

R. T. C. MINORITIES PACT AND COMMUNAL AWARD



COMMUNAL

QUESTION:

PREMIER'S

DECISION

A Comparative Study of Recommendations

We publish below the recommendations of the Minorities Pact of the Round Table Conference and the decision of His Majesty's Government in parallel columns, which will illustrate how far His Majesty's Government's Award differs from the claims, put forward by the various minorities in London.

The Minorities Pact has given the total number of seats for each community, having taken into consideration the seats that may have to be given to various interests.

The Government's Award deals with interests separately, and the numbers, given in comparison should further be augmented by the scats which might be got by different communities through special interests.

Even without this addition to the communities through such special interests, a fair comparison may be made of the Award and of the claims embodied in the Minorities Pact.

Province.			Strength of Chamber.	Caste.	Depressed Classes.	Total.	Muslims.	Christians.	Anglo- Indians,	Europeans.	Tribal.	Sikhs
Assam	M.P.		100	38	13	51	85	3	1			
	Govt.		108	44	4	48	84	1		10	ė	
Bengal	M.P.		200	38	35	73				7	9	
	Govt.		250	70	10		102	2 2	8	20 11		
Behar &					10	80	119	2	4	11		
Orissa	M.P.		100	51	夏 夏 3. 万夏 3.							
	Govt.				14	65	25	1	1	5	3	
Bombay	M.P.		175	99	1	106	42	2 2	1	2	8	
Colliday			200	88	28	116	.66	2	3	13		
To a second	Govt.		200	87	10	97	63	3	2	4	**	
Madras	M.P.	**	200	102	40	142	30	14		8	100	
	Covt.		215	134	18	152	29	0	4 2	3	2	
Punjab	M.P.		100	141	10	24	51	1.5	1.5		1	
	Govt.	1	175			43	86	2	i	2		
United-	M.P.	There	100	44	20	64	30					20
Provinces	Govt.		228	182	12	144	66		2	3		82
). P.	M.P.		100	58	20			2		$\frac{2}{2}$		
	Govt.		112	77		78	15		2	2	2	
		7 365			10	87	14		1		2	

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APPENDIX VII

THE INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT, 1935

The text of the agreement signed yesterday, in London by Sir Walter Runciman, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, in the United Kingdom and Sir B. N. Mitra, on behalf of the Government of India, provides inter alia that when the question of the grant of substantial protection to Indian Industry is referred for inquiry to the Tariff Board, the Government of India will afford full opportunity to any industry concerned in the United Kingdom to state its case and answer cases presented by other interested parties.

The Government of India further undertake that, in the event of any radical changes in the conditions affecting the protected industries during the currency of the period of protection, they will, on the request of His Majesty's Government, or on their own motion, cause an enquiry to be made as to the appropriateness of the existing duties from the point of view of the principles laid down in Article III and that, in the course of such an enquiry, full consideration will be given to any representations which may be put forward by any interested industry in the United Kingdom.

TEXT OF AGREEMENT

NEW DELHI, Jan. 10, 1935.

The following is the Text of the Agreement signed yesterday in London by Sir Walter Runciman, on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, and Sir B. N. Mitra, on behalf of the Government of India, as a supplement to the Ottawa Trade Agreement

PREAMBLE

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India hereby agree that, during the continuance of the Ottawa Trade Agreement, the following undertakings on the part of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and of the Government of India shall be deemed to be supplementary to that Agreement namely:

Article 1: It is recognised by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India that, while protection to Indian industry against imports of whatever origin may be necessary in the interests of the economic well-being of Indian conditions within the industries in India, in the United Kingdom and in the foreign countries may be such that Indian Industry requires a higher level of protection against foreign goods than against the imports of United Kingdom origin.

Article 2. It is recognised by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that, under the existing conditions, the import duties constitute an indispensable element in the revenues of the Government of India, and that revenue considerations must be given due weight in fixing the levels of the import duties.

PRINCIPLES OF PROTECTION

Article 3: The Government of India undertake that protection be afforded to such industries only as, after due enquiries by the Tariff Board, have, in the opinion of the Government of India established claims thereto, in accordance with the policy of discriminating protection laid down in the resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly on February 16, 1923, provided that this undertaking shall not apply to the safeguarding of the industries under the Safeguarding Act of 1933.

INDO-BRITISH AGREEMENT, 1935





- 2. The Government of India further undertake that the measure of protection to be afforded shall only be so much as and no more than will equate the prices of the imported goods to fair selling price for similar goods produced in India and that, wherever possible, having regard to provisions of this Article, lower rates of duty will be imposed on goods of United Kingdom origin.
- 3. Differential margins of duty established in accordance with the principles laid down in the preceding clauses of this Article as between the United Kingdom goods on the one hand, and foreign goods on the other, shall not be altered to the detriment of the United Kingdom goods.
- 4. Undertakings contained in this Article shall not prejudice the right of the Government of India in such cases in which they find it essential in the interests of revenue to impose an overriding revenue duty on the imported goods higher than the protective duty required.

INTERMEDIATE ENQUIRY

Article 4: When the question of the grant of substantive protection to the Indian Industry is referred for enquiry to the Tariff Board, the Government of India will afford full opportunity to any industry concerned in the United Kingdom to state its case and answer cases presented by other interested parties. The Government of India further undertake that in the event of any radical changes in the conditions affecting the protected industries during the currency of the period of protection they will, on the request of His Majesty's Government or of their own motion, cause an enquiry to be made as to the appropriateness of the existing duties from the point of view of the principles laid down in Article 3, and that, in the course of such enquiry, full consideration will be given to any representation which may be put forward by any interested industry in the United Kingdom.

Article 5: His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will give consideration to the steps that might be taken in co-operation with the respective commercial interests to develop the import from India of raw or semi-manufactured materials used in the manufacture of the articles of such class on which importation into India are subject to the differential protective duties. In particular, they invite the Government of India to take note of the steps that have already been taken in the United Kingdom in pursuance of Article 8, of the Ottawa Agreement, with a view to widening the area of the consumption of the Indian cotton, and they undertake to continue the use of all possible efforts in co-operation with the commercial interests to stimulate the consumption of Indian cotton in all possible ways, including technical research, commercial investigation, market liaison and industrial propaganda.

Article 6: His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom undertake that, in accordance with the principles of the foregoing article, the privilege of duty-free entry of Indian pig iron into the United Kingdom will be continued so long as the duties applicable to the Article on Iron and Steel imported into India are not less favourable to the United Kingdom than those provided for in the Iron and Steel Protection Act of 1934, without prejudice, however, to the provisions in Sub-section 3 (4) and 3 (5) of the Indian Tariff Act 1894 as amended by Section 2 of the Iron and Steel Duties Act of 1934.

Article 7: His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India undertake that, in all matters relating to this agreement, they shall, at all times, receive and consider any conclusions, agreements or reports which may be framed as aresult of the conferences between the accredited representatives of the industries concerned in the United Kingdom and in India.

MODY-LEES AGREEMENT

As an annexure to the supplement to the Ottawa Trade Agreement, the Notes that were exchanged between Sir Walter Runciman, President





of the Board of Trade in England, and Sir B. N. Mitra, High Commissioner for India in London, are published.

The first Note from Sir Walter Runciman says:-

"Sir, I am authorised to undertake on behalf of H. M.'s Government in the United Kingdom, that, if at any time, any further or other special steps are taken by the Colonies and Protectorates to facilitate the sale of United Kingdom cotton goods in competition with foreign cotton goods, they will invite the Governments of the Colonies and protectorates to accord as favourable a treatment to Indian cotton goods of any description, as may be proposed for similar United Kingdom cotton goods. The above undertaking shall remain in force so long as the Agreement of October 28, 1933, between the Lancashire Delegation and the Mill-owners' Association. Bombay, or any subsequent agreement which may be concluded between the cotton textile industries of the two countries remain in force."

Replying to Sir Walter Runciman's Note, Sir B. N. Mitra says:

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter number 1 of to-day's date. I am authorised to undertake, on behalf of the Government of India, that, as soon as the second surcharge comes off as a general measure, the tariff rates on the United Kingdom cotton piecegoods will be reduced to 20 per cent ad valorem or three and a half annas per pound on plain grey goods, and 20 per cent ad valorem on other goods, provided that, on the expiry of the period of the Agreement of October 23, 1933, between the Lancashire Delegation and Millowners' Association, Bombay, duties on United Kingdom goods for the remaining period of protection will be fixed on a review of the conditions then existing, and in the light of such experience as may have been gained. By reference to the second surcharge coming off as a general measure is meant the removal of the surcharge on a reasonably large proportion of, not necessarily all, items now subject to it. (Sd.) B. N. Mitra.

Acknowledging Sir B. N. Mitra's letter, Sir Walter Runciman says:—
"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 2 of today's date.— (Sd.) Runciman."





APPENDIX VII-A

GILIARAT FLOODS

Before we close the history of 1927, we owe it to Gujarat to give a short account of the remarkable work done by Congressmen in connection with the Gujarat floods that year. Towards the end of July 1927 the Province of Gujarat in the Western India was visited by a great natural catastrophe. Over fifty inches of rain fell in a sudden downpour over a large portion of Gujarat within four or five days. Whole villages were swept away,—cattle, cottages, belongings and all. Thousands of people were rendered destitute, rich lands with standing crops were covered with layers of sand several feet high, district towns were marooned, Railway and Telegraph communications cut off and the city of Ahmedabad itself was threatened. The outstanding feature of the catastrophe was the number of fallen houses all over the Districts of Gujarat including the territory in the Indian State of Baroda. At the lowest estimate no less than 4,000 villages were affected. The percentage of fallen houses varied between 50 and 60 to even 90.

The adversity made the people forget their social prejudices and their narrow domestic pettinesses, and they rose to the occasion in one grand effort at mutual help under the able leadership of Sirdar Vallabhbhal Patel who was then the Lord Mayor of Ahmedabad and the President of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee. An emergency relief organisation of nearly 2,000 workers sprang up as if in a night's time and before the Government official world would even realise the nature and extent of the disaster and take counsel at the high quarters as to their duty by way of relief activities, the Congress machine was working in full swing.

Though Gandhi was away in Mysore State at the time recouping his health after a sudden breakdown during one of his whirlwind tours round the country, he offered to go to Guiarat but the proposal was stoutly opposed by Sirdar Vallabhbhai who preferred his province to give an occular demonstration of how the Mahatma's teaching had leavened the social strata and had fired men with the spirit of service.

Through one vast expanse of water the Congress workers and volunteers carried provisions to the marooned villages as also to the Government officials who were in the same plight. In the service of the distressed they had no polities and no preferences. The District Magistrate of Kaira was cut off from the world for days and gratefully accepted the Congress help in the shape of provisions and other things sent by Sirdar Patel through special volunteers. The Government machinery had broken down completely for a week or so and while their officers at the headquarters awaited reports from their subordinates in the Districts and regarded certain areas as unapproachable, the Congress organisation was busy distributing relief and giving succour to the distressed in the farthest villages affected. It was an unique demonstration of self-help and mutual help by an intelligent and resourceful populace charged with the Spirit of Service.

But the extent of the disaster was beyond the power of any popular non-official agency to cope with. The immediate relief by way of distribution of food and other things being over the problem of resowing the entire crops, of reclaiming the valuable lands and rehabilitating the homeless families faced both the people and the Government. Valuable days were passing and the season for resowing would be lost. The Government hesitated and wavered. They raised technical objections. It was again the intelligent public opinion all over the Province of Gujarat under the inestimable leadership of Sirdar Patel that compelled the unwilling Government of Sir Leslie Wilson to declare their policy in time and to set apart a





sum of Rs. 1,54,00,000 (out of the Famine Insurance Fund set apart from the general revenue by the Government) for distributing relief to the cultivators and to the distressed by way of easy loans with which to purchase implements, bullocks, house-building materials and so on. The Pro-vincial Congress Committee in close co-operation with the Bombay Central Relief Committee (another non-official body set up by the leading citizens of Bombay in aid of distressed (Gujarat) distributed relief during the following months throughout Gujarat and so efficient was the Congress organisation that all other relief distributing agencies including Government themselves had to utilise it as their medium of operation. Government, however, made the best of it and bowing to the inevitable, Sir C. V. Mehta, the then Finance Member of the Government of Bombay, made graceful gesture at the Relief Conference held at Anand as also at the Conference assembled at Nadiad by inviting Sirdar Patel and other Congress workers to the Conference and by accepting the Congress Agency for their distribution of relief. Besides Government amounts, nearly Rs. 3,00,000 were in all collected by the joint efforts of Congress and the non-official bodies and distributed. The Government, the Congress, the Baroda State and the various popular relief organisations sprung into existence for the time being were thus all blended into one vast organisation for making a huge effort of reconstruction under the Congress lead for nearly a year. It gave a splendid training to the Gujarat youth and gave a new sense of self-confidence and a new hope to the people of Gujarat. So happy indeed was the new experience of all that the Finance Member while introducing the budget during the ensuing session of the Bombay Legislative Council ungrudgingly paid the following tribute, to the Congress and its great leader Mahatma Gandhi:

"The immediate work of relief required courage, promptness and resource. Bands of enthusiastic volunteers carried help to the distressed and the stranded and in some cases prevented possible loss of life, arranged for the coneyance of food and clothing with a cheerfulness and promptitude which excite admiration".

"Business absorbed Gujarat, till a few years ago, and it could scarcely boast of self-sacrificing social public work. It must be an intense satisfaction to Mahatma Gandhi that his labours for the creation of a band of selfless workers to be pioneers of missionary social activities, particuarly in the rural areas, have met with an ample response and that the volunteers mostly drawn from the Vidyapith should have acquitted themselves so creditably in the absence of their beloved leader in the face of an unforseen calamity. How the mantle was at once taken up by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and with what energy he carried out his plan of work is now well-known. These workers belong to the old school of no-changers and it is gratifying that they felt that this was no time to oppose or keep aloof from Government.

"It is my sincere hope that the atmosphere for missionary service created by Mahatma Gandhi will be permanent".

The flood disaster was thus rightly regarded by many as a blessing in disguise.





APPENDIX VIII

THE BIHAR EARTHQUAKE

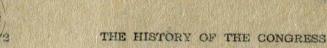
On the 15th of January 1934 large tracts of the Province of Bihar were devastated by a severe earthquake which has been regarded by reports as the greatest recorded in history both in the area affected and the damage caused. The area of greatest destruction covered not less than 50,000 sq. miles comprising large portions of the Districts of Champaran, Muzafferpur, Darbhanga, Sarai, Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Purnea. The population affected was no less than one crore and fifty lakhs. The number of deaths was estimated at about 20,000, the number of houses damaged and destroyed over 10 lakhs, number of wells and tanks damaged and destroyed nearly a lakh. More than 8 lakhs of acres of fertile land were covered with sand thrown out of fissures caused in the earth and vast tracts became covered with water similarly thrown out. Railways and roads were destroyed extensively and for months traffic became difficult in many parts.

Apart from Government measure, relief on an extensive scale was organised by a non-official Committee, known as the Bihar Central Relief Committee on which Congressmen very largely preponderated. The brunt of the most arduous work of relief fell on Congressmen who had been in prison in connection with the civil disobedience movement. The President of the Committee Babu Rajendra Prasad made an announcement offering co-operation to Government in the matter of relief work which was hand-somely acknowledged by the Government. The response to the Committee's appeal for funds was most spontaneous and generous. The donations in cash amounted to nearly 29 lakins of rupees besides large quantities of goods like blankets, wearing apparels, cloth, rice, flour, utensils, medicines, tea, invalid food, building materials like bamboos, timber, corrugated from sheets, tarpaulins, hessians, tents and other equipments valued at about three lakhs.

The distributions of relief was a most difficult affair in the absence of any pre-existing organisation. The Committee appointed agents in each District and centres were opened which ultimately came to more than 250 in number. Help came from all parts of the country not only in the form of money and goods but also in the form of volunteers headed by Mahatma Gandhi and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the last named being soon disabled from serving by imprisonment on a charge of sedition. The number of volunteers in the period of intensest activity was over 2,000 and it included Doctors, Engineers, expert accountants and auditors and public workers of note.

The forms that provision of immediate relief took were the removal of debris, disposal of dead bodies, supply of food, clothing, temporary shelter, water and medical help. One form of immediate relief was the supply of sugar cane crushers to enable agriculturists to save the vast sugar cane crop which would have been destroyed owing to more of, the sugar factories having been put out of action by the earthquake. In this work of immediate relief the Committee distributed over seven thousand maunds of grain, Rs. 20,000 cash for food, 28,000 blankets, immense quantity of clothing, desilted more than two thousand wells, sank, 339 tubes and erected or helped in erecting over 72,000 shelters of huts. The total expenditure under these heads came to over a lakh and ninety thousands besides the value of the goods distributed.

The work of reconstructoin was taken towards the end of March and the first item was the question of supply of water. The Committee succeeded in sinking nearly 7,000 wells and re-excavating nearly 700 tanks. It had decided at an early stage not to encourage begging and had insisted on some sort of work being done for giving food and large numbers were





employed in repairing village roads and re-excavating water channels and repairing embankments which had been damaged by the earthquake, and the Committee spent nearly a lakh of rupees in the form of unemployment relief. The number of persons who received doles in this form in Champaran alone, which was the worst affected in this respect, came to over a lakh.

In July and August the lands which had suffered severely from the earthquake and also large areas which had comparatively escaped much damage from the earthquake were subjected to heavy floods and the damage done was more or less of the same character as by the earthquake except that in some cases it was worse. The work of rescue and relief kept the organisation engaged till after October and a special form of relief which became even more urgent was the relief to cattle, all crops and fodder having been destroyed in vast tracts. The Committee had provided for nearly 150 boats for rescue work, 100 of which were placed at the disposal of the Government.

It was during and after the winter 1934-35 that the Committee took up the work of distributing relief on an extensive scale for building houses and distributed nearly eight lakhs for this purpose besides a sum of nearly three lakhs spent on huts and semi permanent structures which included small grants to poorer people to set up small huts and structures. The amount spent on water supply came to more than five lakhs, 35 thousands, on flood relief over 2½ lakhs, cattle relief over 75 thousands including nearly Rs. 49,000 earmarked by donors for the purpose, nearly 38,000 for medical relief, 36,000 on seeds. Another form of relief was the opening of cheap grain shops and cheap building materials shops which sold food grains and building materials to sufferers at reduced or cost prices and succeeded in keeping down the level of prices which showed a great tendency to rise.

An interesting item of work which was in hand was the rebuilding of a number of villages on new sites in the District of Muzafferpur. The work was done from the funds contributed by the Viceroy's Relief Fund and the Bihar Central Relief Committee Funds and was executed under the supervision of Dr. Pierre Ceresole, the head of the International Voluntary Service for peace assisted by local workers.

One problem which at one time threatened to be most difficult and disastrous of all was fortunately solved to a considerable extent by nature. The immense quantity of sand thrown out did not prove to be as destructive of crops as was feared and the greater portion of the area covered under it did bear crops. The work of the Committee is now drawing to a close, and its funds are nearly exhausted except what is allotted for particular purposes. Its accounts and reports have been published every quarter.



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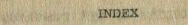
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