

Government of his highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

GENERAL AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

G. O. No. 3348-3400—C. B. 38-28, dated Bangalore, the 26th January 1929.

Report of the Bangalore Disturbances Enquiry Committee.

Passes orders on the—

READ:—

1. Government Order No. 1042-1102—C. B. 38-28-114, dated the 28th August 1928, appointing a Committee of Enquiry in connection with the disturbances in the City of Bangalore in July 1928.
2. Report of the Committee of Enquiry dated 15th December 1928 presented to Government on the 18th December 1928.
3. Qualifying note of Mr. Gulam Ahmed Kalami, one of the members of the Committee, dated 15th January 1929, received with the Chairman's letter, dated the 22nd January 1929.

ORDER No. 3348-3400—C. B. 38-28, DATED BANGALORE, THE 26TH JANUARY 1929.

In response to a popular demand, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja, in their order read above, appointed a Committee to investigate certain matters connected with the disturbances that occurred in Bangalore City on the 30th July 1928. The Committee was composed as follows:—

Chairman:

Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E.

Members:

1. Mr. Justice D. K. Rama Rao, B.A., B.L., Judge, Chief Court of Mysore.
2. „ H. G. Basavappa, Member, Legislative Council.
3. „ Gulam Ahmed Kalami.
4. „ V. Manickavelu Mudaliar.
5. „ B. Nagappa, Bar-at-Law, Legal Remembrancer and Secretary to Government, Law Department.
6. „ Ralph Nye, Member, Legislative Council.

The terms of reference to the Committee were:—

- (1) To ascertain the root causes and course of events that led to the disturbances;
- (2) to investigate the special causes or influences, if any, which were at work at the time and which led to such unusual events;
- (3) to examine the steps taken by the local officers to cope with the situation; and
- (4) to suggest any future measures necessary to remove misunderstandings and restore good feeling and harmony among the various communities concerned.

3. The Committee entered upon its work on the 4th September 1928, and the majority report was presented to Government on the 18th December. The qualifying note of Mr. Gulam Ahmed Kalami, however, was not received until the 22nd January 1929.

4. The report commences with a statement of the facts of the disturbances that are common to both sides, on which the members of the Committee are unanimous. There follows an account of the additions which each side would make to this account, for which the Committee takes no responsibility. After this, the Committee gives its conclusions in a chapter to which Mr. Nagappa is not a party, while Mr. Kalami has dissented in several particulars. The same member is also a dissident from several of the criticisms of officers and the recommendations that follow, and both he and Mr. Nye disagree with the last chapter, which contains certain suggestions which the Committee proposes "should be taken into account in shaping future State policies."

5. The Committee went fully into all the matters referred to it. It examined 156 witnesses—125 in public, 8 in camera, and 23 partly in public and partly in camera. Counsel or other representatives of the interests concerned were allowed to watch the examination of witnesses and to suggest questions to be put to them. Official witnesses placed before the Committee all correspondence bearing on the disturbances and disclosed all the facts known to them. The records of the Additional District Magistrate, who had conducted the preliminary investigation into the events, were also made available to the Committee.

6. An enquiry of this nature must have imposed a great strain on the members of the Committee, and this was doubtless aggravated by the mass of irrelevant and hearsay evidence given at a time of general excitement and under stress of communal or sectional interests, the evidence being freely interspersed with opinions, impressions, and inferences based largely upon insufficient, inaccurate, and sometimes imaginary, data. It is thus not surprising that the Report is not unanimous in regard to some of the vital points with which it deals.

The enquiry, however, has had the result of allaying the disquiet created in the public mind by wildly exaggerated accounts of incidents which the Committee describes as having been comparatively unimportant in themselves. Whatever view may be taken of the conclusions reached and the recommendations made by the Committee, some of which involve controversial questions of administrative theory and practice and of political aims and ideals, the Report, as a whole, has served to clear up many doubtful and disputed points.

7. His Highness's Government desire to place on record their appreciation of the pains which Sir M. Visvesvaraya and the members of the Committee have bestowed on the difficult and delicate task entrusted to them, and to thank them for the assistance they have rendered to Government in dealing with the several matters which called for a decision.

8. Before coming to the findings of the Committee, it will be useful to refer to the general description of the occurrences, which is set out in the opening paragraph of the Report:—

"On the 30th of July 1928, certain incidents and disorders occurred in Bangalore City in which schoolboys took a prominent part. They created disturbances over wide areas including the Public Offices, the Central Jail and the main

entrance to the City. The adult population also joined the students in the course of the day and the disorders culminated in a serious riot between Hindus and Mussalmans towards nightfall. The riot was of very short duration and the disorders were quelled with the aid of the Military before midnight, but a considerable amount of panic prevailed among the City population throughout that night and the following day. The news of the disturbances spread rapidly, and exaggerated and distorted versions of the various incidents gained currency throughout the State and even abroad."

Elsewhere the Committee observes, "a large number of persons received wounds and bruises on the 30th July, but, so far as we have been able to ascertain, there have been no deaths. Save in the case of three or four persons, the injuries inflicted were not serious. On the whole, the incidents connected with the disturbances were in themselves comparatively unimportant."

The Committee states that "the 31st July 1928 was a day of great excitement, but Government made all proper arrangements for maintaining law and order within the City." In spite of this, "on account of the estrangement of feeling between the two communities on the 30th July, stray assaults continued to be committed during the days immediately following the riot." It is pointed out, however, in para 111 of the Report, that "whatever may have been the case when the riot was still fresh in the minds of the people, there is really no communal tension between the Hindus and Mussalmans at the present time and there was none even before the riot. The leaders of both communities have testified to this fact."

9. While, however, there was, on the findings of the Committee, no real communal tension, while the incidents that occurred were comparatively unimportant and the riot was speedily quelled, the events have attained a notoriety out of all proportion to their importance. This was due to the agitation, which first led to the disorders, and eventually took the form of recriminations between the various communities and criticism of the actions of the authorities. The influences brought to bear on the schoolboys to commit excesses and the part played in the agitation by "mob leaders" and by the press are described in considerable detail in several portions of the Report. It is only necessary here to refer briefly to the observations and conclusions of the Committee on these matters.

Firstly, the Committee holds that the action of the students was guided by "mob leaders and other maturer minds" from whom they received bad advice, that there was no justification for their invasion of the schools and colleges, the Central Jail, Carlton House or the Public Offices, and for the acts of rowdyism which they committed at all or most of these places and that their conduct in throwing stones at the sowars was reprehensible.

Secondly, the Committee considers that some of the newspapers "have developed disrespect for authority and a violent tone" and that "their effect on the public mind has not been healthy." In some cases, as in relation to these disturbances, "the Vernacular press has been consciously or unconsciously responsible for inciting communal hatred and jealousies in the mofussil."

Again at a later stage, "the local papers published recriminations between the communities and attacks on Government. The papers outside the State also

published exaggerated accounts under sensational headings, such as, "Rebellion in Bangalore and Government Blunders," "Reign of Terror in Mysore," "Police open fire on students," and so on.

With regard to the suspension of some of the newspapers for a short period, the Committee says, "As some of the local papers showed a tendency to spread exaggerated reports and comments on Government measures in violent and undignified language, and as this happened at a time of intense excitement, we are not prepared to say that the suspension of such papers at such a time was altogether unnecessary."

Thirdly, on the much debated point whether there was a general conspiracy in the State to overthrow the Government, the Committee holds that there is no evidence for this. Such a theory, it states, cannot survive a serious analysis. It adds, however, "there were perhaps individual agitators who wrote anonymous communications and spread false or exaggerated rumours secretly and whose misdeeds would come within the purview of the Law Court if sufficient evidence were forthcoming. But the acts of such individuals had no support from any large part of the population."

10. As regards the Military, the Committee finds that it was necessary to call in the aid of the Lancers, who, generally speaking, showed patience and steadiness and stood their ground at a time when confusion and excitement prevailed. "They really saved the situation."

11. The Committee finds that the non-restoration of the Ganesha image to the newly built niche in a public school open to all sections of the community and in a place close to a mosque, pending further enquiry, was fully justified. But this finding is qualified by two criticisms, *viz.*, (i) that the Director of Public Instruction was slow in coming to a final decision and (ii) that the circumstances in which his initial order was passed were not fully and openly stated.

Government agree that the matter might have been dealt with more expeditiously, and there is no doubt that the Director would have thus dealt with it if he had fully realised the influences behind the agitation, which had made it no longer a schoolboys' affair. It is unfortunate that he was on tour at the time when the agitation came to a head and that even when he learnt of the strike of the schoolboys in camp, he did not return promptly to headquarters. He was thus unaware of the developments that were taking place, although he had assured Government that he would see that "the susceptibilities of the boys are not hurt." It is unfortunate also the leaders of the protest movement preferred public demonstration when an ordinary representation would have prevented all the trouble that arose.

As regards the second criticism, the Committee observes that it was made to appear by Government as if the Director alone was concerned and that he passed the order for the non-restoration of the image on his own initiative. As a matter of fact, this was actually the case. As is stated in para 11 of the Report, the Director had only been instructed to look into the matter and see what could be done to stop the construction of the "temple," an instruction approved by the Committee in para 61. On this, the Director only passed an *ad interim* order pending further examination of the question and the matter was entirely in his hands until Government decided to restore the image on the 29th July.

12. The Committee has no serious fault to find with the action of the police up to the 29th July, or with the leniency shown by them towards the schoolboys in the initial stages. It observes, however, that "there should be a limit to such toleration; similar outbursts in the future should be carefully guarded against and the slightest transgression of law swiftly noticed and checked." Government wish to emphasise these observations, because some of the police officers seem to have been under the impression that the instructions issued in Government letter No. 697—C. B., dated 7th August 1921, justified their attitude of non-interference. As the Committee points out, these instructions laid down no general policy applicable to all such occasions, and it was certainly not the intention of Government that transgressions of law by schoolboys should go unnoticed.

The Committee expresses its satisfaction with the arrangements made for the preservation of law and order on and after the 31st July. It also exonerates the police from the charge that they failed to attend to the complaints of the public as to isolated cases of assault in Bangalore City.

13. The criticisms of the Committee are mainly directed against the alleged acts and omissions of the police and the magistracy on the 30th July. They refer in particular to—

- (1) the absence of a concerted plan of operations and of effective arrangements for inter-communication between the various police stations and the scenes of disturbance;
- (2) omission to take steps to disperse the crowd after the release of the prisoners;
- (3) failure to arrest the offenders on the night of the 30th July during or immediately after the riot;
- (4) failure to arrange for the search of houses from which shots were alleged to have been fired; and
- (5) delay in commencing investigation.

14. As regards the first point, the officers responsible for the arrangements urge that a concerted plan of action had been prepared, that a number of night-duty men and 50 reserve men were kept in readiness to be despatched to any part of the City as occasion demanded, and that inter-communication was kept up by telephone and otherwise. The Committee, however, finds that the arrangements proved to be inadequate.

15. With regard to the second point, the responsibility for releasing the prisoners without taking due precautions rests largely with the City Magistrate, who, according to the Committee's report, "released the prisoners on the strength of a Government Order conveyed to him orally by a private citizen. Since the order was not his own, he should not have acted on the word of a private gentleman, however high the latter's position may be. In any case, he should have taken steps to see that the crowds dispersed after the release of the prisoners, or at all events, he should have telephoned to or communicated with the police in some way to enable them to keep track of the processions."

Government agree with the Committee in these observations. It is needless to say that the suggestion that a message was sent to the Magistrate by Government through a private citizen is without foundation.

16. The Committee also observes that "the police officials who noticed the procession at the Yelahanka Gate and through the City should have warned the higher police officers that precautions were necessary near the Sultanpet school to avert possible trouble." In connection with this observation, it is only necessary to state that the objectives of the crowd underwent rapid changes and its final destination was not easy to foresee. Further, the police forces were scattered in other parts of the city and it is doubtful whether at that stage they could have been collected at the Sultanpet school in time and in sufficient strength to avert trouble.

17. On the question why arrests were not made on the night of the 30th July, the substance of the explanations submitted by the District Magistrate and the Inspector-General of Police is as follows:—

When the principal officers arrived on the scene, the riot had already terminated. There was not a single policeman on the spot, as the few that had been posted there for duty had either been injured or had accompanied the injured police officers to the hospital. The Hindus and Mahommadens had divided into "armed mobs" along the road on opposite sides of the school, and had to be kept apart and dispersed. The earliest point at which any arrests could have been thought of was after the arrival of the first batch of Lancers. But at the sight of the Military, the mob disappeared into the various lanes and streets in the neighbourhood. In these circumstances there could be no question of arresting the rioters red-handed; and also there was a grave risk that, if arrests were made, there might be attempts at rescue, leading to further disturbances. Meanwhile, steps had to be taken to prevent trouble in the various localities where the rowdy elements were reported to be collecting. Later came the news that batches of Mussalmans were coming from the Civil and Military Station. Until past midnight, the attention of the authorities was directed to the task of preventing possible collisions. The District Magistrate had to choose one of two courses, *viz.*, either to attempt arrests and conduct investigation, or to endeavour to maintain law and order by distributing the available forces over the whole area so as to avoid conflicts between the local Hindus and Mahommedans on the one hand, and to prevent the Mussalmans of the Civil and Military Station from joining hands with the Mussalmans of the City on the other. In these circumstances, the District Magistrate considered the latter the wiser course.

The facts urged by the officers are to a large extent borne out by the report of the Committee. It is always a question of the greatest difficulty at a time of intense popular excitement whether arrests will quiet the general atmosphere or precipitate disorder. The decision must necessarily depend upon the judgment of the responsible officers on the spot. Their *bona fides* in the present instance has not been questioned, and Government feel that their failure to make arrests in such a crisis is not a matter on which a retrospective judgment can usefully be exercised.

18. This consideration, however, does not apply in equal measure to the failure of the Police and the Magistracy to search or at least to place a cordon round the houses opposite the school. The District Magistrate says that he could not believe the sensational rumours that reached him, and did not feel justified, on the strength of these rumours, in instituting house searches, especially when on visiting these places he saw nothing to rouse suspicion. He posted some constables, however, in front of the school and near Khan Bahadur Abbas Khan's house and a picket

in the verandah of the cycle shop. These arrangements continued and the locality was guarded till the Additional District Magistrate made a formal search and effected mahazars a week later. But these arrangements were not quite adequate, and Government are inclined to think that stricter precautions might have been taken and searches instituted at least on the 31st morning, as is pointed out by the Committee. Whether any fruitful results would have followed or not, the adoption of these measures would have at least saved the Police and the Magistracy from the criticism to which their omission has naturally subjected them.

19. In making these observations, Government cannot, in justice to the Police and the Magistracy, fail to note that the events were of a most unusual nature, and developed with great rapidity, that the police force available was small and few of its members were armed, that both officers and men had passed through a day of great strain in quelling disturbances all over the city, and that the situation which confronted them at night was full of potentialities of danger from many sides.

20. As the Committee points out, there is nothing to indicate that the Police and the Magistracy acted or failed to act by reason of any orders from Government. But the statement that these officers were "in hourly touch with the Members of Government" might possibly suggest that the former subordinated their discretion to the unavowed behests of their official superiors. Government owe it to themselves, and to the officers concerned, to repudiate this suggestion in the most emphatic manner. The Members of Government were no doubt kept informed of the progress of the developments that were taking place, but in the nature of things, they could not be expected to give anything beyond general guidance on the facts placed before them; nor was it necessary for them to interfere with the details of action taken, under a full sense of their own responsibility, by officers invested with extensive powers under the law. Further, there was no occasion at that stage for the Government to call for the explanations of, or to find fault with, the officers, as that would have been merely forestalling the work of the Committee, which, within five days after the occurrence, it had been decided to appoint with the object, among others, of examining "the steps taken by the local officers to cope with the situation."

21. Government are also unable to see the propriety of describing the failure of the Police to make arrests and house searches on the 30th July as a breakdown of the Government machinery. The disturbances were spread over a wide area, and those which occurred near the colleges and schools, the Central Jail, Carlton House and the Public Offices were warded off or quelled. While the Police and the Magistracy were thus occupied in these localities, they had no reason to expect trouble at the Sultanpet School and only a small party of six policemen, including a Sub-Inspector and Sergeant, remained there. Immediately on the occurrence of assaults in that locality, the Lancers were summoned and the Police were reinforced as far as possible. A separate Magistrate was appointed on the 31st July to make an investigation and bring the offenders to justice. The recrudescence of rioting on a much larger scale being apprehended on the 31st July, armoured cars were requisitioned from the Civil and Military Station and a thorough patrol of all parts of the City by the Police and Military for a few days served to restore public tranquillity. Far from there having been any breakdown of Government machinery on the occasion, it would be more just to emphasise the

rapidity with which the situation was brought under control, and that without the firing of a single shot, either by the Military or the Police, and without the loss of a single life.

22. As to the alleged delay in investigation, it has to be pointed out that a Special Magistrate was appointed on the day following the riot. In response to what appeared to be a general desire on the part of the public, this officer was replaced on the 6th August by a senior officer with the rank of Additional District Magistrate. There was some slight delay due to these changes, but considering the mass of conflicting evidence that had to be dealt with and the time that the investigation actually occupied, it cannot be said that it was materially retarded by these measures, which were adopted in the interests of the impartial administration of justice as between communities.

23. In this connection, the Committee expresses the view that an officer who had been associated with Khan Bahadur Abbas Khan in the municipal administration of the City should not have been selected as Additional District Magistrate for the investigation of these cases, and that "the appointment was not considered particularly happy and was not calculated to ease the tension in the public mind." During the period of less than two months that the officer in question held the position of Municipal Commissioner of Bangalore City, Khan Bahadur Abbas Khan was the President of the Municipal Council. The Commissioner of a City Municipality is quite independent of the President, and there can be no question of any personal obligation on the part of the official Commissioner to a non-official President. In selecting this officer, Government had in view his seniority, his long experience as a Police Officer and as a Magistrate, and the choice was made precisely upon considerations calculated to inspire confidence in the impartiality and independence of the Magistrate. And, as a matter of fact, Government believe, the appointment, when it was announced, was generally received with satisfaction.

24. With regard to the action taken for the purpose of keeping the public informed of the happenings, the Committee finds that, except as regards two statements "the communiques which were issued generally had the effect of allaying unrest, at any rate, in the mofussil where the population was dependent on the vernacular newspapers for its news." It, however, criticises two points. The first is that a certain communique "seemed to imply" that the Director of Public Instruction happened to visit the Sultanpet A. V. School on 15th June and casually observed a newly built niche, and the second that some later communiques denied that there had been any shooting on the 30th of July. In the large amount of criticism that has been evoked in relation to these two points, there seems to be a complete loss of perspective. As regards the first point, the inaccuracy complained of related to a matter of no particular importance. As regards the second point, the position of affairs was that a panic had been created by rumours that there had been a wholesale slaughter, in which the Police and the Military had taken part. The communiques were issued for the purpose of allaying this panic. They were of necessity issued urgently and on the basis of the best information available at the time. They had, as the Committee has stated, the desired effect. The correction of the communiques relating to the shooting was taken in hand as soon as Government had had time to verify

the report that was brought to them of the existence of a case of what appeared to be a gunshot wound. A study of all the communiques together at once indicates the anxiety of Government to give the public the fullest possible information.

25. The Committee recommends the immediate adoption of the following measures for restoring normal conditions and harmony in the civic life of Bangalore and the State generally :--

- (a) Special efforts should be made to see that every one who used physical violence or offended against the law and against whom evidence may be forthcoming is arrested and tried according to law.
- (b) The allegations that boys were dragged in and that four of them were found lying under suspicious circumstances on the top floor of Mr. Abbas Khan's house should be further investigated and scrutinised by a special detective agency and suitable rewards offered for information on the matter.
- (c) Special courts should be established, presided over by senior officers of the Judicial Department, for the prompt disposal of all cases connected with the Bangalore disturbances.
- (d) The police force of the City should be reorganised and the C. I. D. staff strengthened and improved. The present mixed composition of the City police force makes it undependable in emergencies when communal quarrels are involved.
- (e) All available magistrates should be mobilised for service in times of disturbance, and posted in the disturbed areas to guide the police and the military and control operations for the purpose of preserving order with the minimum use of physical force. The officers of the military force entrusted with the command of detached units should be conversant with the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code pertaining to such occasions.
- (f) The composition of the military force should be examined to see whether it is suited to present day conditions; and special precautions should be taken in the employment of the military in times of communal disturbances;
- (g) Qualifications and merit should be the main test for appointment to offices in the State and no one should be appointed merely because of his religion or community. On account of the bitterness and jealousies roused by the order of Government on the Report of the Miller Committee, the questions arising therefrom should be fully discussed at a round table conference or otherwise by the leaders of the Brahmin and non-Brahmin communities, with a view to arriving at a settlement consistent with practices in other countries and with fair play.
- (h) A Board consisting of about five persons with an official Secretary should be created, on which public men and journalists may sit. It should watch and control writings in the press, issue monthly bulletins reviewing the operations of the press and recommend to Government punitive action wherever necessary according to law. The starting of one or two good daily newspapers with Government support is also a real need.

26. As regards the first of these recommendations, it may be observed that the Additional District Magistrate made a prolonged and detailed investigation extending over four months and examined 461 witnesses, and that, as a result of this investigation, charge sheets were placed in the City Magistrate's Court for the prosecution and trial of 24 Hindus and 14 Muhammadans. The investigation covered not only cases of personal violence, but all offences committed in the course of the events which preceded and followed the riot. Judging from the status of the officer and the length and thoroughness of the enquiry, it may be taken that all cases in which reliable evidence was available were brought to trial. In these circumstances, it appears to Government that no useful purpose would be served by reopening this matter. Further, with a view to restoring harmony and goodwill, all the cases against the Hindus have been withdrawn, and Government have reason to believe that this has had the desired effect.

27. On this view of the situation and having regard to the present conditions, there seems to be no need for special courts for dealing with the few remaining cases connected with the disturbances, now under trial before the City Magistrate.

28. Nor does it appear worth while to employ a special detective agency, as is proposed by the Committee, for the further testing of the allegation that boys were dragged into Mr. Abbas Khan's house and that their bodies were found there under suspicious circumstances. Full enquiries already made in this direction by the police and magistracy have been unfruitful. The Committee's enquiries also failed to trace any reliable evidence whatever in support of the allegations, which are attributed to possible "hallucination" on the part of individuals. The departmental officers will welcome any clue or reliable information in regard to this matter. But any elaborate attempt to investigate charges, which the Committee itself considers absurd (Para 68), would surely be profitless.

29. The re-organisation of the police force has, for some time past, been engaging the attention of Government, and will be dealt with, so far as funds permit, as soon as the necessary details are worked out.

Government agree with the proposals referred to in clause (e) of para 25 *supra*.

30. With regard to the Committee's observations about the re-organisation of the military force, Government consider it neither expedient nor possible to determine its composition by communal considerations. It is a long established tradition, well cherished and widely understood, that the soldier knows no politics or communalism, and has no personal predilections or prejudices, and that his fundamental duty is obedience to lawful authority. Any device or suggestion that assumes the possibility of his showing "special sympathy or antipathy towards any particular section of the citizens" can only lead to the deterioration of the morale of the force. Moreover, what the Committee desires is that the mixed composition of the Police and the Military forces should be abandoned, since in its opinion this makes the forces undependable in cases of communal quarrels. Government are frankly unable to understand this idea. All past experience teaches that a mixed composition, both as regards the Military and the Police, so far from making the forces undependable, is generally found to have the opposite effect.

31. The Committee's review of the working of the Government Order on the Miller Committee proposals and its own recommendations in this regard introduce a difficult subject. The policy of Government is to give adequate representation to all communities in the public service and the qualifications for admission are carefully laid down with a view to ensuring efficiency. Government would welcome any proposals for improving the existing arrangements which may be put forward by the leaders of the communities concerned after joint deliberation.

32. The proposed constitution of a Press Advisory Board would introduce a kind of press censorship, and it would not be easy to constitute an effective Board. Government will, however, be glad to consider the suggestion further on hearing the views of the press and the public thereon.

33. As regards the question of starting one or two good daily newspapers, it may be observed that the modern newspaper depends for its success more on its organization and equipment than on government aid or support. Any undertaking of this kind must be left to private enterprise, and Government do not see how they can give any tangible help without giving room for criticism on the score of setting up connections with publicity organisations.

34. In the concluding Chapter of the Report (Chapter XII), the Committee examines what it designates "the deeper causes—wider issues" of the disturbances.

After premising that the outburst of the 30th July "was both a portent and a premonition and indicated the existence of deeper causes and pent up forces," and that the remedies proposed in the Chapter "are not intended for the immediate consideration of Government, but they should be taken into account in shaping future State policies," it records its opinion that certain phases of political agitation in British India have affected and influenced public sentiment in the State. Prominent among these it mentions (a) the Bardoli Satyagraha, which was actually in operation at the time of the disturbances in Bangalore City, (b) Hindu-Moslem differences, (c) the Brahmin and non-Brahmin controversy, which originated in Madras, and (d) the agitation for responsible Government.

With regard to this analysis of the deeper causes, there is only one observation which the Government wish to offer. There is, so far as the Government are aware, no evidence of the existence of so-called Hindu-Moslem differences in this State, as the Committee itself declares in para 111 of the Report.

35. The Committee next offers certain suggestions for the healing of communal differences, relief of unemployment, and the allaying of political discontent. Government have perused with great interest the observations which the Committee has put forward under these heads.

36. The Committee is of opinion that attempts should be made "to standardise the habits and practices of the people," and refers to the introduction of such reforms a few years ago in Turkey and in Afghanistan at the present time. Government would stress the fact that they are doing as much as a government can in these respects, and they must leave the rest to the silent forces of time, and to sustained voluntary effort among the people themselves.

37. As sound standards will not grow of themselves, but have to be brought into existence by education and propaganda, the Committee suggests that instruction

in civics should be introduced in all schools and that lectures and other forms of propaganda should be arranged for the benefit of adults. The suggestion will receive the consideration of Government.

38. The Committee has also recommended that community councils might be brought into existence for towns and groups of villages with a view to bringing together representatives of all classes to undertake common tasks for their common welfare, to promote common interests, and to foster a common consciousness. This is the idea underlying the scheme of Village Panchayets, to the development of which Government have been devoting considerable attention of late years.

39. The measures proposed for relieving unemployment include the promotion of industries by advancing technical education and by affording financial aid to industries, and these are discussed at some length in paras 134 to 136 of the Report. They may be summed up broadly as diversification in the occupations of the people, by opening up avenues of employment which would, in addition to helping the people, promote the development of the natural resources of the State and the building up of the industries for which it is best fitted. Among the concrete recommendations made are (1) the opening of a Faculty of Agriculture in the Mysore University, (2) the immediate revival of the old Commerce Faculty, (3) the establishment of the proposed Jubilee College of Technology, (4) the adding of vocational courses in High and Middle Schools, giving an industrial bias to the education imparted in elementary schools, and an agricultural bias in rural areas, rendering elementary education compulsory, and (5) building up a State-wide organization to abolish illiteracy.

40. As regards the first two recommendations, Government will refer them to the University for opinion, while as regards the third, the matter is under consideration, and Government expect to pass orders as soon as certain details are settled. In regard to the remaining suggestions, the Administration Reports of the Education Department for successive years since 1914 show the enormous strides that education has made in the State. The expenditure under this head has also gone up proportionately, and no department of the State has been more liberally treated than that of education during the past decade or more. Government need hardly extend the assurance that the same policy will be pursued in future.

41. In regard to aid to Industries, the concrete proposal offered by the Committee is that "an outlay of 6 or 8 per cent of the State revenue should be advanced for the next ten years for industrial activities, both Governmental and private, if any appreciable results are to be expected in providing employment for the population." Industrial development on the lines indicated by the Committee has had considerable and systematic encouragement in the State during the past fifteen years. A forward move on the lines indicated by the Committee must largely depend on the condition of the State finances, on the progress of technical education, and on the development, necessarily slow, of the right spirit of industrial and commercial enterprise. The whole question has been investigated by the Committee on State Aid to Industries, with a view to the satisfactory development of industries in the immediate future. The report of this Committee, which is under submission to Government, will receive their close attention.

42. The Committee finally considers what it calls "the problem of how to allay political discontent." The main plea urged in this connection is that the element of responsibility should be introduced into the government of the State. His

Highness's Government are not unaware of this plea, and while they have been and always will be open to all reasonable representations in matters of this kind, they cannot overlook the complexity of the problem. Nor can they be oblivious of the limits within which constitutional changes are possible. Since the reforms introduced in the year 1923, a Committee has considered and reported to Government on the changes required in the Rules pertaining to the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. This is enough to show that Government are not standing still in the matter. But even if the form of Government is changed, this does not mean the abolition of rioting, as the experience of other countries has amply demonstrated. The form of Government must have relation to deep-rooted conditions of the social structure, and a two-party system or other ready-made constitutional device of an exotic nature, must necessarily be difficult to reproduce in a country with old and heterogeneous civilisations, cultures, and interests. Political phenomena have to be studied not merely in relation to forms of government and law, but in relation to whole groups of social facts which give to Law and Government the spirit that makes them workable. It is a commonplace to-day that societies are not capable of infinite and immediate modification without reference to the conditions which have worked themselves into their structure. Government do not suggest that changes—desired and desirable—should be prevented, but only wish it to be understood that they should have relation to the ascertained conditions of the society to which they have to be applied. So far, in Mysore, there has been no question of wringing reforms from an unwilling Government.

N. MADHAVA RAO,
Chief Secretary to Government.

To—The Chairman and the Members of the Committee.

The Inspector-General of Police.

The Director of Public Instruction.

Other Heads of Departments.

The Secretaries to Government.

The District Magistrate, Bangalore.

The Deputy Commissioners of Districts.

The Compiler, *Mysore Gazette*.

PRESS TABLE.