

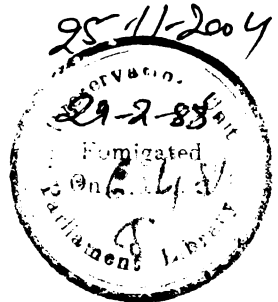
Tuesday, 20th January, 1925

THE
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

Volume V

(20th January to 26th March 1925)

FIFTH SESSION
OF THE
COUNCIL OF STATE, 1925



DELHI
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS
1925

Council of State.

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THE HONOURABLE SIR ARTHUR FROOM, KT.

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THE HONOURABLE SARDAR JOGFENDRA SINGH.

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR.

THE HONOURABLE SRIJUT CHANDRADHAR BARUA.

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THE
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES
(OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE FIFTH SESSION)

VOLUME V.

FIFTH SESSION, 1925.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

Tuesday, 20th January 1925.

The Council met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, being the first day of the Fifth Session of this Council, pursuant to S. 63-D (2) of the Government of India Act.

INAUGURATION OF THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF
STATE AND THE SECOND SESSION OF THE SECOND LEGIS-
LATIVE ASSEMBLY.

His Excellency the Viceroy with the Presidents of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly having arrived in procession, His Excellency took his seat on the dais.

H. E. THE VICEROY: Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature, it is my privilege again to extend a welcome to you who are about to enter upon the labours of the Delhi Session. Many questions of importance will come before you, and it is my earnest prayer that the results of your deliberations may prosper the best interests of India and the Empire.

I am glad to note that conditions in India and on her frontiers are at the moment favourable; our relations with our neighbours in foreign countries on our borders are most friendly; and I take this opportunity of welcoming the distinguished officers from the Kingdom of Afghanistan who are present here to witness the military manoeuvres now being held in the vicinity of Delhi. Their visit is greatly appreciated in India and is a token of the friendly and neighbourly relations which exist between His Majesty's Government and the Government of His Majesty the Amir.

Happily I am able to say that our Waziristan policy appears to be justified by the greater security of our districts and the gradual pacification of the country, though not without the regrettable loss of some valuable lives. Although in South Waziristan various difficult questions still remain unsolved, yet progress is evident. In North Waziristan we have reached

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pre-war stability. And with this improvement in the general situation it is well to observe that there has been a progressive reduction up-to-date in the cost of our forces employed in Waziristan.

It is a satisfaction also to record a marked improvement in India in economic conditions and trade prospects. In the first six months of the present financial year Indian imports and exports in sea-borne trade reached a total of 292 crores, an advance of 18 crores on the corresponding period of last year and of 39 crores on the figures for the same period in 1922. There are likewise clear signs of returning prosperity in internal trade; and the marked increase in gross railway receipts places beyond doubt the general revival and growth of internal trade activity. Despite damage in some localities owing to floods in the last monsoon agricultural prospects are generally good. The cotton crop is above average and the outlook of wheat and other spring crops is at present eminently satisfactory.

You have already been made aware of important changes in my Government. I shall in future have the assistance of Sir Bhupendranath Mitra and Sir Muhammad Habib-ul-lah as Members of my Executive Council, and I am confident that I shall derive the advantage I anticipate from their advice and co-operation. But changes are not confined to my Government; they have occurred also in the Legislature, and especially in the Council of State, for Sir Montagu Butler who was the President of that honourable Chamber has left it to assume the post of Governor of the Central Provinces. Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith, whom I have appointed to succeed him, is well known to the Members of both Chambers. He has had long connection with the Indian Legislature and has won their esteem and respect, and I am sure that he will continue to enjoy the confidence of the Members of the Council of State in the higher place among them to which he has now been translated. There have also been a few changes among the Members of the Legislature to which I need not refer in detail; but I am convinced that the Members of both Houses will join me in deploring that ill-health has necessitated the resignation of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri who has been a Member of the Council of State since its inception. I trust his absence from the Legislature will only be temporary and brief, and that he will soon be restored to health and enabled once more to add the distinction of his intellectual gifts to the Legislature and to devote his great capacities to public affairs.

I desire to embrace this opportunity of expressing my high appreciation of the labours of Lord Hardinge, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir Muhammad Rafique who represented India as delegates at the meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations in September and October last. The meetings were of unusual importance and interest and from them have emerged the proposals for the Protocol which are now under the consideration of His Majesty's Government and the Governments of other nations concerned.

When considering affairs outside India, attention naturally and inevitably turns to Indians overseas. When I addressed the Legislature in January last the position of Indians in Kenya was critical; and I foreshadowed the appointment of a Committee to make representations on behalf of the Government of India regarding the Immigration Ordinance in Kenya in particular and other questions relating to Indians in the Colonies. The *personnel* of the Committee was announced in March last and the Committee began their labours in London in April. They had a

number of interviews with the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the officials of the Colonial Office and made representations regarding many important matters affecting Indians in Kenya, Fiji and the mandated territories of Tanganyika.

I cannot too highly praise the thoroughness and ability with which they performed their delicate task, and I am grateful for the very patient hearing which the representatives of His Majesty's Government, Mr. Thomas and the officers of his department accorded to them.

As regards Kenya, the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Thomas were announced in the House of Commons on August, the 7th last. On the question of Franchise and the Highlands there was no change in the position; but as regards immigration, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies after hearing our representatives was not satisfied with the data submitted from Kenya and was unable to agree with the Kenya authorities that a case had been made out to justify the Ordinance. He therefore gave an assurance that the Immigration Legislation would not be placed on the Statute-book. The further restrictions then on the point of being imposed upon the immigration of Indians were accordingly removed. As regards Indian Colonisation, Mr. Thomas announced that it was proposed to reserve an area in the lowlands for agricultural emigrants from India; but that before the scheme took final shape an officer with experience of the needs of Indian settlers and agricultural knowledge would be sent to report on the areas to be offered for colonisation. Reports in regard to the areas have now been received by my Government; and we are considering the question of deputing an officer to examine these areas from the aspect of their suitability for Indian settlement. These are substantial gains and our gratitude is due to the Committee for the clarity and earnestness of their representation of the Indian point of view to His Majesty's Government. Moreover these gains are not the only advantages which accrued from their visit. A better atmosphere has been created and that wider understanding of different points of view has grown up which is the outcome of personal discussion and free and frank interchange of views.

In June last His Majesty's Government announced the appointment of an East African Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Southborough to consider and report on certain questions regarding the administration and economic development of the British East African Dependencies. Having regard to the importance of this inquiry to Indian interests my Government made representations to secure a hearing of the Indian point of view before the Committee came to conclusions. I am glad to inform the Legislature that our representations have been accepted and the Southborough Committee will hear the opinions of Indian representatives nominated by my Government upon all matters coming within their purview.

If the pendulum has swung in the direction desired by India on these questions, the position in South Africa, on the other hand, has been less favourable. Towards the end of December news was received that the Governor General of the Union of South Africa had given his assent to the Natal Borough Ordinance. This measure, while safeguarding the rights of Indians upon the electoral roll of boroughs, will prevent further enrolment of Indians as burgesses. The serious implications of the measure on the future of Indians, who have special vocational and trading connections with the towns in South Africa, will readily be realised. From the outset the Government of India had recognised the effect this measure might have upon the position of resident Indians in Natal both as regards

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their civic and economic status; and my Government made strong representations to the Union Government as soon as a copy of the Ordinance was received in August last. At that time there was reason to hope that since a similar but more drastic measure had been disallowed previously by the Governor General, this Ordinance would also share the same fate; to our regret however the Government of the Union advised the Governor General to give assent to the Bill; and accordingly the measure has now become law. The situation created is engaging the most earnest attention of myself and my Government; we have lost no time in making representations to His Majesty's Government and in placing before them in an emphatic manner the difficulties in which resident Indians are likely to be placed by the operation of this law. Every endeavour will be made to discover a remedy; but, in view of the powers of Dominion Governments in internal and domestic affairs, the position is one of delicacy and a solution will not be easy to find. Patience will again be necessary. I may remind you that when the position in Kenya seemed most unfavourable, temperate arguments and full and frank discussion resulted in a better understanding of the Indian point of view and in a measure of relief to the disabilities felt by Indians. I hope that as in the case of Kenya, so also in this case some remedy may be devised. I have promised to receive a deputation on this question and will discuss with them at a later date, in the light of further information which I hope to receive, the prospects of finding a solution to the present difficulties. For the present I say nothing more on the subject.

Of measures which will engage the attention of the Legislature an important section concerns Commerce, Industry and Finance. I will not dwell at length upon the Trades Union and Trades dispute legislation because I have recently explained the genesis and scope of these measures to the Associated Chambers in Calcutta. Both these measures mark a new step in the progress of labour legislation in India. I believe opinion has been expressed in some quarters that we are moving too fast along the line of labour legislation; but both these Bills only deal with essentials and are of a simple nature; and great weight must be given to the view that at a moment when labour has commenced organisation and is assuming prominence, recognition should be given by Statute to the fact and development on the right lines should be secured. I attach importance to the right preliminaries, though the future of Trades Unions in India will, I realise, largely depend not on enactments, but on the spirit shown by the employers and workers and on the attitude of the public. Let me also remind you that the views expressed by my Government in those Bills are tentative only; and when comments have been received they will be carefully considered and changes made as may appear desirable in the light of the criticisms expressed.

It is gratifying to observe the very keen interest taken by the Legislature in the working of the Tariff Board. During the past year, my Government have placed before you proposals based on two of the reports of the Board. The most important of these resulted in the passing of the Steel Industry (Protection) Act, which imposed heavy protective duties on a wide range of steel products covering most of those in ordinary consumption. The rates embodied in that Act were the result of careful investigation by the Tariff Board; but since they were brought into force, the Steel Industry has represented that further protection is required largely owing to a rapid and marked fall in the prices of Continental steel. This question was referred to the Tariff Board for inquiry, and during this Session a

Resolution based on their report will be brought forward for consideration by the Legislature. The fall in prices of Continental steel had been so heavy that an attempt to deal with the position by means of increased import duties would have resulted in practically doubling the existing duties, with the consequence that from 50 to 70 per cent. of the landed cost of imported steel would have been represented by the duties charged. Obviously my Government could not agree to duties on such a high scale on articles which are largely used in agriculture and many other important industries. They have, however, accepted the general conclusions of the Tariff Board, and the Legislature will be asked in this Session to agree to the grant of bounty on steel produced in India between October 1st, 1924, and September 30th, 1925. The total amount of bounty proposed is fifty lakhs, which is the sum that it is calculated the industry would receive under the Tariff Board's proposals, were the rates recommended by the Board to become fully effective. This is a very favourable interpretation of the recommendations of the Board, especially as it allows the industry to obtain the advantage of the protection accorded without waiting for sales. If the grant of this bounty is made, it should prove of material assistance to the steel industry of India in its difficulties.

You will have noticed that the policy advocated by the Fiscal Commission has been steadily pursued. The Tariff Board is now engaged in investigating the applications for protection from certain other industries, notably cement and paper. The principle has been maintained that it is right and proper that any industry which appeals to the State for assistance must prove its case in public before an impartial Board. It is only by this means that an opinion can be reached on the merits of the case and the implications and effects of a demand for protection envisaged.

It is evident from private Bills, Resolutions and questions that Members are taking a lively interest in the difficult questions of currency and exchange; and it may be of interest to the Legislature to hear from me an indication of the policy of my Government upon these problems. While internal prices in India have on the whole remained steady, there has been a considerable rise in the sterling value of the rupee during the past year, and an even more marked rise in its gold value owing to the simultaneous improvement in the gold value of sterling. Thus far during the present busy season there has not been a repetition of the exceptional stringency in the money-market which characterised this period a year ago, and I am hopeful that the assistance which my Government have been able and will be able to give in the matter of providing additional currency, combined with the improved conditions on which emergency currency can now be issued to the Imperial Bank, will enable all legitimate demands to be met without undue strain during the remainder of the season.

My Government proposes in the first place to amend the Indian Paper Currency Act so as to increase the permissible investment of securities in the Paper Currency Reserve from the present limit of 85 crores of rupees to 100 crores.

The object of this proposal is to give the Government of India increased powers to ensure the supply of currency upon an adequate scale to meet the requirements of trade and in particular to prevent undue monetary stringency in the busy season.

We have made announcements from time to time to Chambers of Commerce and in the Assembly that, if my Government found existing powers were likely to prove insufficient, it would not hesitate to ask for increased discretion.

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We began the present busy season with a margin of $13\frac{1}{2}$ crores of permissible investment; and we have up to date increased currency by six crores, British Securities to the amount of six million pounds having been placed in the reserve in England. There is still therefore a margin of $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores; but it is considered desirable to ask the Legislature for increased powers to meet possible contingencies.

The Members of the Legislature may rest assured that these provisions for increased discretion to meet demands for currency are a healthy development and offer no indications of a morbid tendency. The need is an outcome of the improvement of trade which is now definitely recovering from post-war depressions, and it is natural that increased trade should require increased currency facilities.

It should also be noted that this increase of currency represents an addition made by Government quite independent of the amount which the Imperial Bank is entitled to ask as a loan from the Paper Currency Reserve against the security of Internal Trade Bills. The Imperial Bank is entitled to ask for sums up to 12 crores. The conditions upon which the Bank can ask for this emergency currency have recently been modified by requiring that the first four crores may be taken when the bank rate is at six per cent., and any part of the remainder may be taken when the bank rate reaches seven per cent.

There has been a considerable feeling in some quarters that the time has come for the appointment of a Currency Committee to investigate the difficult question of exchange and to make recommendations. The suggestion has been carefully examined by me in consultation with my Finance Member, and has been for some time past the subject of discussion between my Government and the Secretary of State. The chief difficulty to be considered is the fluidity of economic and exchange factors in the world. The question is not affected only by features in India and England or even in the Empire; world conditions have also to be considered and powerfully affect the issues; and there is the danger that if a Committee sits at a time when factors are still unstable, its recommendations will be based on shifting data, and whatever may be the capacity and skill of the Committee, its conclusion will inevitably be of the nature of guess work rather than of expert findings based upon the examination of stable conditions and well-established tendencies. The result of discussion with the Secretary of State is that I am now authorised to make the following announcement which explains the conclusions of His Majesty's Government and my Government upon the proposal.

The Government of India have been in communication with the Secretary of State on the subject of the rupee exchange, and the intention of Government is to appoint an authoritative Committee to consider the question as soon as world economic factors appear sufficiently stable to justify formulation of a new policy. In their judgment there is much to be gained by postponing an inquiry till those factors on which any decision must rest are less fluid and obscure. But they anticipate that if the movement towards more stable conditions, which has lately manifested itself, continues the appointment of such a Committee should be possible not later than 12 months hence.

In view of the opinion expressed in the Assembly regarding the need of an economic inquiry, my Government has decided in consultation with the Secretary of State to appoint a small Committee to report on the

material which exists for holding an inquiry into the economic conditions of the people of India, the feasibility of instituting an inquiry of this character and the manner in which it could be carried out. Meanwhile the Taxation Committee have begun their labours.

It may also become necessary for my Government to introduce to the Legislature a measure to define the powers of the High Court in relation to tribunals and proceedings under the special Bengal Criminal Legislation. You are aware that His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has exercised the powers conferred upon him under the Government of India Act and has certified and signed the Bill. I take this opportunity of stating that His Excellency's action in this respect has my full approval, and that I shall support both him and his Government to the extent of my powers in meeting what I regard as a serious emergency. Inasmuch as I have decided to reserve the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, I do not now propose to discuss its detailed provisions or the Bill which my Government may eventually seek to introduce should His Majesty in Council signify assent to the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act. Nevertheless, as this legislation had its origin in the Ordinance, which I as Governor General in the exercise of the special responsibilities laid upon me promulgated, let me refer to certain aspects affecting the issue of the Ordinance.

Very full explanations have already been given to the public.

In spite however of the full ventilation which the question has received, some important aspects of it appear to be still clouded by the mists of misapprehension in the minds of some sections of the public; and the necessity both of my action and of the course adopted by the Government of Bengal has repeatedly been challenged.

I shall not travel again over the ground covered in my Calcutta speech. As the result of the public discussions it is now admitted on all sides, even by the most convinced opponents of special measures and special legislation, that a terrorist movement exists in Bengal, and that widespread conspiracies for violent crimes have been established. The objects which these conspiracies have in view as a result of their crimes are also not disputed. It has been proved by sad experience that the ordinary law, even when reinforced by the use of Regulation III in cases to which it can be applied, is ineffective to stop the movement or even to check its growth; and that the progress of the movement involves loss of life not only among officials, but among innocent citizens unconnected with Government or with the activities of any political party.

Yet in spite of this knowledge of these facts, there has been bitter criticism of the measures adopted to check and cure the evil. I find it hard to believe that those who indulge so freely in criticism have ever seriously attempted to think out the eventual implications of the movement or earnestly endeavoured to consider the responsibilities of Government or of the Governor General in the case.

It is hardly conceivable that any thinking man can approve of the spread of activities which seek to terrorise the population by breaking down established authority through a campaign of murder of officials and do not hesitate to destroy innocent victims who cross their path or to exact reprisals in form of the lives of those who give evidence or information of contemplated outrages. It is obvious that those activities can only end, if

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unchecked, in the paralysis of Government and of law and order and may place the lives and properties of helpless citizens at the mercy of a pitiless criminal organisation.

I cannot believe that any member of any political party in India, even if he is opposed, and vehemently opposed, to the Government as now constituted in India, would deny that it was the duty of Government to prevent the coming to pass of such a condition of affairs.

But it is urged that the Ordinance was not necessary. It is argued that these criminal activities could be adequately checked by the efforts of the police and the prosecution of the malefactors before Courts of justice. I whole-heartedly wish that I could subscribe to this argument, but I cannot accept it, because it is in complete disregard of the true facts. It is essential to remember that we were not dealing with criminals who could be arrested and tried for crimes on evidence freely given by persons with nothing to fear from their action in giving testimony. We were not dealing with the violent and open insurrection of a mob which could be fought with its own weapons. We were on the contrary dealing with widespread secret societies with many ramifications, which had taken the greatest care to conceal their insidious organisations and nefarious plans and were prepared to exact swiftly and secretly terrible reprisals upon members of their own society or members of the public giving information as to their actions.

You will doubtless remember that I addressed you on this subject at the opening of the proceedings of the Legislature in January of last year. Thereafter the Government of Bengal and my Government were for a long time in anxious consultation in regard to measures, and every effort was made to cope with the danger by the ordinary law, reinforced by such special action as lay within our power. Regulation III was used for reasons and in a manner I have previously explained to this Legislature. These measures however proved ineffective; and finally after exhausting all the weapons in their armoury, the Government of Bengal made a request to my Government. The members of that Government, Europeans and Indians, after careful consideration of the evidence and with full knowledge of the history and character of the local situation, were unanimous in applying to me to issue an Ordinance giving special powers to deal with this dangerous emergency. The investigation of the situation did not rest there; notwithstanding that it was for me to determine whether the Ordinance should issue, it is for the Executive to assist in administering its powers. Moreover, I have during my term of office learnt to value the advice of the Members of my Council, and I have always derived the greatest help from their considered opinions. I therefore consulted them. I am well aware that I am taking a wholly exceptional course in giving you this information, but I do it advisedly after careful thought. The whole question was then studied in all aspects by the members of my Government, both Europeans and Indians, who arrived at a unanimous conclusion that the Ordinance was the only remedy available. The situation was then laid before the Secretary of State including the proposals for the promulgation of the Ordinance. The whole matter was submitted to careful examination by Lord Olivier and His Majesty's Government as then constituted. They agreed with the course suggested as the only possible method of dealing with the dangers facing the peace of Bengal. You will thus observe that my action was not

only due to my personal conviction of the necessity for it, but that the view taken by me, and also by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, has the support and approval of high and experienced authorities, both European and Indian, and was approved by the then Secretary of State.

I have already explained elsewhere why the Members of the Legislature were not consulted in September last. It has since been urged that the Legislature should have been summoned again before I took the step of promulgation. In my judgment this course was neither in the circumstances desirable, nor indeed was it possible, if the means devised were to prove effective. The responsibility was of a nature which could not be shared, and it would not be right or proper for me to try to share it with you or to place it on your shoulders. Consultation with the Legislature would have meant publicity. The aim was to prevent crime and to paralyse the activities of the conspiracies. Past experience in the Government of India and the conclusions of the Rowlatt Committee point to the fact that to check conspiracies of this nature with success two features are essential. In the first place, the organisations must not know that general action of a special nature is under contemplation against them; and, in the second place, the method of working and the sources of information must not be endangered directly or indirectly. Any rashness or carelessness on these points may make future action entirely fruitless and completely nullify the object to be secured. If discussions in this Legislature had taken place, these conditions could not have been fulfilled and the Ordinance would have proved futile as a remedy for the disease.

There is, I regret to say, a tendency among some sections of public opinion in India to confuse all administrative acts with influences having reactions on desires for political progress. The repression of violent crime has, however, no affinity with the treatment of aspirations for advance. They have no resemblance in kind or degree and they are phenomena existing on entirely different planes.

Terrorism no doubt may sometimes batten on a section of political thought. It may expand like some foul parasite-growth deriving strength from living sources outside its own entity. It may flourish for a time in this conjunction if it can cajole or frighten a political party into acquiescence or into encouragement of its activities; but no political party can continue to live with terror for a friend. The parasite will kill the host. True political progress can have no lot or part with terrorism. Whatever differences of opinion may exist between me and my Government and sections of public opinion regarding the Ordinance, I trust that the Members of the Indian Legislature will realise that my action was taken only after the most careful examination of the whole situation and with the sole object of preventing violent crime.

You will not be surprised that I refrain to-day from discussing the important constitutional questions referred to the Reforms Inquiry Committee which have formed the subject of important public discussion. You are aware that the Report of the Committee is now under the consideration of myself and the members of my Government. The weighty nature of the problems and of the investigation by the Committee demands our most careful attention and study, and I think it right to avoid observations upon any of the various questions involved until there has been adequate opportunity for thorough examination and deliberation by me and my Government. I desire however to take advantage of this opportunity to express

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to Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Chairman, and all the members of the Committee, my deep gratitude for the valuable services they have rendered. They have had a difficult task; they have not spared themselves either in time or labour, and I cannot too highly commend the care and expedition with which they have completed their task. They have devoted themselves whole-heartedly and to the best of their well known capacities to the duties entrusted to them. Whatever opinions may be expressed hereafter upon the results of their efforts, I feel sure that you, the Members of the Indian Legislature, and the Indian public generally, will agree with me in this tribute of appreciation of their services.

I have been deeply gratified to learn that the leaders of the two communities in Kohat have reached agreement, and that there are now good prospects of the return of the Hindus and of the resumption of past friendly and neighbourly relations. I was grievously distressed by the wound which communal tension had inflicted upon Kohat. I shall not refer to the painful events at the riots or their causes, as these have already been dealt with in the Resolution of my Government, and I shall serve no useful purpose by re-discussing them; but leaving these aside, the question which caused me the most acute anxiety and thought was the problem of reconciliation and of the future relations of the two communities. From the outset I have done all in my power to try to heal the wound and to bring the parties together. At one moment reconciliation seemed imminent, but the negotiations proved abortive; nevertheless, I and those associated with me were unwilling to regard the collapse as final. I have always been ready to take any official measures which may assist to restore the harmony and unity formerly traditional between the communities in this Frontier town; but I have recognised that these efforts were of the nature of an auxiliary to settlement and not the actual foundation of settlement. Any system of peace imposed from above or from outside would have neither been real nor lasting. The peace must be the peace of Kohat; and until each party could itself testify that the heart had been cleansed from rancour, there could be no basis for permanent good-will in the future. I understand that the settlement has been well received by the two communities at large, and I trust that I may now hear that active steps are being taken towards the end which I and my Government have so much at heart—a restoration of that harmony and neighbourly relations between Hindu and Moslem which had long been in existence at Kohat. I know that I shall carry the Members of the Indian Legislature with me when I express the most earnest hope that this settlement may prove an enduring restoration of peace and good-will between the two communities at Kohat. I trust I may not be taking too optimistic a view when I express the further hope that the present high state of tension in the relations between the Hindu and Moslem communities in different parts of India may be relieved, and that more friendly relations between them may ensue. I need not assure you that I and my Government have observed with the deepest concern the lamentable series of riots and disturbances which have resulted in so much loss of life and property and, what is perhaps even more deplorable, so much exacerbation of old animosities. We are profoundly impressed by the necessity of taking all possible action to relieve this atmosphere of tension and to avert or mitigate the disorders which it unfortunately generates. I know that these views

are shared to the full by all Local Governments. Nevertheless, I deemed it proper some time ago to invite their close and earnest attention to these matters, and I have every assurance that no effort will be spared by them or by their officers not only to avert temporary or local causes of trouble or to minimise its results, but steadfastly to promote permanent mutual relations of harmony and good-will. I am equally confident that all enlightened members of the communities affected equally deplore and are equally concerned in reconciling these unhappy communal dissensions. They will recognise with me that on a solution of these difficulties depend not only the present peace and prosperity of India, but also her future progress. I readily acknowledge that strenuous efforts have already been made, and are still being made, by leaders of Indian public opinion to establish more harmonious relations between these communities. I cannot too strongly affirm that this object is constantly and sincerely sought after by all responsible public authorities in India; but no measures, legislative or executive, however ingeniously devised, can be expected to produce immediate effect on the ancient and deep-rooted cause of these troubles. They can only be removed by the growth of a spirit of toleration and enlightenment. It cannot be denied that these animosities are a serious hindrance to the promotion of unity of aim in India, and that these quarrels and disturbances must inevitably retard political progress. Whatever differences may divide us in India, we must all agree that every effort should be made to prevent the recurrence of these communal troubles. In this field we can, and should, co-operate, and I trust that all members of these two communities and others, who are moved by humanity, public spirit and patriotism, will join with me and the responsible authorities in India in earnest efforts to promote this spirit of larger tolerance and conciliation. If this object could be attained, the distance along the road to political unity in India will be considerably shortened. Moreover, I venture to cherish the hope that the diffusion of this spirit of harmony and good-will may communicate itself to other regions of acute controversy, and that in due course of time, and aided by this brighter and purer light, the road may be more quickly found to peace and prosperity in India.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock, on Thursday, the 22nd January, 1925.