

NOTE PRESENTED TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE CROWN
REPRESENTATIVE - - - AT THE Viceroy's HOUSE WIFE MI

Confidential.

Note presented to His Excellency the Crown Representative when the Rulers of the Deccan States waited upon His Excellency in a deputation on the 21st February 1940, at 10-30 a. m., at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi.

- Subject:—*(1) Formation of a Joint Police Force ;
- (2) Intelligence Scheme ; and
- (3) Co-operative Grouping of States for the purpose of combined judicial and other services.

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MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We, the Rulers of the Deccan States, think that our first duty on this occasion is to respectfully express to Your Excellency how grateful we feel for having been given this opportunity of waiting on Your Excellency in a deputation. We know how difficult it is for the Representative of His Majesty in India to spare any time from his great and varied pre-occupations ; and we, therefore, greatly appreciate this courtesy extended to us. The responsibilities of Your Excellency's high office have always been very great ; but, if we may say so, they could never have been so great as they are at this juncture. The whole country, nay the whole world, is looking with admiration to Your Excellency while you are discharging your duty towards this country and the Empire, with faith, tact and sympathy. We feel sure that the present stalemate in Indian politics will soon resolve itself and give place to a satisfactory solution and that India will be able to proceed on her forward march and put forth all her energies, resources and talents to the service of mankind with one mind and voice. This is indeed a great opportunity for India to help herself and also the cause of world-peace and we feel sure that she will not miss it when she has at her back a Viceroy of Your Excellency's rare sympathy, understanding and eminence. Your Excellency is aware that our States are small but we have placed all our resources at the disposal of our beloved King-Emperor. We hope we shall prove second to none in our loyalty and devotion to the Throne and Person of His Majesty. This reference to our loyalty and humble offer of help has not been made in any spirit of self-praise or bargain but only to emphasise the back-ground against which we are approaching Your Excellency. The unconditional and unqualified offers of service and resources by us have once more demonstrated the desirability of preserving the sovereignty of even small Indian States as separate political entities. We think that without our full internal sovereignty it would not have been possible for us to rally round His Majesty's Throne in hours of need as we have always done. The last Great War and the present one are instances in point.

2. Before coming to the actual subject-matter of our deputation, we should first like to refer to one or two general points. The first is that Your Excellency will appreciate the fact that we have rarely troubled Your Excellency with requests for being allowed to wait upon you in a deputation. And, therefore, when we have thought it fit to do so, I think, that fact itself is an earnest of the importance of the subject and the depth of our feeling regarding it. The second point is that though our States are small they have a historic past, the glories of which have been freely sung by many, including English writers. Their traditional loyalty is a matter of Your Excellency's personal knowledge and therefore we do not wish to enlarge on it. Our only misfortune is that we have always been very far away from the Central Government, both before and after its seat was removed to Delhi. We venture to say that this geographical situation has been disadvantageous to us in many ways and it took a long time for us to bring to the notice of the Paramount Power our wide powers and full sovereign status. We hope that, in future, signs will not be wanting of the recognition of our position as such Rulers.

3. We have troubled Your Excellency with this deputation in order to be able to place for your kind consideration our views on three specific subjects, *viz.*, (1) Formation of a Joint Police Force; (2) Intelligence Scheme; and (3) Co-operative grouping of States for the purpose of combined judicial and other services. But we believe there is a wider issue involved. We are anxious to know where all this process will lead us to. We want to open our mind freely before Your Excellency and seek your unfailing guidance in this most important question which is facing us.

4. We now proceed to the first of the three specific points which are the proper subject-matter of this deputation—we mean the question of the formation of a Joint Police Force. We have communicated to Your Excellency, through our Resident, our general observations regarding the scheme. But one thing we should like to stress on Your Excellency's kind attention. It is that up till now we have successfully dealt with all ordinary troubles in our States and our Police Force has never been found wanting in meeting such situations. Even Mr. G. W. Benton, the Special Police Officer, who was sent round to our States to personally see the conditions of our Police Forces had not only nothing disparaging but so much encouraging to say about them. Several of us have a number of ex-service military men in our forces. Those of such men who are not in the police force can be usefully formed into a dependable reserve force in time of need. In our States, Police Officers are already generally drawn from sources indicated by the Resident in his letter, D. O. No. C-116/38, dated the 28th December 1938. Most of our officers have had experience and knowledge of law required for dealing with situations arising out of the present-day agitation. Besides we are prepared to further strengthen the number and increase the efficiency of our Police Forces wherever necessary. Only full facilities

may be given to us to increase the strength of our Police Forces and to arm them with up-to-date modern weapons which are supplied to British Indian Police. This will keep at the disposal of each of us a Police Force adequate from point of numbers as well as efficiency.

5. It will thus be seen that our States are capable of maintaining law and order so far as ordinary disturbances are concerned. We are likely to be helpless only when there are mass movements or riots on a large scale or wide-spread disorder and lawlessness. But on such occasions no place even in British India can be found to be self-sufficient from point of its Police Force. Invariably succour is requisitioned from adjoining places. Unfortunately we have no one to look up to at such a juncture except the Paramount Power and we look up to it with hope and confidence. From this it will be seen that we all feel that there is no doubt that we must have some reserve force to fall back upon in time of emergency. But such emergencies arise, if at all, once in several years or even decades. Many of us have not been confronted with such an emergency since our connection with Britain. We, therefore, think that it would be a disproportionate burden on our States to have to shoulder a big yearly expenditure for such a very rare emergency. There is one other point also worth noting. Looking to the nature of the present movements such emergencies when they arise will confront most of the States simultaneously; and it will not be surprising if British India is also involved at the same time. Of what use then will such a small reserve force be to us on such occasions can easily be imagined.

6. We request Your Excellency to graciously take into consideration these facts. They will, we hope, convince Your Excellency that the maintenance of the Joint Police Force in the way suggested by the Political Department will not be of much use. We therefore pray that the Central Government should maintain a permanent force *at their cost* which should be stationed at a few centres in India and made temporarily available to us *at our cost* in times of emergency. No State will grudge such an expenditure on such an occasion. We venture to suggest this course because in the days when we were under the Provincial Governments police help used to be made available to us in this way on occasions of great difficulty. To this it may be said that it was possible for those Governments to give such help in those days because they had the Provincial Police Force at hand. But that is the reason why we have suggested that the Central Government too should have at hand a Central Police Force which could be utilized in the same way. The idea seems to have already been accepted since a beginning in that direction, has, it is learned, been made at Neemuch. Any way, one thing is certain. The Provincial Governments gave the help in the capacity of Agents of the Paramount Power and not in the capacity of Provincial Governments. If they could utilize the force they had at hand in another capacity, we venture to say, that it will not be difficult for Your Excellency to make available such help from some suitable source like the one just suggested.

7. We think we have a right to expect from the Paramount Power such help. Even powerful neighbours give succour in time of need. Would it be too much then for us to expect the same help from the Paramount Power, especially when it is well-known that subversive movements in Indian States receive inspiration from agitations and agitators in British India? Hence we go even further and say that not only we have a right to expect from the Paramount Power such help but to expect it free of cost. For this purpose we have suggested that His Excellency the Crown Representative should have a Police Force at his disposal. As the force is required for discharging the obligations of paramountcy its cost should, we think, be borne by the Paramount Power. However, if in spite of this we are called upon to contribute to meet the cost of a Joint Police Force, the inevitable inference will be that we are made to subscribe towards the cost of a force which is really required for the discharge of what is in fact a Crown function.

8. Here we may be permitted to draw Your Excellency's kind attention to one small but important fact bearing on this question. It is that our States have all along been discharging their obligation to provide military assistance to the Crown. In the early days of British connection it was provided in kind and afterwards by annual payments of fixed amounts or by cession of territory. Had these obligations not been converted into money payments, perhaps no necessity for a Joint Police Force would ever have arisen. A contribution for the maintenance of a Police Force as proposed in the scheme of the Political Department evidently saddles us with additional burden on the same account. We, therefore, earnestly request Your Excellency to kindly look at this question from this standpoint and relieve us of any fresh burden as we believe that we are already paying for it in another form.

9. However if all these arguments fail to convince Your Excellency of the injustice of this fresh burden we then pray that instead of creating a permanent burden of yearly expenditure on our already lean finances, we should be charged the costs of such a force whenever it is lent to us, as suggested by us. That is a position which we would gladly accept. But if even that does not meet with Your Excellency's approval—which, by the way, we do not expect will be the case—then, as a last resort, we propose that such a reserve Police Force should at least be allowed to be jointly formed and controlled by us. The scheme of the formation of such a unit will, of course, be nearly on the same lines as outlined in the revised memorandum sent to us by the Resident with his letter of the 6th March 1939. We need not give the reason why we are keen about the control of the Force being left to us. Authority to maintain Law and Order is an important element of sovereignty and if that were taken away from us it might look very derogatory to our position as Rulers possessing full internal sovereignty.

10. We now wish to invite Your Excellency's kind attention to the question of the proposed Intelligence Scheme. We have already

communicated our views to the Resident on the subject and have offered our co-operation and goodwill to it. In that connection we wish to welcome Your Excellency's assurance, communicated by the Resident to us in paragraph 2 of his letter, D.O. No. C. 78/39, dated the 31st December 1939, on the subject. But without raising any objections of a merely hypothetical character we should like to submit for Your Excellency's kind consideration one outstanding fact: It is that if any agency, however well-intentioned and beneficial, acts independently of the authority of the ruling power of the place, then it is bound to detract from that authority. The position can in no way be altered by the fact that such agency works without involving the local ruling power in any expenditure. Mr. G. W. Benton has frankly told us that our Police Forces would not compare unfavourably with British Indian Police Forces. In fact most of us have in our service experienced and efficient Police Officers from British service. Hence there can hardly be any reason to suppose that our Police Departments have not reached a stage of efficiency that would warrant co-operation and collaboration with them by officers of the Central Intelligence Scheme. Besides such collaboration will in turn add to the efficiency of the State Police. Hence it is our submission that the officers of the Central Intelligence Scheme should carry on their work in our States with the consent, co-operation and knowledge of the Durbars concerned, and not independently of them.

11. We now turn to the last specific point, *viz.*, co-operative grouping of States and combined judicial and other services. In this connection, apart from the question of sovereignty, we may be permitted to first observe that such schemes are difficult in practical administration. The chief difficulty is financial. The very object of such schemes is economy; but we are afraid that they will have a reverse effect in most cases. Our States being small we have officers for each department who can neither be spared for additional duty nor can their number be appreciably reduced by the appointment of a common official for a number of States. For, in many cases there is only one officer for one department and if he has not got enough work then he is given some additional duty. Hence the appointment of a common officer for more States than one is not likely to effect appreciable economy and besides the people will lose the advantage of an officer on the spot, whom they can always easily approach. Thus the utility, of what is looked upon as a co-operative measure calculated to ensure economy, entirely disappears.

12. There is only one case in which combined service may be useful in some way though not from the point of finances. It is the judicial service. But here too in the case of lower judicial services the objections just mentioned do apply, though not to the same extent. Only the question of the establishment of a common High Court stands on a somewhat different footing and may therefore be held over till Federation is in sight. At present many of the States in the Deccan make temporary appointments of retired judicial officers from British India to dispose of High Court cases. This system achieves both the

independence of the High Court and secures confidence in its decisions. These two factors which are essential in the highest tribunal are secured in the above way. And even in States which have permanent High Court Judges these two factors are never lost sight of. We think that without being accused of self-praise the judicial administrations obtaining in our States are as a rule such, as command the full confidence of our subjects. We therefore think that these arrangements should not be disturbed for the present. We say so because the appointments of very high-grade officials, even though they are made on behalf of a number of States, will involve most of our States in higher expenditure. Even if these judges go in circuit to each State their travelling expenses would mean additional cost to States. Hence this question should, it is submitted, be deferred at least till the establishment of Federation.

13. We have now finished what we had to say about the three specific points for which we had sought this interview with Your Excellency. We have tried to be frank, direct and brief in our statement of those points. Now we wish to say a few words regarding the general and wider issue to which we alluded at the outset. But we confess that we are feeling that it is not quite so easy to explain it. Nevertheless we cannot allow this great opportunity to pass without opening our mind in regard to that issue, as best as we can.

14. We are fully aware that the world is fast changing and in such a world we cannot hope to remain stationary. We are alert to the signs of the time and have taken prompt steps to adjust our sails accordingly. As a matter of fact this realization has not come to us only after, or because of, the troubles of the past two years. We all thought that such a stage was bound to come sooner or later and we have taken care to shape our administrations to suit it. Representative institutions like the Municipalities and Local Boards were started several years ago and in most of our States Legislative Councils have been in existence for nearly a decade. When Your Excellency delivered your epoch-making speech at the last meeting of the Chamber of Princes we had no reason to be dismayed as we had already translated many of the things advised by Your Excellency into action. It will be seen from this that we entertain no fear of genuine awakening of the people or their legitimate aspirations. What we cannot hope to meet is the unreasonable and hostile attitude fanned by irresponsible leaders. We have all along been of the view that it is our duty to so train our people as to enable them to take an intelligent and ever-increasing part in the State administrations. But we do not think that it would be fair to the people themselves, to saddle them at once with responsibilities which, we know, they are not as yet prepared to assume. Hence we have kept before us a sure but steady programme of political reforms and have already put it in practice. But in spite of all this, unreasonable demands and claims, wholly incompatible with the traditions of the States, are sometimes put forward in a threatening attitude, and we are afraid, we have no means to meet them. The

case of Ramdurg State in our Agency is very much in point. Since the start, the movement there, was conducted on communal lines. The Ruler tried all methods of conciliation, showed utmost forbearance and even undue leniency, granted every possible concession and gave relief from taxes or levies which were complained against. Even the Congress leaders were fully satisfied and expressed so both in their private as well as public utterances. But all this to no purpose. The catastrophe did nevertheless come. It is under such circumstances that we need Your Excellency's and the Paramount Power's support and help, chiefly to avert such catastrophes and not merely to rescue the State after it has suffered heavily.

15. We know that we are small States and cannot live except by co-operation and combination. But we wish that co-operation and combination should come in the form of some scheme of Federation which will neither directly or indirectly contribute to our gradual annihilation. It is apprehended that the various schemes now under consideration, taken as a whole, would result in the diminution of our sovereignty in internal matters as they are bound to make an encroachment on it at some point or other. Hence, even though the scheme of Federation, contained in the Government of India Act of 1935, was not entirely to our satisfaction, still, relying on Your Excellency's advice, we readily gave our consent to it. The fact that the war broke out and the scheme did not materialize is no fault of ours. But till the time India becomes united in some form of Federation we should be afforded proper protection and guaranteed our traditional position. The British Government is out to stop aggression and save small nations from its fear. Do we not then deserve to be helped against an aggression, though of a somewhat different type, directed against us? We are afraid that if instead of being offered the chance of participation in a voluntary Federation, we are required to part with our sovereignty bit by bit, by schemes, which though not designed to that end, are likely to lead to it, then we are afraid there is no bright future for us. No doubt, our finances are modest; but with them we could manage our States with efficiency and to the contentment of our people; and with due adjustments we hope to be able to carry on in the same way in future. But it is a patent fact that no small government can function if its own people are taught by outside irresponsible people to make ever-increasing demands and to follow methods of obstruction if those demands are not granted. We shall therefore feel greatly relieved if Your Excellency is pleased to give us your wise counsel in this predicament. We look up to an assurance and guidance from you. We have made our position as clear as it was possible for us to make. We only wish that schemes which are found necessary for one set of States should not be automatically made applicable to others. For, there are different degrees of developments in different States. We believe that the administrations in our States will compare favourably to States in many other parts in India. There are hardly any serious grievances left unremoved. We therefore think that instead

of being brought under the same schemes, as might seem necessary elsewhere, we should be allowed more latitude in consideration of the way in which we have carried on our administrations for a long time.

16. In conclusion we again wish to express our deep and sincere gratitude to Your Excellency for the patient and sympathetic hearing given to us and we can never be too grateful to Your Excellency for it. Now, before we come to the end of this representation, we should again like to reiterate that we are aware that for the achievement of peace and the lasting good of the world, the Allies are engaged in a life and death struggle with a most formidable foe who will stop at nothing. We therefore wish to associate ourselves whole-heartedly with those laudable objects and wish the Allies a speedy and complete victory.