

ECONOMICS OF PROTECTION IN INDIA

(Banaji Readership Lectures delivered at Patna University in 1928)

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PREFACE.

The following pages reproduce the Banaili Readership Lectures I delivered at Patna University in the first week of October, 1928; and I am indebted to the University for permitting and facilitating their publication. In preparing the copy for the press, I have made only a few suitable additions.

The chief object of the Lectures was to examine the policy of protection adopted in India from the theoretical as well as the practical point of view; and in doing this, I have drawn freely on my experience as a member of the Tariff Board for two years and have made full use of the reports of that body. The Lectures are, therefore, calculated to prove helpful to advanced students of Economics and to practical men of business.

"Durgādhivāsa,"
Poona 4. }
6 March, 1929.

V. G. KALE.

Appendix I

FRONTIER HINDUS' CONFERENCE.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Provincial Hindu Conference of the N. W. F. P. held at Peshawar on the 27th March 1928.

Those present were:—

1. R. B. Karm Chand, O. B. E., Vice-President, Municipal Committee, and President, N. W. F. P. Hindu Sabha, Peshawar; 2 R. B. Thakur Datta Dhawan, retired District Judge, Dera Ismail Khan, 3 R. B. Diwan Chand, Advocate, (M. A., LL. B.) Hazara; 4 R. B. Sukhu Ram Jhamb, Honorary Magistrate, Dera Ismail Khan 5 R. B. Beli Ram Dhawan, M. A. LL. B., Advocate, Peshawar. 6. R. B. Ishar Das, Bar-at-Law, Kohat; 7. R. B. S. Makhan Singh President, Hindu Sabha, Kohat; 8 L. Dhanpat Rai, President, Hindu-Sikh Sabha, Nowshera. 9 L. Ram Dass Agarwal, Vice-President, Hindu Sabha, Peshawar Cantt. 10 L. Kanshi Ram, Banker, Secretary, Panjtirath Committee, Peshawar. 11. L. Des Raj, Secretary. Electrical Supply Coy., Bannu. 12 L. Neb Raj, Honorary Magistrate, Bannu. 13. L. Gulab Chand, Honorary Magistrate, Bannu. 14. R. S. S. Harnam Singh, Municipal Commissioner, Vice-President, Hindu Sabha and President, Singh Sabha, Bannu. 15. R. S. L Kishan Dass, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate, Vice-President, Hindu Sabha, Bannu.
16. R. S. L. Ram Nath Lambah, Municipal Commissioner, Vice President, Hindu Sabha, Peshawar.
17. L. Dhera Mal Kapur, Municipal Commissioner, Vice-president, Hindu Sabha Peshawar.
18. Sardar Gurdit Singh, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Secretary Hindu-Sikh Sabha, Kohat.
19. Seth Ram Chand, Banker, Kohat.
20. L. Parma Nand Banker, Kohat.

21. L. Atma Ram, Municipal Commissioner and Member, Cantonment Board, Kohat.

22. Chaudhri Dyala Mal, Municipal Commissioner, Kohat.

23. R. S. L. Shankar Dass, Banker, Peshawar.

24. Mehta Kirpa Ram, Secretary, Sewa Samiti, Peshawar.

25. L. Hukam Chand Khanna, Merchant, Peshawar.

26. L. Bishan Dass President, Hindu Sewa Sang, Peshawar.

27. L. Kanahiya Lal, Banker. Peshawar.

28. Sardar Manik Shah Singh, Member, District Board Bannu.

29. L. Parma Nand Khanna, Honorary Magistrate, Peshawar.

30. Chaudhari Megh Raj, Municipal Commissioner Laki, Bannu.

31. L. Kishan Chand Dhawan, Honorary Magistrate, Peshawar.

32. L. Chiranjit Lal, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Joint Secretary, Hindu Sabha, Peshawar.

33. L. Daswandhi Mal, Merchant, Peshawar.

34. Bawa Niranjan Singh Bedi, M. A., B. T., Headmaster, Sanatan Dharm High School and Secretary, Sanatan Dharam Sabha, Peshawar.

35. R. S. Chaudhri Rochi Ram Khattar, President, Hindu Sabha, Dera Ismail Khan.

36. R. S. Seth Jesa Ram, Municipal Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan.

37. Pandit Jetha Nath Zaildar, President, Brahman Sabha, Dera Ismail Khan.

38. R. S. Jetha Nand, Honorary Magistrate and Vice-President, Hindu Sabha, Dera Ismail Khan.

39. L. Gopal Das, Bagai, B. A., Secretary, Hindu Sabha, Dera Ismail Khan.

40. L. Rishi Ram Grover, B. A., Assistant Secretary, Hindu Sabha, Dera Ismail Khan.

41. Babu Sheo Sahai, Peshawar.

42. L. Ram Bheja Mal, Secretary Arya Samaj, Peshawar City.

43. L. Ladha Ram B. A., L. L. B., Pleader, Vice-President, Hindu Sabha, Bannu.

44. L. Gokal Chaud Dhawan. B. A. LL. B., President, Arya Samaj, Peshawar City.

45. Seth Ladha Ram, Municipal Commissioner and Banker, Kohat.

46. Pandit Ramji Mal, Secretary, Hindu Panchait, Kohat.

47. Chaudhri Karan Chand, Landlord, Hangu.

48. L. Bishan Das, Banker, President Sanatan Dharm Sabha, Peshawar City.

49. Sardar Hira Singh, Municipal Commissioner, Kohat.

50. Chaudhri Arjan Dass, Municipal Commissioner, Kohat.

51. L. Hukam Chand, Bar-at-Law, Peshawar.

52. L. Mathra Das, B. A., LL. B., Vice-President, Hindu Sabha, Peshawar.

53. R. S. Mehr Chand Khanna, Municipal Commissioner, Member Cantonment Board, and Honorary Secretary, N. W. F. P. Hindu Sabha Peshawar.

1. R. S. Chaudhri Rochi Ram of Dera Ismail Khan proposed, R. S. Ram Nath Lambah of Peshawar seconded while R. B. L. Beli Ram Dhawan and R. B. Ishar Das, Bar-at-Law, Kohat, supported that R. B. Karm Chand, O. B. E. of Peshawar, be elected Chairman of the meeting.

2. Proposed by L. Charanjit Lal, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Peshawar, and seconded by R. B. L. Ishar Dass, Bar-at-Law, Kohat, that R. S. L. Mehr Chand Khanna, B. A. be elected, Secretary.

3. R. B. Karm Chand, O. B. E. having taken the chair, thanked the members present for the honour done to him, and also the gentlemen who attended the Conference as delegates at such a short notice.

4. The question for consideration was the attitude that the Hindus of the Province should adopt towards the introduction of the Reforms Scheme, and the views that should be expressed by their representatives (from the five districts) before the Royal Statutory Commission. A discussion followed in which a large number of gentlemen took part. Various views and opinions were put forward. The discussion having lasted for about 5 hours, the meeting was adjourned to 9 p. m. as the members had been invited to a tea party given by the president R. B. Karm Chand in his garden.

5. The members having re-assembled at 9 p. m., the discussion was resumed and the following resolutions were eventually adopted :—

"The representative Hindus of Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu, Kohat and Hazara, assembled in a Provincial Conference held at Peshawar on 27th March 1928, place on record their considered opinion that :—

(a) The Reforms Scheme in its entirety or otherwise will neither be workable, nor beneficial in the North West Frontier Province, owing to the peculiar conditions, geographical, financial and political, obtaining in this Province, and that it is sure to be detrimental to good Government, and highly prejudicial to All-India interests;

(b) The introduction of Election in the Local Bodies is not desirable in the interest of public tranquility and communal harmony".

6. Next morning (28th March 1928) a deputation of the following Hindu gentlemen led by R. B. Karm Chand O. B. E. waited upon the members of the Royal Statutory Commission at Government House, Peshawar, and presented to them a copy of the above-mentioned resolution, and in a general discussion explained to them the Hindu point of view.

Peshawar :—R. B. Karm Chand, O. B. E., R. S. Mehr Chand Khanna, R. S. Ram Nain Lambak, R. S. Shankar Dass, L. Kishan Chand Dhawan, and L. Dheru Mal Kapur.

Bannu :—L. Neb Raj, L. Gulab Chand.

Kohat :—R. B. Ishar Dass, Bar-at-Law, L. Atma Ram, Chaudhri Karm Chand, L. Dayala Mal.

Hazara :—R. B. Diwan Chand, Advocate.

Dera Ismail Khan :—R. B. Thakur Datta Dhawan, R. B. Seth Sukhu Ram, R. S. Seth Jetha Nand, R. S. Seth Jesa Ram, R. S. Chaudhri Ruchi Ram, Pandit Jetha Nand, L. Gopal Das Bagai, B. A. L. Rishi Ram Grover, B. A.

**Copy of the Resolutions adopted at a Meeting of the
N. W. F. P. Hindu Sabha, Peshawar, held under
the Chairmanship of Rai Bahadur Lala
Karam Chand, O. B. E., on 20th of
January 1926.**

Resolution No. 1.—Resolved that with reference to Mr. Sadiq Hussan, M.L.A.'s Resolution urging the extension of Reforms Scheme in the North-West Frontier Province coming up for discussion in the current session of the Legislative Assembly, this meeting of the Executive Committee, N. W. F. P. Hindu Sabha, places on record its well-considered opinion that Reforms Scheme in its entirety or otherwise will neither be workable nor beneficial in the North-West Frontier Province, owing to the peculiar conditions obtaining in this Province, Geographical, Economical and Political; and that the Government of India be therefore requested to postpone the inauguration of the Reforms till better and healthier conditions are restored.

Resolution No 2.—Resolved that the introduction of election at present in the Local Bodies in the North-West Frontier Province is not desirable in the interests of public tranquility, the electorate being not sufficiently advanced to exercise their right of vote in an intelligent manner.

**Copy of the Resolutions passed on 19th January
1926 by the Hindus and Sikhs at Kohat.**

Resolution No 1.—Taking into view the Educational and Political condition of the Majority community in the North West Frontier Province, the Political situation of the Province itself, and the Minority Communities for the last 25 years, the Hindus and Sikhs assembled under the auspices of the Hindu Sabha, Kohat, are of opinion that the extension of Reforms and election system in Local Bodies as proposed and desired by some, would not only be unfair and detrimental to the interest of the Minority Communities, but would also be politically inexpedient and would increase the difficulties of the Administration.

**Copy of Resolutions unanimously passed by the
Hindu Sabha, Nowshera Cantonment, under
the presidency of Lala Dhanpat Rai
Merchant, on 24th Jaunrri 1926.**

Resolution No. 1.—Resolved that with reference to Mr. Sadiq Hassan M. L. A's resolution urging the extension of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province, coming up for discussion in the current session of the Legislative Assembly, this mass meeting of the Hindus of Nowshera, convened under the auspices of the Local Hindu Sabha, places on record its well considered opinion that the Reforms in its entirety or otherwise will neither be workable nor beneficial to the North-West Frontier Province, owing to the peculiar conditions obtaining in this province, Geographical, Economical, and Political; and that the Government of India be therefore requested to postpone the inauguration of the reforms till better and healthier conditions are restored.

Resolution No. 2.—Resolved that the introduction of election at present in the local bodies is not desirable in the interests of public tranquility, taking into consideration the minority of the Hindus of this Province, as the majority of the electorates being illiterate and not sufficiently advanced to exercise their right of voting in an intelligent manner.

**Copy of the resolutions passed by the Hindus of
Dera Ismail Khan assembled under the
presidency of Rai Bhadur Thakur Datta,
retired District Judge, on the 1st
February 1926.**

Resolution No. 1.—Hindus of Dera Ismail Khan, assembled in Public Meeting, protest respectfully but strongly against attempts being made by a clique for introduction of so-called Reforms, and of Election in Local Bodies, in the N. W. F. Province. Owing

to the peculiar conditions obtaining in this Province, its contiguity to the Border, and the facilities with which raids, dacoities, kidnapping, murder and other serious crime against Hindus are committed with impunity by transborder people, the fanatic and unruly temperament of the illiterate masses, this meeting is of opinion that it is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of Law and Order, as well as for the safety and protection of the Hindus that the hands of the Executive should not be weakened by transferring authority to the class already dominant in the administration. This meeting further puts on record its firm conviction that the introduction of election is sure to aggravate factious feeling and promote riots and disturbances.

No 2 — Resolved further that this meeting is of opinion that the experiment of putting members of the dominant community in charge of high appointments, in the Executive line and Political Agencies, has proved a failure in this Province; it has accentuated the evils from which the Province has suffered.

Copy of the resolution passed by the Hindus and Sikhs of Tank, District Dera Ismail Khan, assembled in Kanya Pathshala buildings, under the Presidency of Dr. Ganesh Datta, on the 6th February 1926.

Resolution No. 1.—The Hindus and Sikhs of Tank assembled in Public meeting, protest most respectfully but very strongly against the introduction of so called Reforms in the N. W. F. Province. The introduction of any proposed reforms is not only undesirable but certainly most unsuitable in view of the peculiar conditions of the Province wherein raids, dacoities, kidnapping, murder etc., are committed by the transborder people either with the active cooperation and assistance or passive attitude of sympathy of their coreligionists inhabiting the settled districts; and therefore as a necessary result thereof most of the crimes remain untraced and go unpunished unless very strong executive measures are adopted by the District Magistrates.

Resolution No. 2.—The meeting puts on record its firm conviction that unless and until all responsible posts on the executive side in the Province are held by the British Officers, both the life and property of the Hindus can not remain safe, and as it is the paramount duty of the Government to protect the interests of the minority against the aggression of the majority, it is sincerely hoped that the government will show sufficient strength in meeting with the reasonable request of the Hindus.

Reforms in Frontier Province.

PUNJAB HINDU SABHA'S OPPOSITION.

At the meeting of the Punjab Hindu Sabha Lahore, held on February 5, the following resolution was passed:—That in the opinion of this Sabha, the peculiar circumstances and conditions of life in N. W. F. P., its proximity to foreign territory, and in view of the recent happenings in Kohat and D. I. Khan, and also of the fact that election for Council and Local bodies has so far been invariably associated with communal representation, the scope of which is being gradually extended to other spheres, and that the N. W. F. P., is not financially self-supporting, the introduction of responsible self-government and of election for Legislative Councils and local bodies is inexpedient and unwise and dangerous to the peace of India as a whole, particularly the Punjab.

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