not been sought by the Government in vain. It is essential, if we are to accomplish results in this field of education, that we should see very clearly what we desire to do; and for this purpose we must keep constantly before our eyes what we conceive to be the test and goal of real education.

### True Aim of Education.

There are plenty of people in the world to-day who, with most praiseworthy motives, are tempted to confound education with the mere acquisition of a certain amount of knowledge, and to pursue information as such for its own sake, forgetting that, valuable as information is, it is only a means to an end which is wider and deeper than itself. Literacy is valuable. We rightly desire to pursue knowledge, but all these things are at best of little worth unless they are brought into the service of human life and character. This must be the real goal of educational effort, and since therefore the purpose of education, in its truest sense, is not only the acquirement of knowledge, but the training of character, mind and body as an equipment for the great school of life, women must essentially be given a training which will help them to be an influence for good and beauty in their homes and in the wide sphere which their personality may reach,



I have already realised, in my short time in India, how deep and far-reaching is the influence of women. They are the repository of tradition; and long may they continue to be so. They must not be blind leaders of the blind, but the bringers of light, of courage and of hope, and it is their work to wed what is best of the old to what is best of the new. I feel sure that our object should be to give an education which will make woman more useful and happier in her home, and not one that will drive her out of it.

To the mothers in India, perhaps, even more than in some other countries, is left the forming of their children's character, particularly during those early years, when the mind is open to deep and lasting impressions. What must be the effect upon the child, boy, or girl, of a mother who is not even literate?

It is distressing to discover the high proportion of girls who learn to read and write at school, but who at an immature age are claimed by domestic duties or early marriage, before they are sufficiently proficient even to retain the elementary knowledge that they have acquired. I do not know whether something might be done to encourage girls on leaving school to keep up their reading and to learn to love it for the sake of the new world which it opens out to them by providing them with something really attractive to read. I am told there are in India few books of the sort which would serve this purpose. If this is so, there is surely much to be done in encouraging the production of really good and readable books which would fill this great want.

#### Importance of Teachers' Role.

Next to the mothers, teachers are, in a sense, the makers of the country. They are the missionaries of civilisation, laying the foundations without which no politician or statesman can rear any permanent structure. I am told by everybody that one of the greatest needs in India is a continuous supply of suitable and trained women-teachers. To me, it would seem that the training and supply of teachers are at the very root of the whole problem. They are wanted for the education of girls during the whole of their period of study, and they are wanted as teachers of the young children of both sexes. I am convinced that women make better teachers of the young than men. They have greater patience and greater sympathy; and as co-education among little children in small areas increases, I would hope that the ideal to be aimed at eventually might be that women-teachers should have them in their care. But our difficulties will be increased rather than lessened, unless we are able to get teachers of the right type. We need women not only with knowledge, but with vision, and with a capacity for self-sacrifice, and a high sense of the great responsibility that is theirs. Here again it is personality that counts; for education is largely the play of the mind moulding character in that insensible process, of which, perhaps, most of us have been at some time in our own lives dimly conscious. The finest teacher I have known have been those who look upon their profession as a vocation, who love the children they teach, and count it a privilege to train them for future citizenship. I know this is a high ideal; but we cannot afford to be satisfied with anything but best in those who are to mould the minds of the rising generation. I know too that the difficulties in persuading the type of women we need to come forward for training are immense, but I feel not the less certain that there is much that can be done to achieve this end. The furtherance of education for women is a great constructive work: for it means nothing less than an attempt to build the City of God in the homes of this country. It is the noblest concern of women, nobler even than the great profession of medicine, since it ministers to the heart and mind and not only to the body. Why is the profession of education despised from women of good birth? We must all resolve that such a stigma on so noble a profession should be lifted, and that we will each do our share by all the means in our power, to change public opinion in this vital matter.

In regard to this question of teachers, one of the most difficult sides to the problem of course, is the supply of suitable teachers in the villages. Yet, in this country where the population is mainly rural, it is a problem which must be faced and surmounted before any real progress can be made. There are practical difficulties, their loneliness and lack of suitable lodgings on the teachers' side; and on the girls' side the difficulty of getting them to school in the country districts when they live at a distance from the school-building. And though it is difficult to see our way clearly to their solution, we can be in no doubt as to the main principles by which our efforts should be governed. Some very valuable work is going forward in this matter of rural education in Gurgaon District. Among other activities, a School of Domestic Economy is training women to teach all sorts of domestic subjects to girls. The great value of this work, in my opinion, is the predominating aim to bring education into line with the real needs of the country, and to create in the minds of the village inhabitants a desire for the education of the womenfolk.



## THE WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE [NEW DELHI

The obstacles in the way of women's education in this country are enormous : difficulties of language, poverty, ignorance, apathy, hostile public opinion, social customs and even politics. But women, the world-over, are famed for their patience, their dogged courage in the face of daily adversities. If we keep a stout heart and are determined to go forward steadily, I am convinced that we shall in due time overcome all our present troubles, and win through them to our goal. In one respect India is favoured. Other countries have been pioneers, and have made mistakes by which India, if she is wise, may profit. They have been slow to recognise the necessity for differentiating between education of boys and girls. It is of course true that they both have to live in the same world and that they both have to share it between them ; but their functions in it are largely different. In many countries to-day, we see girls' education developing on lines which are a slavish imitation of boys' education. It is surely inappropriate that a curriculum for girls should be decided by the necessity of studying for a certain examination so that it must perforce exclude many if not most of the subjects we would most wish girls to learn. If public opinion, for example, demands that Matriculation should always be the first test of excellence of a high school education, schools will necessarily be framed to meet that demand. The result will be, as I suggested, to drive us into a uniformity that fails to take account of the distinctive necessities of women. We must, therefore, as I see it, do all in our power to set a different standard, and to create a desire in the public which will allow girls or at any rate a greater number of girls to develop on other lines. What I feel we should aim to give them is a practical knowledge of domestic subjects and the laws of health, which will enable them to fulfil one side of their duties as wives and mothers, reinforced by a study of those subjects which will help most to widen their interests and outlook. I would like therefore to urge all of you here to-day to bring all your influence and efforts to bear on the accomplishment of that end. I speak with diffidence, to an audience of experts ; and I have not attempted to speak of the social conditions which have so much influence on this vast question. In the time at my command, I can only touch one or two points at most. I have endeavoured to confine myself to what seem to me of immediate and practical importance. There is one thing in conclusion, as to which you will no doubt agree with me in regard to this or any other Conference ; and that is the necessity of keeping before our eyes the object of making constructive suggestions and not merely passing general resolutions however unimpeachable. An English play-wright once reminded his audience of the importance of being earnest. I would hope that this Conference may not lose sight of the importance of being practical. If from each of these annual Conferences a constructive body of thought and of concrete suggestions emerge, not merely theories but sober, well thought-out, practical schemes dealing with the most urgent needs of women's educational world, then we shall not only feel ourselves that the Conference is worth while, but we shall justify ourselves in the eyes of the somewhat critical world. I think there is a real opportunity which this Conference may seize, of making itself the accepted mouthpiece of unofficial opinion on the subject with which it deals. It would be of immense value if this annual Conference came to be regarded by the Government and by the country alike as the one central authoritative body to which they could turn for guidance and advice in any matters affecting the education of women and girls. I need not assure you of my desire to lend any help that I may, for such a purpose.

### Mrs. Naidu's Speech.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Lady Irwin, Mrs. Naidu gratefully acknowledged the illuminating words of Her Excellency which, she said, should be the keynote of their aims and ideals. Amidst loud applause, Mrs. Naidu declared that the East and West had met to-day in the kinship of women, that indivisible sisterhood. India, she said, was the home of Lakshmi, Saraswati and Parvati, and did not consist of Hindu ideals only, but of ideals of all the nationalities who had come into contact in this land. She strongly repudiated the charge that India consisted of narrow ideals.

### The Bhopal Begum-Mother's Address.

Presiding over the Conference, Her Highness the Begum-Mother of Bhopal hoped the Conference would be an inspiring power, and would serve as a model of unity and co-operation. Touching children's education, she contended it was the mother's lap that provided the first and best school of education ; for the chief objective of their conference was to bring about reforms in female education, and to remove the various drawbacks and deficiencies inherent in the system. The main cause of the present unsatisfactory condition of female education was that up till now whatever had been done for the education of women had been done by men ; and they could not fully realise their needs or look at



## RESOLUTIONS PASSED

them from the same viewpoint as women themselves could. The obstacles in their way were many. On the one hand poverty of the people of India and their prejudice stood in the way of a proper settlement; on the other there were old and antiquated customs sanctified by religion, which retarded educational progress.

Proceeding, Her Highness, deplored the fact that in India the income per head was Rs. 2-8-0 per month. However, it was their lack of interest and sometimes their opposition that had prevented the Government from paying due attention to the education of women of India. That accounted for the backwardness of girls in education in comparison with boys, and for the fact that the ratio of education between women and men was hardly 5 to 100. The remedy for poverty lay in the enlargement of their sources of income; but they should also cut down unnecessary items of their expenditure, and revert to the plain living of olden times.

The speaker vehemently denounced the evil of early marriage, which resulted in rapid disease and mortality, fall in the average length of life, poor physique of children and in physical and intellectual degeneration. She averred that the people had themselves come to realise the evil effects of the customs and she thought Government would not be wrong in finding out proper means of dealing with it in the way that would satisfy all of them.

Adverting to the Purdah system, the President remarked that there could be no denying the fact that the present strictness of purdah among the Mussalmans did not form part of their religious obligations. It was based on purely local considerations, and was not as strict as in other Islamic countries. If the system were remodelled, according to local peculiarities and placed on a reasonable footing most of the evil effects which it had on female education would disappear.

Turning to the syllabus for the education of girls Her Highness suggested that the curriculum should embody the peculiar needs and requirements of women. Women's education should be such as may enable her, among other things, to help man in his struggles, to comfort him in his troubles and to create a happy home. Continuing, the speaker declared that fine arts and physical and spiritual training should not be excluded from the curriculum. For, so long as separate universities for women are not set up, the national universities ought to take up these questions, and do something to improve the situation.

The next great problem was the supply of efficient teachers to impart good education. There should be good teachers from the very beginning, and those who wanted to see the standard of their children's education raised should try to improve the lot of their teachers.

Concluding, the President appealed to all ladies to realise the poverty and helplessness of their country, and to contribute their quota of help in the advancement of education. They could easily devote some of their spare time to teaching girls in their neighbourhood. In this way the difficulty about teachers could be greatly relieved.

She reiterated Lady Irwin's advice that practical efforts were essential to the achievement of their objects. She complained that most of the meetings and conferences in India did not go beyond mere expression of pious hopes. There were interesting discussions and passing of some very fine resolutions; but there the whole thing came to an end, and that in fact was one of the reasons that female education in India was still in its preliminary stage.

### Resolutions Passed.

On the 8TH FEBRUARY the Conference passed a number of resolutions deploring the effect of early marriage on education and emphatically condemning the custom of allowing immature boys and girls to become parents.

It called upon the Central Government and the Provincial Legislatures to follow the precedent set by several Indian States in raising the legal age of marriage.

The meeting also demanded that the legal age of marriage for girls and boys be made 16 and 21, respectively. While welcoming Mr. Harbilas Sarda's attempt to pass legislation prohibiting early marriage, the Conference strongly protested against his proposed ages of 12 and 15, and called upon him and the select committee to amend his bill in conformity with their resolution.

Opinion was also recorded that girls' schools should be inspected by women who had both general and technical qualifications.

### Demand for Compulsory Primary Education.

On the 9TH FEBRUARY the backwardness of women in education formed the main topic of discussion. The most important resolution carried to-day held



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that compulsory primary education was essential for girls, and urged upon the Government and the local bodies to make the necessary financial provision for this purpose, and to make special grants for Moslem and other girls, who suffered from the disability of purdah.

The Conference recognised the imperative need for the establishment of a greater number of training schools for teachers, and urged upon the Government to take immediate steps to start such schools.

It was pointed out that as far as possible, women-teachers should be engaged in the primary stage of education both for boys and girls, which should in fact be wholly the concern of women-teachers.

The Conference recommended that an All-India fund for the promotion of women's education be established and appointed a sub-committee to collect funds and to submit a scheme for its administration to the Standing Committee.

On the 10TH FEBRUARY after the adoption of eight more resolutions and the election of office-bearers, the Conference concluded its session. The Conference also appointed four sub-committees to carry on the work of the conference during the year.

### Representation of Women on Legislatures.

Mrs. Cousins (Madras) introduced a resolution urging the Government to nominate at least two women to the Central Legislature to protect the interests of women, especially in regard to the pending legislation on Child Marriage and Devadasi children. Mrs. Cousins pointed out that the need for such legislation was keenly felt by the delegates when they listened to the discussion on Sir Hari Singh Gour's Age of Consent Bill in the Assembly.

Mrs. Saraladevi Mehta (Bombay) supported the resolution, remarking that women were not content with cradles only, but that they really wanted to rule the world.

Mrs. Rustomji (Hyderabad), who was one of those who represented the women's case before the Muddiman Committee, declared that women were absolutely necessary in the legislatures to safeguard their interests.

The conference then resolved to send a representative to Honolulu to attend the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference, for which an urgent invitation had been received. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's name was suggested and finally accepted.

Mrs. Das (Bihar) next proposed that women be given adequate representation on all educational boards which controlled primary, secondary and university education, and on all text-book committees. The motion was accepted. A desire was expressed to utilise cinema films for educational purposes in schools, especially in rural areas, and the conference passed a resolution to that effect.

### Agricultural Education.

The motion which raised a good deal of controversy and discussion was the one dealing with agricultural education, and which was proposed by Mrs. Saraladevi Choudhrani (Bengal). It advocated the introduction of teaching of agricultural subjects in schools, colleges and training colleges, the institution of scholarships for girls and the appointment of women agricultural officers and demonstrators.

The opposition was led by Mrs. Mayadas (United Provinces). After much discussion, an amendment proposed by Mrs. Bhatvadekar (Central Provinces) was passed. The amended resolution suggested the introduction of agriculture as a compulsory subject in rural schools and as an optional subject in cities.

Mrs. Besant, addressing the Conference, declared that it had been one of the most hopeful signs for India that her daughters were taking an active part in public affairs. Women had now equal franchise with men in India, and India was one of those countries where the opinion of women was taken into consideration, and reverence for women was inculcated. She contended that the voice of Indian womanhood was of supreme importance for the welfare of the world. Woman, she said, saw far more than man, and was more practical than him.

After a few closing remarks by the President, the Conference came to an end





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# The Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

The annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce was held at Calcutta on the 24th February 1928 in the rooms of the Chamber, Mr. B. E. G. Eddis presiding.

After the annual report and the audited accounts for the past year had been adopted, the President in course of a lengthy speech said among other things :—

A beginning has already been made with a view to the representation of the opinions of the commercial community on the important issues which the Simon Commission has been appointed to investigate, and this will certainly be one of the most important subjects requiring the consideration of the Chamber during the coming year. It is to be hoped that one of the results of the evidence laid before the Commission will be to convince them of the necessity for a revision in favour of Bengal, of the terms of the Meston Settlement.

Just as it should be the policy of the Chambers of Commerce to confine themselves to matters pertaining to commerce and industry, so in my opinion it should be the policy of legislatures to confine themselves to the making of laws and to politics. Unfortunately the Indian legislatures now to their work, are not content to observe this principle, as is obvious from their attitude towards the Reserve Bank Bill. The Reserve Bank Bill, if and when it is established, should be kept outside politics altogether, but there is a very definite opinion on the part of Indian politicians that it is right and proper for the legislature as such to be directly concerned with the direction and control of the Bank and its functions, with the result that India has for the present lost her opportunity of getting the Central Bank which she needs for the better control of currency and credit. So far as the principle of a Reserve Bank is concerned, the Chamber is in agreement with the recommendation of the Currency Commission but is firmly convinced that the Bank must not in any way be subject to political control; the terms of the second Bill were such that it seemed more than possible that the politicians might be able to gain control.

We are likely to have fresh income-tax troubles to face in near future, for I see that the Assembly has passed the Income-Tax Amendment Bill containing several clauses to which, as is explained in the report, this Chamber took strong exception. The other Bill, the Second Amendment Bill—has been referred to a Select Committee.

As you know, there has been considerable discussion on the fact that, "Roads and Bridges" being a provincial subject, the Government of India are not contributing to the cost of the bridge. There is, however, one direction in which I venture to think that they could, and should, assist the project. I do not know to what extent, when the bridge comes to be built, the steel used will be of Indian manufacture, and to what extent it will be imported. So much of it as is imported will, if it is fabricated, be subject to an import duty of 17 per cent. if it is of British manufacture, and of 17 per cent. plus 15 per cent if non-British manufacture. To the extent that the steel used is of Indian manufacture, the price will naturally be adjusted so as to be only a little lower than that of the imported material : in effect therefore the position will be much the same as if the whole of the material were imported in a fabricated state, namely, that the bridge will



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be burdened with a very heavy charge on account of this duty. In view of the fact that the Government of India do not seem to think that it is possible for them to make a direct contribution towards the cost of a project that is far from concerning only Calcutta and Howrah, or even Bengal, it seems to me that there is a strong case for consideration of the whole position and for a special exemption, from duty, being allowed in the case of all material required for the bridge; I go even further, and consider that, so far as the steel used is of Indian manufacture, a special grant-in-aid should be made by the Government of India to compensate for the higher rate that the Indian manufacturer is able to charge by reasons of the imposition of the duty.

In course of his remarks on traffic control in Calcutta the speaker referred to the "almost intolerable noise that has of late become such a never ending feature of life in Calcutta. For that, motor traffic is almost entirely to blame, although we do also hate to put up with a good deal of unnecessary and disturbing noise from street hawkers such as those who sell race programmes and race tips: but at worst they are only occasional whereas horn nuisance is always with us, and does not tend to get any less. If any person is in any doubt as to who are the chief offenders, let him be about in Clive Street any evening after the withdrawal of the traffic police, and see the endless promenade of empty taxis parading in both directions, every one contributing to the incessant din. But it is not only in the business quarters of the city that the taxi nuisance asserts itself: it is now prevalent to such an extent in the residential parts of the city as seriously to menace the comfort and peace of mind of the citizens. There is a growing feeling that the evil demands the urgent attention of the authorities and that the most energetic steps are required to suppress it once and for all. We have sometimes seen a temporary improvement as a result of public complaints, but before long the position has again become as bad as it ever was and the people of this city are entitled to demand that their comfort and convenience should not be as they now are, at the mercy of a small and entirely inconsiderate section of the community. Surely at any rate something might be done at once to insist on the use of a less blatant type of motor horn."

Sir Alexander Murray proposed a vote of thanks to the outgoing President, who in reply thanked him.

### The New President.

Sir George Godfrey then thanked the Chamber for electing him as the President of the current year and in doing so he said:—

"I shall have to face difficult problems connected with the future of India and this Chamber will have to have a keen and careful watch on the change of political developments. As a Chamber we have to watch these for large commercial interests which may become involved and which may even be threatened. We can always see the threatening of some of them at the present moment. The duty of this Chamber is to build up and construct the new constitution and to take part on the political side. We must be prepared and be ready with our ideas and be able to put them forward when called upon to do so and outside the Chamber there is no reason why one and all will not take part in assisting the creation of some stable future for this country."

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# The Indian Chamber of Commerce.

The Second Annual General Meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta was held on the 18th February 1928 at 4-30 p.m. under the Presidency of Mr. D. P. Khaitan in the office of the Chamber, at 135, Canning Street, Calcutta. There was a very large attendance. Among those present were :—Mr. Faizullahbai Gangjee, Mr. Sheekissen Bhatler, Mr. Anandji Haridas, Mr. K. J. Purohit, Mr. A. D. Madgaokar, Mr. Habib Mahomed, Mr. E. P. Guzder, Mr. Raj Shekhar Bose, Mr. W. C. Banerjee, Mr. P. M. N. Mehta, Mr. R. Sitaram, Mr. N. L. Puri, Mr. G. L. Mehta, Mr. J. N. Ghosh, Mr. Rajam, Mr. C. S. Rangaswami, Mr. Kumar Krishna Kumar, Mr. N. Sen, Mr. A. D. Addy, Mr. Haji Abdul Razak Abdul Sattar, Mr. F. H. Achard, Mr. Sajjan Kumar Chowdhury, Mr. M. P. Gandhi, (Secretary).

## President's Speech.

Mr. Debi Prasad Khaitan in course of his presidential address, said :—

"1927 is a momentous year in the realm of finance—but not for India. A study of the tendencies and events of Indian trade and finance in the past year and of their underlying causes and inner forces in comparison with the tendencies and events of International trade and finance and their underlying 'motifs' will form the most poignant commentary of the painful fact that is, day in and day out, rubbed in into us—the fact, namely, that India is only a subordinate branch of the British administration, that we can have no rights apart from what suits British interests, no prerogatives except when graciously tolerated by the benign Secretary of State; that, in a word, we are but hewers of wood and drawers of water in the much-vaunted British Commonwealth of Nations."

Reviewing 1927 so far as India is concerned, he said :—The evil effects of unduly appreciated currency, as anticipated by those who have studied this intricate science, have unconsciously been felt by all concerned.

The monsoon was, on the whole, propitious and fairly free from any of its periodical vagaries; but jute fetched poor prices and the farmers of Bengal could not obtain anything like a reasonable margin between the costs of agricultural operations and the selling price of jute—though jute mills have thriven during the period, cotton has brought no prosperity and the movement of the produce to foreign countries has been tardy and anaemic; wheat has fared no better; and the numberless tillers of land have had a very arduous year.

Secondly, money market appeared to be free from stringency but the principal Indian industries, like the cotton mill industry, were in "doldrums;" Indian export and import merchants could make hardly any profits; money was easy but credit restricted; company liquidations went on merrily and not one new company of any importance was floated; Indian joint stock banks show standstill conditions; and there is an all-round lack of confidence



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and of hope for the future which is the basis, and the indispensable preliminary condition, of a healthy trade activity.

Thirdly, India has maintained a stabilised international exchange but we saw the unusual spectacle of repeated deflations and consequent heavy-sized contractions of currency in the midst of the busy season at the end of 1926-27 and beginning of 1927-28; the overseas demand for our staple products has been delayed; the favourable trade balance, though slightly better than in 1926-27, is still very poor, so poor as to make the remittance programme of the Government a hazard; and stability of exchange has in no sense eliminated the feeling of uncertainty, the possibility of surprises and the upsetting of plans and calculations.

Fourthly, our national budget has been balanced but how many of the individual budgets for 1927 of Indian businessmen and Indian business-houses could claim to be balanced budgets; and the misery of unemployment is being widely felt.

Fifthly, we are told that the internal prices have been stabilised; external exchange has been stabilised; our currency and credit machinery is being reorganised; and we are rapidly advancing towards the ideal of India placed on a gold basis but what has been the actual record in regard to the essentials preliminary to the adoption of a Gold Standard.

Have we increased our gold assets? Is there any real addition to our stock of gold? In April 1926, we had the equivalent of Rs. 21 crores in sterling securities—by the end of the year our Government had dissipated 15½ crores of sterling securities. And by the middle of 1927, there was practically nothing of gold securities in Paper Currency Reserve. Towards the close of the year, however, some purchases have been made and the year ends with a small holding of sterling securities.

Roundabout out March 1927, just over 2 millions worth of gold was bought for the Gold Standard Reserve; and we were asked to hope that this was the beginning of a wholesome policy of converting a portion of the securities of G. S. R. into gold. But as though ashamed of being discovered while doing so good a thing, the Government have reverted to the old policy and no more gold has been bought on account of our reserve in the remainder of the year. And yet this was a period in which the most significant feature of international finance was the free and large movements of gold.

We are told that "the Federal Reserve authorities look with favour on gold exports, being sympathetic to the restoration of the Gold Standard throughout the world and probably would continue to co-operate, as far as might be practical, with fresh efforts to stabilise on a gold basis." The Federal Reserve authorities are keen on helping those countries which are able and willing to establish themselves on a gold basis.

Is India the Cinderella of the family of nations aspiring to establish themselves on a gold basis?

It is necessary to obtain a definite answer to this question. Surely it cannot be that America, which is co-operating with all the countries trying to go on a gold basis, singles out India alone for the invidious distinction of ineligibility to make any purchases of gold. One can understand the anxiety of the Secretary of State to refrain from buying gold in London. The wrath of the Bank of England is such as would burn to ashes even the all-puissant Secretary of State.





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If the position be that we cannot buy in London because it won't suit the Bank of England nor in New York because it won't suit its silver interests, then it is easy to realise the force of the remark with which I started my speech that a comparative study of Indian finance and its underlying forces with International finance would be the most eloquent commentary on the subordinate position which India occupies and on the way in which her interests are lightly brushed asides unless and until our mentors and masters are pleased to tolerate them.

The Reserve Bank Bill is dead and buried—unwept and unsung.

The first and foremost need, therefore, is that the Indian Government should buy gold—and keep buying gold at every suitable opportunity. And the plea that no such suitable opportunity has so far presented itself or may not present itself cannot hold any water. Such a plea if raised by the Government would be a sure token of the total absence of genuine solicitude for India's welfare and interests.

## Government's Sermon : Mills Duty.

Another instance where the Government have all through the past 30 years and more shown a callous indifference to the interests of India's industrial welfare is the cotton mill industry. During the last four years, owing to the high exchange and owing to what may be described as world factors affecting the cotton mill industry, the Indian cotton mills have been passing through difficult times. They had finally to appeal to the Government for protective tariffs. They did not get protective tariffs; on the other hand, they got endless homilies and pompous sermons on the need of "setting one's own house in order." The Government cannot give any support and do not want to give it. They have, however, given us a powerful sermon on self-reliance. Let us take that sermon to heart, and let us develop a programme in which we can by our own strength re-establish the industry on a sound basis. The Indian cotton mills should join together and carry out an intensive and extensive propaganda with a view to bringing round the Indian consumer to buy only Indian cloth. Except for a brief period in the anti-partition days, no propaganda of any magnitude has been concluded on right lines or on an adequate scale to indicate "Swadeshi" in cloth. If all the Indian cotton mills join together, the financial aspect of this propaganda cannot present any difficulties. A central organisation will be able to study and appreciate the psychology of the Indian consumer: it should from that knowledge devise propaganda by pamphlets, lectures, posters, advertisements, articles in journals and papers etc.; it should chalk out a comprehensive programme and execute it with zeal.

The interests of India are to us, who are connected with Indian business, the sole consideration; the interests of India are, so it seems to me, to the Government of India a subsidiary consideration, as the Secretary of State and, through him, the powerful British commercial interests have always a strong say. It will be our duty to keep a careful watch—to ensure that India's interests are always kept in the forefront whether in the broader policies and principles or in their more detailed application.

The Annual Report of 1926-27 and the accounts were then put and carried unanimously.

Messrs. Battliboi & Co. were appointed the auditors for the ensuing year 1928-29.