

# THE Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE

Office : KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

VOL. VI, No. 48.]

POONA—THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1923.

{ INLAND SUBNS. Rs. 6.  
FOREIGN SUBNS. 8. 10.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	565
<b>ARTICLES:—</b>	
The Liberal Federation. ... ..	567
Towards Prohibition? ... ..	568
The Democratization of Secondary Education in America. By Bhishma. ... ..	569
A LETTER FROM LONDON. ... ..	571
A NEAR EASTERN LETTER. By R. R. R. ... ..	572
<b>SIXTH LIBERAL FEDERATION MEETING SUPPLEMENT:—</b>	
Welcome Speech by Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole	
Presidential Address by Dr. Sir T. B. Sapru K. O. S. I. ... ..	...

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK

London, Kabul and  
Moscow.

IF the recent spate of news about Anglo-Afghan relations was already ominous enough, the news of what practically amounts to partial mobilization hardly leaves any more doubt about the real intention of the English and Indian Governments. The recent murder of some British officers has apparently brought all the "forward policy" enthusiasts to the fore again and with "Prestige" said to be at stake, it looks very much as if they were to have their way and India yet one more Afghan War. Seeing that the last little adventure in this line cost us some fifty crores, it does not need a prophet to foresee that the next one will deal a fatal blow at Indian finances, which even all the Blacketts and their salt will then be unable to preserve. If there is still time, we therefore hope that no effort will be spared to prevent the outbreak of actual hostilities. If murderers are sheltered on Afghan soil, we, like everybody else, would like them to be brought to book. But we candidly do not see any justification why indignation over the murder of a European British subject should be greater than over that of an Indian British subject, of whom scores are annually allowed to be blackmailed, kidnapped and murdered as a regular matter of routine in the daily life of the N. W. F. Province. Let us by all means stop all these border outrages: but since former Afghan wars have not stopped them, is it not sheer insanity to expect that yet one more will? When, two years ago, the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of Peace and Friendship was concluded, we, welcoming it as we did, yet said that no peace and friendship in that quarter of the world could last, unless peace and friendship reigned first of all between London and Moscow. These words were true then; they are still true

to-day. For it would be perfectly ridiculous to pretend that all this lawlessness in a little corner could not be swept away, if the two big neighbours, England and Russia, agreed to do it. A mere "Sanitary Cordon" drawn tightly around a mutually "outlawed" district would soon lead to unconditional surrender. The trouble is, that England rejoices, if the outlaws give trouble to Russia, just as Russia rejoices, if they trouble England. The road to peace with Afghanistan does not lie through the Khyber Pass, but through Moscow. Why is this road not taken?

\* \* \*

**Prison Reform.** In its *Gazette* of the 13th inst. the Governor-in-Council of Bombay has made "an announcement of policy" in the direction of Prison Reform. The introduction of an Advisory Committee, as advocated by the Jails Commission, is foreshadowed, to review periodically sentences, passed for five years and upwards, in the light of the effect the serving of the sentence is having upon the prisoner. This recommendation is one of the many made in the Commission's Report, but however thankful one ought to be for small mercies, one cannot feel very sanguine about the earnestness of a Government's reforming zeal, which starts, where it ought to end, without any indication that it does not intend to end, where it has started. The Revising Board, we are told, is to "judge how far the sentence has had a salutary and reformative influence": but is not the whole case for urgent prison reform just based on this very fact, that at present imprisonment is not intended and hardly ever succeeds to exert a salutary and reformative influence, since its sole object is only to punish? There are no humanizing influences at play in our prisons and therefore the whole grandiloquence of these "Revising Boards" will unfortunately, as things are, come to nothing more, one fears, than to provide another reward for those prisoners who give the minimum of trouble to the prison personnel. As long as our prison system sets out to break the will of prisoners, the promised "reform" can in the best of circumstances do little more than reward those whose will is most completely broken, i. e. who are least fit to resume life in the normal freedom of human life. If, as one hopes, more than mere eyewash is intended, the Government will have to try again.

\* \* \*

**Children's Protection.** ON the other hand, we are glad to be able unreservedly to congratulate the Bombay Government so on

progressive a piece of legislation, as it now embarks upon in the "Bombay Children Bill" published in a *Gazette* of the 6th. This Bill is partly based on the Madras Children Act, 1920, and on the English Children Act, 1908, and supplies a want greatly felt by all Social Workers. It deals with two distinct and yet intimately connected subjects—the protection of children and the custody of youthful offenders. As regards the former, it provides for the removal to an industrial school or the committal to a fit person (preferably a relative) of children who either are homeless or who are under the care of criminals, prostitutes &c. Part 3 deals with offences against children and provides for the punishment of cruelty, neglect &c. against children. "Causing or allowing a child to beg" likewise becomes a punishable offence, but religious mendicants may be exempted from this rule. And here we must express our surprise that imprisonment not exceeding two years (!) is deemed sufficient punishment for one who, being in charge of a girl under 16, causes her seduction or prostitution. Quite apart from the obvious need of raising that age to 18—in consonance with the age of majority and consent—will any one really pretend that if a maximum of two years imprisonment meets the offence of simple theft, that nothing more drastic is needed in the case of so heinous a crime as this? As regards youthful offenders, normally commitment to a fit person or an industrial school is provided for, though power is still retained to sentence them to imprisonment. § 23 is a useful section which grants the Court power to order neglectful parents to pay a fine for an offence committed by children of theirs and, best of all, § 44 introduces the establishment of Juvenile Courts. Altogether, the Bill is, we repeat, an admirable and badly wanted piece of legal machinery. But it would of course be folly to think that by itself it can ever effect the protection and reclamation of uncared-for children. That, obviously, will depend entirely on the "certified school" which is to receive this doleful flotsam of child-life, and on the spirit in which such institutions will be carried on. It would be fatal to leave all this to the State: centralized uniformity is the last thing wanted in dealing with so frail and so intensely individual a material, as the souls of these little ones. We therefore look to private endeavour and to a multiplicity of systems and experiments by social workers who take up this as their life work, as to the only guarantee for clothing the skeleton of a legal enactment with the skin and flesh of human sympathy and thus turning it from a mere dead letter into a living fact.

*Imperial Culture.* A refreshingly unconventional and striking article written, not from the flag-wagging and concession-exploiting, but cultural point of view is a notable feature of the last *Challenge* to hand. The writer, Mr. W. K. Midgley, sums up the recent Imperial Conference as "a Directors' meeting, reorganizing the business": but not only does he lament this state of

affairs—he is candid enough to say that no cultural bond with England is possible, as long as the Colonies' "cultural level has not risen much above that of a hardware store." "For this cultural poverty," the writer continues, "all the material progress in the world will not atone, nor can our interest in the life of the Dominions be deep and wide until they begin to show more signs of making their contribution, not only to our navy, but to our bookshelves." Mr. Midgley seems to believe that the main reason, why "the contributions of the Dominions to anything that can be called a culture of their own are so amazingly thin," is the newness of these countries: as if Time was the prime factor and as if there was no culture but that mellowed by age. Against this we would like to know how Mr. Midgley would explain the bursting forth of ancient Hellenic culture straight from prehistoric savagery into supreme perfection like panoplied Athene from the head of Zeus? No, the Greeks worshipped Beauty, and they achieved it; the Dominions (with America as their exemplar) worship the Dollar—and they achieve that. But this is really not to the point we wished to make, which is that the writer in question turns from the Dominions to India in the following words: "India shows how much wider our interest is in a country with a culture of its own—even when inhabited by a race not of our blood, than in a country where material consideration and material success have not yet had time to sink to something approaching their proper level." To which we would but add, that since this is so, an Empire, which ranks these Colonials as first and Indians as second class citizens, stands by that fact revealed as an engine of barbarism.

Mughal Raj. AN *Associated Press* message of the 12th inst. from Hyderabad stated that

H. E. H. the Nizam had fined one of his High Court Judges Rs. 500 for making a false statement to him, namely, that he, at an interview with the Nizam, made signs to get away, stating he had got urgent work to attend to at the court, which the Nizam subsequently found to be untrue.

Beyond dedicating this news item to all protagonists of the retrocession of the Berars, we forbear to comment on it, since comment never was more needless and could surely but spoil so delicious a story, which we trust will lighten, if only for a brief moment, the anguish of those who still have to groan under an utterly unexalted and, alas, still quite satanic government.

WHICH reminds one that an all-India Indian States Subjects Association. Conference was held at Delhi last September—rather overshadowed by the Congress Working Committee, which met at the same time, and therefore not drawing much attention upon itself. Anyhow, a permanent "Indian State Subjects' Association" was formed on that occasion "for agitating the question of inauguration of responsible government in Indian States": a most laudable object indeed. Provisional Articles of Association etc. have now been drawn up, to be considered at the first statutory meeting of the new Association which it is hoped to hold in Delhi next month. Apparently sympathizers from British India are eligible for membership; in fact their support is being earnestly solicited. (The address of the Provisional Secretary, Mr. R. Krishna, B. A., is C/o Mohata Felt Manufacturing Co., Bagh Dewar, Delhi.)

### THE LIBERAL FEDERATION.

A CLOUD has descended over the Liberal organisation in the country and a feeling of depression is likely to characterise the next session of the Federation in Poona. In Madras alone of the important provinces has the defeat of the Liberals been obscured; but there it has been obscured in a general occultation of all wholesome politics by the malignant shadow of caste feud. The fall of Sir Surendranath at one end and that of Dr. Paranjpye at the other might by some plausible optimist be attributed to misunderstandings and animosities inevitable to the first holders of a peculiarly difficult office. The denial of Mr. Chintamani by the people whom he served with unquestioned ability and faithfulness may be explained by his absence and the proclaimed opposition of Pandit Malaviya. But how could the defeat of Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru be interpreted except as a black portent to Liberalism? He was recommended to the electors by the mighty man of the United Provinces who, next only to the Mahatma, commands the homage of the people. By common admission he was the leader of the non-official opposition to Government, and a valiant and vigilant leader he was, never missed in his place, and always prompt to champion popular causes and expose the lapses and faults of Government without mercy. No Swarajist, if one could be conceived to have been in the old legislature, could have done more useful or more meritorious service than he in the cause of the motherland. That the voters of Agra had no use for him, is a proof of the sinister proportions attained by political rancour in the infancy of representative institutions, a rancour which now and then marks down for its victim not the most vulnerable but the most eminent of its foes. Lala Lajpat Rai, whose rooted antipathy to political opponents ill consorts with the general benevolence of his character, gave currency to the charge that the Moderate had merged himself in the bureaucracy of the land and forfeited all claim to quarter at the hand of patriots. This description took a more and more odious turn as it passed from lip to lip in the ranks of political extremism, and no wonder swept its objects into the shades at election time.

A land slip, however, is to be looked for at all times in the working of a polity based on wide electorates and a political school or party need fear nothing more than a temporary set-back from the adverse verdict of the constituencies, unless it is endorsed by its own conscience. Not only has the Liberal Party no reason to be ashamed of its work, but there are certain signal services to the country which stand to its credit. In a time of political fury when unrest might have deepened into anarchy, a faithful few stood firm round the banner of moderation and of give and take and ensured progress along the well tried lines of a regular constitution. Having under a sense of duty accepted the Reforms proposed by Mr. Montagu, they were driven by the same sense of duty to take

office and make a success of them. And once they assumed office they could not shrink from the disagreeable duties attendant on it, duties not made less disagreeable by the misguided and reckless conduct of large sections of their countrymen. If this be a grievous fault, grievously have they answered it. A later generation will doubtless render them justice and cherish with gratitude the names of those who despite the taunts and reproaches of their kith and kin helped the establishment of a democratic constitution and demonstrated the capacity of the Indian people to sustain its burdens and responsibilities.

Though Liberal candidates have been defeated in the elections, it may legitimately be claimed that Liberal principles have succeeded. For whatever the Swarajists might have chosen to say at election time, by entering the Councils they have tacitly adopted constitutional methods of agitation and thereby approximated more to the Liberal than to the rigid type of Congressman who would still stand by the triple boycott. It is true that rejection of office was a prominent feature of the Swaraj Party's electioneering, and both Mr. C. R. Das and Dr. Moonje have now declared their unwillingness to accept office. No doubt the last word has not yet been spoken on this subject and one looks forward to a battle royal at Cocanada on this question. For ourselves, we think it wrong on principle and detrimental to public interest for a party which has attained a position of dominance in the legislature to shirk the responsibilities of that position by declining office and refusing that share in the administration of affairs which the present constitution allows. In saying this we take it for granted that the "wrecking" policy has been abandoned, so far at least as the immediate future is concerned. Even a thorough-going Liberal would not deny the legitimacy of a course of parliamentary tactics which in certain circumstances of provocation leads to the bringing about of a constitutional deadlock. A Government which habitually slights the legislature or is led astray by a conflicting allegiance can be brought to reason only when reduced to paralysis. And such a desperate remedy, as students of English history know, is well within the practice as well as the theory of free constitutions. The question what would be the justifying provocation is one dependent on the circumstances of each case. What is unendurable to one temperament may not be so to another—what is endurable now may not be so next week. But we believe that the approach of actuality will have its sobering effect and that no wreck of the constitution will be attempted for the mere fun of the thing. The great aim of Dominion status can only be pursued with the patience, skill and strategy that it demands. If that is so, the work of the new legislative bodies will be carried on as though the ousted Moderate still continued at the helm. If it is carried on with more vigour, at a higher level of efficiency and with

more popular support than heretofore, the improvement will only be due to the popularity acquired by having been against the Government for so long a time, but even so it will be a tribute to the principles of the superseded agency. These considerations, not the less valid because they are apparent, bring into view a striking paradox. The Moderates have lost because Moderation has won! The defeat of the Moderate at the polls has been brought about by the spread of his principles and the success of his work. Let the Liberals meeting in Poona take heart and go on.

### TOWARDS PROHIBITION ?

THERE has just reached us the Report of the Bombay Excise Department for the year ending March 1923, together with the Government Resolution thereon, which by the way makes one wonder, why similar reports for other, notably the Education Department, has not yet seen the light of the day even for the preceding year 1921-22. One is all the more glad to have this Excise Report so promptly, as the year under review was a very important one, being the first year in which the "rationing" system was introduced and worked, thus imposing a direct check on consumption by the rationing of all country liquor shops on the basis of consumption in 1920-21, a normal year. The ration of each shop in Bombay City in the year under review was 10% less than the issue to that shop in the normal year and 5% less for shops in the rest of the Presidency; but shops on the borders of the Indian States were rationed on the basis of the consumption during the normal year without any reduction.

Besides this important and far-reaching change in the Abkari policy, the effects of which we will consider later, there were other minor changes. The strength of country spirit was reduced from 30° U. P. to 40° U. P., except in certain areas and again in the unfortunate places near the Indian states border. "Off" sales at country spirit shops in certain Municipal areas were abolished, and liquor shops in all Municipal areas were ordered to be closed on Holi and Moharam public holidays, thus tending to reduce consumption on occasions when people are most likely to get drunk. The old practise of disposing of toddy was reverted to and the system of tree-foot booths shops by action was greatly extended, by as many as 70,000 trees or 20%, both changes resulting in larger revenue and also in a very large increase in consumption of this admittedly less injurious drink—from 99½ lakhs of gallons to 128 lakhs. License fees for the foreign liquor shops were raised, and fresh vend fees were levied at the time of the liquor being cleared from the Customs bonded warehouse to the licensee's premises, thus yielding a substantial fresh revenue of 6¼ lakhs. There was a very welcome reduction in the rate of duty on Indian made spirit used in medicinal and toilet preparations manufactured in, or import-

ed from Bombay States in, the British area of the presidency from Rs. 21-14-0 to 5-0-0 per proof gallon, and yet the decline in revenue on this head was only Rs. 72,000. The consumption of *charas* was completely prohibited in Bombay city and Ahmedabad district, the only places in the presidency proper where it was permitted hitherto, but in Sind where it was not prohibited, the consumption was 8% more than in 1920-21, though 15% less than in 1921-22. The rates of duty on ganja, bhang and opium were all raised by about 20 to 25%, but more ganja was consumed, probably due to its replacing *charas*, formerly used in Bombay city and Ahmedabad district, whilst the other two drugs showed a small reduction over the year preceding.

There is one feature of our excise administration which is very interesting. Advisory Committees have been formed, not only for all urban areas but all talukas too in the Presidency proper for years past, to advise the department on the location of shops, their removal and cognate matters. In fact, there are no less than 125 Committees in the Presidency, excluding Sind; and the Commissioner of Customs, Salt and Excise may well boast that "there is now no district without an Advisory Committee." But mark the achievements of the Committees: 98 out of the 125 never met even once during the year, and the total number of meetings of the remaining 27, that met either once or more than once, was only 61. Excepting Bombay City where seven committees, one for each of the seven municipal wards, did their work not by meetings, but by circulars (19 times all told), the remaining 20 active Committees held 42 meetings in all, or a little over two during the year on an average. But the sum total of all the Committees' combined work is still more wonderful. As many as 19 country liquor shops, out of 1734, were closed as a result of the grand efforts of the 125 Committees, as against 49, on the recommendation of 20 district collectors. What is the earthly benefit of such paper committees, and why continue this humbug of self-deceit? Now that the system of rationing is the prevailing policy, local boards should be invested with advisory powers and asked to exercise them with vigilance, and this old-time anachronism, this eyewash, should receive a decent burial.

Looking at the figures of consumption of country liquor in various towns and districts, one can not help comparing the different areas as regard their drinking habits. Taking first towns of 10,000 population and over (including all district head quarter towns), Alibag leads with 41 drams per head of its small population of 5000 and odd, the six towns of Thana district come next with 28 drams, Bombay with 25, the two towns of Broach with 22, the two of Panch Mahals with 15½ and so on. Coming to whole districts, Thana with its large proportion of forest tribes (Warlis and others) leads with 13 drams per head of population, Surat ranking second with 11 drams, Broach third with 7½.

Kolaba fourth with 7 drams, Panch Mahals (the district of five talukas) with its mostly aboriginal population fifth with  $4\frac{1}{2}$  drams, closely followed by West Khandesh with similar hill tribes with 4.3 drams, and by industrial Ahmedabad as the seventh with 4.1 drams. Thus it is clear that Thana and all Gujarat districts and towns hold the foremost place in the drink bill in the whole of the presidency, including Sind, a fact very discreditable to the mild Gujarati. Is the explanation that the Gujarat cultivator is in easier circumstances than the Deccan Maratha or the Sindhi Mahomedan and therefore can afford this luxury better; or is he more wretched and therefore more prone to take to this anæsthetic?

Regarding the rationing system, which, it must be mentioned, is made applicable only to country or Swadeshi liquors and not to foreign liquors, it was brought into force on 1st April 1922, and it will be noted with satisfaction that the result has far exceeded the expectation. The ration for the past year was fixed at 90% of the actual consumption in 1920-21 for shops in the City of Bombay and 95% for shops in the rest of Bombay Presidency. But the actual consumption did not only not come up to the rationed figure, but fell far short of it. In stead of its being 10 and 5% respectively less than in the normal year, it was all round over 25 p. c. less, or about 6 lakhs in a total of nearly 24 lakh gallons. The consumption was less than even the preceding years' figure, 21 lakhs, which was abnormally low on account of picketing of liquor shops done on a large scale by non-cooperators, though during the year under report very little picketing, if any, was practiced. This great falling off in consumption is explained by the Excise Commissioner as due to very high prices being charged by vendors (who were left to fix their own prices), as rationing was very strictly enforced. The Government in their resolution doubt the accuracy of this reasoning, and argue that if the decline in consumption was due to the country liquor being made a somewhat expensive luxury for the man in the street, that fact went to prove the success of their pet theory of "minimum consumption, maximum revenue," provided that the place of country liquor was not taken by other more injurious intoxicants, and that illicit distillation did not appreciably increase. The Report shows clearly that drugs like ganja, ng hba and opium have so far not taken the place of country liquor, nor has it been replaced by foreign liquor. No doubt, there has been a great rise in the consumption of toddy, from 100 lakhs gallons in 1921-22 to 128 lakhs in the year under report, but the change is for the better, when toddy is not stale.

But can not this decrease in consumption be explained in this way? Due to the picketing and other successful agitation of the non-co-operators in the year 1921-22, the national conscience was awakened against the drink evil, and though the picketing was almost non-existent in the succeed-

ing year 1922-23, the process of awakening and heart-searching continued and thus the people of their own free will, or by pressure of public opinion, resorted less and less to drinking. The substantial decrease in the consumption of liquor and toddy in Navsari District of Baroda State, a district noted in the past for its drunkenness, is a notable instance of this kind, though on a small scale. No doubt, the raising of prices of liquor has controlled it still further; and we believe that the two causes combined—the awakening and the very high cost of the liquor—have had the beneficial effect of reducing the consumption by about 29% in the course of two years, from about  $25\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs in 1920-21 to 21 lakhs in 1921-22, and further down to 18 lakhs in 1922-23. This is the true explanation of it in our opinion.

But the Government are professing anxiety over the rise in Abkari offences, of illicit importation, sale and distillation, which rose from 1905 to 2885, or by 51%; principally in Kaira, Thana, Surat, Nasik and West Khandesh. Government certainly can not contemplate with equanimity such a large increase in excise crime. But it is quite possible that the executive officers, who as is well known, were opposed to the rationing policy forced upon them by the Minister in charge, may have been extraordinarily alert in scenting and detecting crime, which they hitherto perhaps winked at, in order to prove the ill effects of the rationing policy. This may be a plausible reason of the increase, or the reported increase, of excise crime. No doubt the preventive staff should be strengthened, whenever necessary and crime suppressed. But any modification, or watering down, of the rationing policy, which is threatened by the Government resolution, will not be tolerated by the new or any future legislature, and we draw the attention of the members of the new Council to the threat held out. The report of the Excise Committee, over which the late R. B. Sathe presided, is unfortunately not yet submitted to Government and we can not call it to our aid in elucidating the preventibility or otherwise of increase in Abkari offences—a point which must have been fully considered by the Committee. In any case, the Report before us on the whole bears eloquent testimony to the success of the policy of rationing, conceived and introduced by the Hon. Mr. Chunilal Mehta, who thereby has undoubtedly made a solid and original contribution to the solution of the liquor problem of India.

#### THE DEMOCRATISATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN AMERICA.

THE American genius is pre-eminently democratic. There is hardly any institution—and secondary education is no exception—that the American has not attempted to democratise. Writing on the Social Composition of the High School in the special "High School" number of the "New Republic" of the 7th Nov. last, Mr. G. S. Counts asserts that "in the public high school, more than in

any other of our educational institution, has the genius of the American people expressed itself" and "through it, the privileges of higher education are theoretically extended to the masses and through it American society has registered its attitude towards such fundamental matters of social concern as the equalisation of opportunity, the inheritance of privileges, the stability of classes and the source of leadership."

The practical application of the theory of democratisation of secondary education has proceeded along different lines. First and foremost is the institution of the public high school, where secondary education is free to all who seek it: it is one of the greatest cultural achievements, and one in which America stands unique. No other country, not even Germany or England or France, has attempted anything like what America has achieved.

Other evidences of democratisation consist of the increase in the number of schools and scholars; the extension of the privileges to rural areas as well as to urban areas; the number and variety of the courses of study, both cultural and vocational; the widening of the representative character of the control; but more than all, the vertical broadening of the clientele of high schools, to include all classes of society.

The number of secondary schools has more than trebled itself during the last thirty years, and the number of scholars has increased by nearly seven times. As many as one in every two children of high school age in certain cities and one in four in certain rural areas, are taking advantage of secondary education. With such a large proportion of pupils receiving secondary education the average level of intelligence of the American people has presumably been raised perceptibly.

Ninetyone percent of all high schools in America are in rural or village communities with less than five thousand inhabitants. As for variety and number of courses offered in high school, no school is considered well equipped unless it offers from fifteen to fifty courses, a great many of which are vocational. In fact, the policy has been to include in the high school curriculum almost any subject that may be suited to the needs of any large group of pupils. The latest phase of development has been to organise courses, not only to meet the needs of the different classes of the community, but also to adapt the instruction to the varying capacities of the pupils concerned.

Another very interesting feature is the teachers' organizations which were originally formed more or less as trade unions to better the economic conditions of the teachers but which are now trying to assume larger responsibilities in the control and development of high school education.

Perhaps the most telling evidence of democratisation is the sweep of different social and economic strata in society that have now been attracted to secondary education. The old theory which still persists elsewhere in practice if not in theory, is that high school education

is meant only for a special narrow class which by its social, economic and intellectual privileges of inheritance aspired to University education and to leadership of society. It was a class ideal, not a mass ideal. There has been a considerable change in this attitude in America during the last thirty years. Increasingly larger proportions of the pupils are being attracted to high school education from successively lower and lower social and economic strata of society, so that there is hardly a community that has not taken advantage of the free high school.

In spite of these evidences of the progressive democratisation of secondary education, Mr. Counts is led to observe: "In the struggle for the equalisation of educational opportunity important battles have been won, but, for the nation as a whole, the fight itself is only well begun." All the pupils who are capable of acquiring a high school education are not having it; and there is a great variation in the proportion of pupils of each social and economic class actually attending high schools. Thus, though the high school is open to all, the selective principle is still reflected in practice.

It has been said that, of children of high school age, one in every two in certain urban areas and one in every four in certain rural areas are attending high schools. This means that a large number of children of high school age, almost two in every three, are still out of the high school. How is this to be accounted for? Along what lines does the principle of selection work?

The psychological equipment of the individual child, no doubt, acts as a selective principle. Some children have not sufficient intelligence to cope with a high school course. In so far as this psychological factor acts as a selective principle, it cannot be said to detract from the democratisation of education.

But the psychological criterion does not account for the keeping out of all the children who are not, in the high schools. Mr. Counts conducted an elaborate investigation in the high schools in certain industrial cities to determine the representation of the sixteen different social and economic groups into which he had classified the whole community. The classification had at one end the professional services, and at the other, common labour. He found that selection by social and economic conditions of the parents is still very dominant in the high schools. Less than 30 per cent of the pupils belonged to the classes engaged in manual labour. In one city, it was as low as 2 per cent. It was also found that the children of the group of professional services had twenty times the chance of receiving a high school education as the children belonging to the manual labour group. Moreover, out of every 100 pupils from the manual labour group who enter on secondary education only 12 complete it, while of the professional services group, as many as 60 do so.



Thus, it is still true that, of the small minority of the professional groups, a comparatively larger number enter and complete high school education, while of the labour group, though it forms the large majority of the population, few enter on a high school course and even fewer complete it. Secondary education is still a class education and not a mass one in America; in spite of the free high school.

BHISHMA.

### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

DEC. 6th 1923.

THERE has been a great deal of hooliganism in some of the constituencies during this general election, reminding one of the bad old days of organized violence and corruption. One very flagrant case is that of North Battersea, where "Comrade" Saklatvala is again seeking the suffrages of the local electors. Here, the Liberal candidate has had his life threatened by what appear to be Communist gangs, and not only has Mr. Hogbin been compelled to accept police protection, but to cancel all public meetings, in order to prevent scenes of violence and possibly even loss of life.

The "Manchester Guardian" last week devoted a leading article to the life and work in India of William Winstanley Pearson, in whose memory Dr. Tagore is appealing for funds for the creation of a permanent memorial. Writing on "A Great Englishman", the "Guardian" says: "How many people, when they heard, if they did hear, that W. W. Pearson was dead, will have known that a great reconciler had passed away, or will have realised that the spirit that burned in him with so intense a flame is the sole and appointed means by which the vast engine of existing government in India can be brought into fruitful accord with the Indian peoples or a new life be born from the union there of East and West?"

"In India" the paper continued, "great and difficult changes are at work as it passes from the stage of tutelage to that of responsible self-government. Everywhere and in every department of the machinery of government the outside directing forces are being gradually withdrawn, and native agencies are being put in their place. The transition is not and cannot be a smooth one. There is commotion and the straining forward of forces long repressed and now set free, reluctant to accept the boundaries set to their immediate advance. For the old obedience must now be substituted accommodation and the spirit of goodwill, and these are by no means always forthcoming. Along this difficult road India is now somewhat painfully travelling. Her wisest spirits recognise that for safety as for progress there must be a union of forces. It is no mere compromise that is needed, but something much more positive: much moral energy; it is the active and whole hearted friendship which inspired the life of Pearson, which breaks down all barriers of race, colour, language, tradition, and burns up all the petty assumptions of superiority and power by which society in India has been too long dominated. The Indian Civil Service is said to have been rendered unattractive by the changes which are now taking place in its conditions,

but to the right type of man it should be rendered not less but more worthy as a career in proportion to the greatness of the service that can be rendered and the need for originality and strength the working out of an extraordinarily difficult and critical problem. It is men like Pearson who are wanted, devoted servants of their own and of their adopted country. Sir Rabindranath asks for help towards a memorial. We trust it will be handsomely forthcoming. For Manchester it has a special interest, for Pearson was the son of a Manchester clergyman."

W. W. Pearson was one of those Englishmen unknown in their labours to their fellow-countrymen. His was another case of a man being no prophet in his own country. Yet there are some, nevertheless, who will derive inspiration from his work and memory.

At the Board of Trade Inquiry into the loss of the "Trevesa" whose captain and crew made such a remarkable and heroic voyage to Mauritius and Reunion, an allegation by one of the white firemen was made that he had been assaulted by a coloured man in the course of the voyage. An Indian fireman thereupon sent, through the representative of the Board of Trade, a letter in which he said: "I don't want it to be thought that I was the coloured man who made the assault on Bainbridge with a rake. If I want to fight I have two good hands; I don't want rakes." Bainbridge, recalled, admitted that the writer of the letter was not his assailant, and the captain, Captain Foster, said that all the coloured men with him were very good and he had no complaint to make against them. Mr. J. S. Smith, the chief officer, referring to the Indian fireman whose letter was read, said: "He was in my boat, and I can assure you that his conduct was simply splendid."

An interesting painting by John Zoffany, R. A., which was supposed to have been lost, has recently been discovered and now purchased for India. It is the original oil painting of "The Embassy of Hyderbeck to Calcutta" from the Nawab of Oudh, by way of Patna, in the year 1788, to meet Lord Cornwallis. This picture is well-known from the engraving by Earlom, but the picture itself was believed to have been destroyed in the Mutiny. Its whereabouts was even unknown to Williamson when he wrote his Life of Zoffany, in 1920. The cavalcade is seen marching towards Patna. A male baggage-elephant is irritated by his driver, who is taken from his seat and destroyed. By this violent action of the elephant, women and children are seen falling from his back. The second elephant in the picture carries Captain (afterwards Sir John) Kennaway, Lord Cornwallis' aid de camp. The artist, Zoffany, is seen riding a horse by his side.

Another picture, by the same artist, has just been purchased in London for return to India. It is an oil-painting of Beni-Ram Pundit, the Vakil or Minister of the Raja of Berar. The original picture was painted at the request of Warren Hastings as a record of his gratitude and friendship towards a man who had rendered him great service at the time of the rebellion of Chet Singh.

Hastings had a great affection for the picture, which hung in his dining-room at his seat at Dalesford and afterwards came into the possession of his niece, a Miss Winter. At her death, it was purchased by a well-known book and picture dealer in London, from whom it has now been purchased on behalf of the descendant of Beni-Ram Pundit, still resident at Benares. The picture is in excellent condition.

### A NEAR EASTERN LETTER.

(From the private letter of a friend who has made an extended and unconventional tour through the Arab countries).

CAIRO, OCTOBER 20th, 1923.

... I have been greatly enjoying my travels and they have also given me much material for reflection. There is a revivalism in the whole Mahomedan world today and all its administrative religious edifice, from the highest clergy down to the humblest individual believer, has been turned into a machinery for political propaganda. There is a local Arabic College here where theology is the curriculum, and its interpretation is aggressively political. At Baghdad I had occasion to meet and chat with one of the highest officials, the opposite of anti-British by birth, education, position and circumstance, yet he was very firm about the immediate uncontrolled sovereignty of Mesopotamia. In Palestine anti-British politics is rampant. In Egypt they speak of the British as if it is a settled question that they should clear out of the land bag and baggage by tomorrow's dawn. There is no discussion of any kind about that aspect of the matter. In Syria things are equally inflammable but the French Government has some sort of inertia, which is very helpful to themselves. They are no bullies and do not provoke. They let things lie. They do not show fight, so the fight does not actually come off. No doubt this state of things has had a striking effect on the would-be dominating foreigner. The European here is in fact very different from what he is in India. His individual prestige is nil and nobody quakes before him; indeed, quite often it is the European who quakes!

That is only one side of the picture, though a refreshing one. It is all right that they are going to get rid of the foreigner and all that. But ultimately what will there be? I have been very bitterly disappointed about these Arab countries generally in Egypt where one would expect some paramount trace of a traditional culture resulting from an original civilisation fashioning the people's lives: there is not a vestige of it left. It is all one weary round of third-rate, tenth-rate Europeanism. For one accustomed to the free metaphysical thought of India, it is most disgusting. I never realised before that things could be so different here. In education they are lagging centuries behind us. There is nothing, nothing

of that deep traditional culture which mellow and deepens India's life. It is a dreary land of deserts and rocks; what is the future of these people? So far they have hardly the elements of ethical development and civilisation. They never hesitate to go any length—I ought to have said depth.

About India, there is very great ignorance prevailing all over here. They have seen coolies and sepoys from India and have generalised about all Indians from their knowledge of them. I think it is very necessary that some educated Indians should pass through these countries, even if it be only to establish the credit of India—their ignorance is amazing.

My impressions will be misleading, unless I complete them with attention of the Zionist movement and its agricultural colonies. There was something very pure, patriotic, deep and true about them which really moved me. I toured extensively in the district of Upper Galilee round the famous lake and also round Haifa and Jerusalem, visiting several of these colonies. I was very much struck with their life and the results of their work. There seems to be something very up-lifting about pastoral life. I shall try to send you some of the reports and statistics which I got from them. Both from my experience in Bengal at the agricultural department of Santiniketan as well as from what I saw in Palestine of the work of the Zionists, I am convinced that this is a very striking line of work for national regeneration which it would be well to adopt universally in India. . . .

R. R. R.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

#### THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN ON THE JASPER ABRAHAM CASE.

##### A TERRIBLE CASE.

We print to-day a statement in which Mr. J. H. Harris recites the facts of a very terrible case in Kenya. A native named Kitosh had annoyed his master by riding a mare in foal, though without injuring her. The master flogged him and had him flogged until, ten hours later, the man died, having first begged that he might be given a knife with which to kill himself and end his agony. The jury found that there was no provocation for this outrage, but their verdict also was that the master had only been guilty of "grievous hurt." The jury may possibly have been influenced by the defence, which alleged that Kitosh was weakened by having little food in his stomach and that he was also malicious enough to have the "will to die," since he meditated suicide. The judge sentenced the master to two years' imprisonment, and apparently, in view of the verdict, he was unable to do more. An Empire which cannot preserve its native subjects from death by flogging at the hands of their masters and which places the administration of justice in the hands of settlers so prejudiced that an atrocity of this kind is reduced to "grievous hurt" would not deserve to exist if those who ultimately exercise the trusteeship for the natives did not intervene on behalf of justice. It may be that in places like Kenya the feeling towards the native is such that white juries are not capable of doing justice between the white man and the black. In that event the administration of justice should be taken out of their hands. However cumbersome and expensive the procedure, it would be better that every case of killing of this kind were brought to London and tried there than that a single injustice should be perpetrated which brings shame on the name of England and the high-sounding title of Empire.



# VI NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, 1923.

**Diwan Bahadur K. R. Godbole.**



*Chairman Reception Committee.*

**Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.**



*President.*

# VI National Liberal Federation of India.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I.

Wednesday, December 26, 1923.

Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

My first duty is to tender to you all my sincerest thanks for the great honour you have done me in inviting me to preside over your deliberations this year. When about two months ago I received in London cablegrams from Sir Hormusji Wadia and Mr. Ambekar offering me the presidentship of the Liberal Federation, I was not free from considerable doubts as to whether I should accept the offer. But, after carefully thinking over it, I came to the conclusion that if the party to which I have the honour to belong had decided to call upon me to place my services at its disposal this year, I should be wanting in my duty if I failed to respond to that invitation. Much as I appreciate the honour which you have conferred on me and much as I wish that your choice had fallen on some worthier person, I feel, however, that without your support and cooperation it would be impossible for any person in my position to achieve any success in what appears to me to be a crisis in the history of the Liberal party. I have no doubt that I shall receive your support in a generous measure and I feel that the very fact that this conference has been called this year, in this great and historic city, full of political memories of ancient days—a city which in our own generation has been the scene of activities of some of the most outstanding figures of modern India—should inspire us with some high and useful purpose.

Gentlemen, I have just spoken of the crisis in the affairs of the Liberal party and it will be my attempt to deal with it fairly and frankly and to invite you to face the situation in the same spirit. I do not propose to address you on too many subjects. I would much rather concentrate your attention and mine upon some of those problems which seem to me to be the most pressing. Of these, one affects our party, and that I propose to deal with at a later stage. Meanwhile, with your permission, I shall at once deal with two or three problems on which I have no doubt you would like to hear me.

### The Imperial Conference.

It was only on the 30th of the last month that I returned from England, after an absence of over

five months. During a part of that period I had to work at the Imperial Conference. I assume that you all have read the proceedings of that Conference, relating to the questions of Indians overseas and I therefore do not propose to trouble you with much of what has appeared in the press. I desire simply to explain the position as it strikes me, and, while I shall no doubt express my own opinions, I shall leave it to you to form your own judgment.

### Kenya.

The position, which arose when the Kenya decisions were given by His Majesty's Government in July last, was to my mind a most critical one. Important negotiations had been pending for some time past between the representatives of the Indians in Kenya and the white settlers there and the Colonial Office. For our part we had the satisfaction that our case was being put by a deputation which was led by one of our most distinguished countrymen, whose knowledge of the subject is only surpassed by his enthusiasm for the cause. I, of course, refer to the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri. When I reached London, I found that Mr. Sastri was deeply immersed in this question and it gladdened my heart to know that all that was humanly possible was being done by Mr. Sastri, in an atmosphere which seemed to be charged with electricity. At last the White Paper was issued which led to the famous debate in Parliament, part of which I myself attended. Those decisions were received by our countrymen in England and here with feelings of indignation and dismay and I am afraid nothing that has happened during the last three or four years has tended more to weaken the faith of our countrymen in the justice of His Majesty's Government, than these unfortunate decisions. While, on the one hand, it is said that His Majesty's Government cannot interfere with the internal autonomy of self-governing dominions and that no self-governing dominion will for a moment tolerate any encroachment on the part of His Majesty's Government upon the complete freedom of the dominions to pass their own laws relating to franchise—parliamentary and municipal—on the other hand it is felt that the same argument, assuming it to be valid or politically sound, cannot in the slightest degree apply to a Crown Colony. Kenya

was and is still a Crown Colony; but it came to me as a surprise when a die-hard politician with whom we in India are not unfamiliar, presuming perhaps upon my ignorance, sought to enlighten me by saying that Kenya was not a Crown Colony and that though it had not a responsible Government it had an element of responsibility. It was a dangerous suggestion to make; for, similarly India might claim that though it has not responsible Government it has a measure of responsibility in the provinces at least. It was quite apparent to my mind that arguments such as these were absolutely untenable and the real fact of the matter was that His Majesty's Government found the white settlers too strong for them. It was urged by some of the statesmen, whom I saw in my private capacity, that the Kenya decision had certainly improved the position of Indians in Kenya in certain respects. To put it at the lowest, it seemed to me to be a debatable point. Those among my countrymen who knew better the position of Indians, unhesitatingly maintained, that so far from their position having been improved, it had been seriously prejudiced in so far as the minority of the white settlers was placed in a position of political predominance and definitely acquired the right of exclusive ownership in the Highlands. Indeed, that was not the view of only the Indians. Even the Government of India did not at all feel happy over the decisions given by His Majesty's Government, and His Excellency the Viceroy felt himself called upon to say in a speech which he delivered to the Legislative Assembly that "the news of the decision regarding Kenya came to me and my Government no less than to you, as a great and severe disappointment; for India had made the cause of Indians in Kenya her own. As His Majesty's Government has stated, this decision conflicts on material points with the strongly expressed views of my Government, as laid before the Cabinet, by the Secretary of State for India". This was the state of things in which I found myself placed in London, towards the end of July last.

#### **The Difficulty of the Position.**

I am aware that it was felt in certain quarters, and by certain of my esteemed friends also, that I should immediately sever my connection with the Imperial Conference. I carefully considered the position but I was clear in my mind, that so far from withdrawing from the Conference, it was my duty to fight for the vindication of Indians' rights in the Dominions and the Crown Colonies and to try either to get the Kenya decisions reversed or at any rate to pave the way for their reconsideration. This is the task that I set to myself. I put myself immediately in touch with some of my political friends in India and I also communicated my views to His Excellency the Viceroy, who had deputed me on that mission. The more I thought about it the more strongly I felt that I should not give up the Conference, without at least making a struggle for the vindication of our rights. The friends whom I consulted were

distinctly of the opinion that I must stay and fight for our rights and I also received much support and encouragement from His Excellency the Viceroy. The difficulty which then confronted me was, that I found that India did not figure in the agenda of the Conference, excepting in regard to a small question relating to the mandated territories. I owe it to the support, which I received from Lord Peel after I had explained to him my position, that His Majesty's Government agreed to give India a day in the Conference. I then interviewed the Dominion Prime Ministers. I explained to them my scheme and I must say to the credit of all, excepting of course General Smuts, that they generally agreed to support me. Here I must state that from the beginning to the end, I took my stand on the resolutions of 1921, which, we owe in no small measure, to the efforts of Mr. Sastri, and I cannot allow the criticism in certain papers to go unchallenged, that I departed in any degree, either from the letter or the spirit of those resolutions.

#### **General Smuts' Attitude.**

With General Smuts, my experience was however different. As I have said more than once, he was adamant. General Smuts has claimed that he showed me every courtesy. I have never denied it. On the contrary, I frankly admitted it in the speech which I delivered at the Lady Emily Lutyen's residence and I cannot imagine, that General Smuts could have overlooked that portion of my speech. But if General Smuts, at all expected that social courtesies on his part could in any measure or degree make amends for his attitude towards the Indian problem and that they could justify me in overlooking his attitude towards the political issue which was raised, he was sadly mistaken. I had not gone to ask for his sympathy with our aspirations towards self-government. I would much rather, that we fought for battle for self-government single-handed than that we should seek his support or the support of any outsider in regard to those aspirations. I put before him a definite issue and he rejected it. Not only did he reject it, but he suggested, though he did not move, counterproposals which, to my mind, were wholly subversive of the principle of citizenship, within the ambit of the same Empire and which, if accepted, must necessarily establish a higher and a lower grade of citizenship. Not only did he reject those proposals, but he also openly attacked the Indian Government in a manner in which, by his own standard, he should not have undertaken upon himself to criticise another Government, which is a part of the same Empire; for, let me remind you of what he said: "I must say quite frankly," said General Smuts, "that I have been very much perturbed over the attitude adopted by the Indian Government in this matter. They pressed the case against Kenya in a way, which seemed to me to exceed the limits of prudence and wisdom, and when the settlement was ultimately made, language was used in regard to it, which I think would certainly not help the cause of loyalty either in

India or anywhere else in the Empire. The whole incident, as I said, has had a very bad effect in South Africa." Now, if after this language and his whole attitude and after saying, that franchise for coloured races in South Africa was 'a question of impossibility," he expected me to treat him as the best friend of India, then he indulged in a vain hope. Frankly, gentlemen, I do not care whether he charges me with a breach of international etiquette or anything similar to it; I feel that the South African Government, of which he is the head, has adopted towards our countrymen, settled in that part of the Empire, an attitude which to use his own language, cannot help the cause of loyalty either in India or anywhere else in the Empire.

I shall now briefly refer to my experience of the Colonial Office. With the Colonial Office I had no little difficulty, but it must be said to the credit of the Duke of Devonshire that while he saw no prospect of the Kenya decisions being modified, he at last agreed to extend the scope of my scheme to Kenya.

#### The Scheme of Committees

I shall now briefly explain to you, if I may, what my scheme was. That is contained in my speech and also in the speech delivered at the Conference by the Prime Minister and, lest it might be understood, I would quote the formula as contained in the latter in *extenso* :—

"The Secretary of State for the Colonies, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, cordially accepted the proposal of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, that there should be full consultation and discussion, between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and a committee appointed by the Government of India, upon all questions affecting British Indians domiciled in British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated territories. At the same time the Duke was careful to explain that before decisions were taken, as a result of discussion with the committee, consultations with the local Colonial Governments concerned, and in some cases local enquiry, would be necessary.

"Further, while welcoming the proposal, the Duke of Devonshire reminded the Conference, that His Majesty's Government had recently come to certain decisions as to Kenya, which represented in their considered view, the very best that could be done in all the circumstances. While he saw no prospect of these decisions being modified, he would give careful attention to such representations as the committee appointed by the Government of India might desire to make to him.

"Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, while taking note of the above statement of the Duke, desired to make plain that the recent Kenya decisions could not be accepted as final by the people of India."

I shall now ask you to analyse and examine the provisions of the formula, which I have just quoted. While no doubt it is true that the Kenya decisions have not been reversed—and frankly speaking I did not expect that a decision given by

His Majesty's Government in July last could be reversed by the Imperial Conference in October—I personally think that our position is distinctly stronger to-day and the prospect is more hopeful. I do not wish to put the case higher than this, nor do I wish to overlook the fact, that the real struggle will commence now. After the Kenya decisions it was generally understood, that the principle of equality embodied in the resolutions of 1921 had been abandoned, if not directly, at least by implication, and in important quarters there was not a little nervousness as to what the Conference might do, if any one was rash enough to raise the Indian question. The result however shows, that at the Conference of 1923, we have secured a most valuable endorsement of the resolutions of 1921. Next, we have reopened the Kenya door and there is reason now to hope that justice may in the end prevail. The Conference has now definitely provided a scheme for machinery which, if rightly employed, will go far in the future to secure the proper investigation and the due remedy of the grievances under which Indians labour, whether in the Colonies or in the Dominions. Apart from our having gained an unequivocal expression of good-will towards our aspirations, from the other members of the British Commonwealth—excluding South Africa—a very important constitutional advance has been secured, namely, the right of the Government of India to negotiate with the Colonial Office through men appointed by itself, for this and no less is what is explicitly provided for in the formula. Lastly, we have again succeeded in isolating South Africa. I shall with your permission here explain a little more fully the object of this scheme for the appointment of committees.

#### The Scheme Explained.

According to my scheme, the committee or committees must be appointed by the Government of India and not by the Secretary of State and will deal directly with the Colonial Office, in regard to all questions affecting British Indians in British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated territories. If necessary, the committee or committees to be appointed will have to go, when concerned with questions relating to Indians in the Dominions, to Australia, New Zealand and Canada, the Prime Ministers of which countries, expressed their willingness to abide by the resolutions of 1921, and to give effect to their provisions with the help and support of their Parliaments. Mr. Mackenzie King and Mr. Massey agreed to receive such committees and Mr. Bruce thought that he could give effect to the provisions of those resolutions without the help of such a committee. To use his own words, "Australian public opinion is ready to welcome, so far as the position of Indians domiciled in Australia is concerned, any measure which is conceived in the interests of the Empire as a whole." Further on, Mr. Bruce summed up the position as follows :—

"In view of the position which exists in Australia and the consideration which has been given to the question, there is no necessity for a committee further to discuss the matter such as has been suggested by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. While I appreciate the spirit in which it is put forward, I do not think in the special circumstances of Australia there is any necessity for such action. On my return to Australia I will consult with my colleagues as to what action can be taken."

In reply to this I stated as follows:—

"We do not want to send a committee to create any agitation in his country (that is, Mr. Bruce's)—or for the matter of that, any agitation in any country, and I can absolutely feel sure that, that is not what is at the back of my mind; but if it is necessary for us to explain our position to you and to help you in the problem, for Heaven's sake do not refuse to accept a committee like that. We want simply to help you, and if without receiving a committee from my Government and my country, you can solve the problem, so much the better for you, so much the better for us, and so much the more creditable to you and to your Government."

#### **British Columbia.**

Since I left England, I have learnt that the Parliament of British Columbia has expressed its unwillingness to make any concession in favour of Indians in regard to franchise. Well, I am neither surprised nor disappointed. At the time, when the discussion took place I fully knew that it would not be without much difficulty, that our committee, would be able to create an impression on those in authority, in British Columbia. But I have no doubt, that if the committee goes to Canada at an early date, it should be able to come to some settlement, notwithstanding the fact that the attitude of British Columbia is at present, as it has been for some time past, one of obduracy. But in this connection I shall quote from Mr. Mackenzie King's speech:

"It is probable that the Dominion Franchise Act will come up for revision at the approaching session of Parliament. I told Mr. Sastri it was hardly probable it would come up last session, but that I thought it would come up next session. If the course we anticipate is followed, the Franchise Act will be referred to a Committee of the House and that Committee will be in a position to hear any representations that may be made to it."

Further on he stated: "If it were their (*i. e.* the Indian delegates) desire to have the delegation given an opportunity of meeting the Parliamentary committee to which the matter will be referred for consideration. I should be glad to see, if the time of their visit so permitted, that they were given a chance to meet the members of that committee and to confer with them at Ottawa. In other words, we would be only too happy, to give to any group which may come from India, any person she may send, the amplest opportunities to discuss with our public men all aspects of this particular question. I say this having regard to the method

of approach Sir Tej has presented to us here. He has made it clear that the committee would come for the purpose of exploring avenues and ways and means, to reach an ultimate result. He should recognise that we may have to take time in this matter, but I would like him to believe that we are sincere in hoping that we will be able to meet his wishes. In seeking so to do, we may have to proceed, step by step, but the Canadian people as a whole are, I am sure, really desirous of meeting our fellow British citizens from India in every reasonable particular. I have not the slightest doubt about that."

It will thus be seen that so far as Mr. Mackenzie King is concerned, he has pledged himself to give every facility to our committee and I think I may say, that his attitude will be one of helpfulness. It is precisely because British Columbia is obdurate or obstinate, that we have got to send a strong committee and strengthen its hands by our support.

#### **Crown Colonies and Kenya.**

I shall now pass on to the Crown Colonies and particularly to Kenya. For the administration of the Crown Colonies, including Kenya, His Majesty's Government is directly responsible through its Colonial Office. During my negotiations, it became quite clear that it was impossible for me to get the Duke of Devonshire or His Majesty's Government to go back at once on their decisions. I was equally clear, that the Kenya decisions could not be allowed to go unchallenged and though they might not be reversed or reconsidered in October 1923, the situation might change, political conditions might be more favourable at no distant time, and what seemed to be a hopeless position then, might improve if we persisted in our attempt to secure justice and equality for our nationals there. It, therefore, seemed to me that the next best thing that could be done was to get an undertaking from the Colonial Secretary, that he would extend the scope of the scheme to Kenya also. Accordingly the formula which I have quoted above, was settled and it is "that while the Duke saw no prospect of those decisions being modified, he promised that he would give careful attention to such representations as the committee appointed by the Government of India might desire to make to him." After the formula was read by the Prime Minister I stated in my last speech that to me as an Indian, it was of course disappointing that the Duke saw no prospect of modifying the Kenya decisions, which could never be accepted in India. I further stated as follows:—"But his agreement with the principle of my scheme, and his consent to give careful attention to such representations as the committee may lay before him, inspires me with the hope that the door is not barred, and that the Colonial Office may be shown the way to an acceptable solution." Now, speaking candidly, I do not think that there can be any room for doubt, that the Kenya decisions have been robbed of that finality, which was claimed for them in July last and that they must come up for reconsideration. Meanwhile, since arriv-



ed in India, I have learnt that the Kenya legislature has introduced an Immigration Ordinance, which is extremely drastic in its character and which, if allowed to become law, will practically stop Indian emigration to Kenya. I have not yet been able to read the terms of this Ordinance and my knowledge of it is confined to the summary which has appeared in certain newspapers. Of course we cannot accept an Ordinance of that character and we must plainly tell the Colonial Office, that that ordinance, if allowed by them to become law, will complicate the problem still further. In the situation that has arisen, it seems to me that a committee regarding Kenya should go at once from India to England, to make representations to and enter into discussions with the Colonial Office, without any loss of time. I have strong hopes that the Government of India will not allow the grass to grow under their feet and that they will expedite the appointment and despatch of such a committee, consisting of strong, tactful and weighty persons at the earliest possible date. As I visualise to myself the situation, it seems to me that the committee so appointed, should first tackle the question of immigration and then raise the bigger questions arising out of the Kenya decisions. You will perhaps ask me, what guarantee there is that this committee will succeed in gaining any solid or substantial results. My answer to such a question would be this. If the men you send are strong and reasonable, they should be able to achieve something substantial, more particularly because the Government in England appreciate now the depth and strength of the feeling on this question. And for aught we know to the contrary, we may have at no distant date a more favourable Government. As all experience shows, decisions which were at one time considered to be final, have had to be reconsidered and although it is true that the white settlers in Kenya have got the moral support and sympathy of South Africa, which to my mind is a factor not to be ignored, yet it does not seem to me beyond the scope of statesmanship, to arrive at a settlement which would more effectively safeguard the economic interests of our countrymen in Kenya and remove the sting of racial inferiority. Indeed it seems to me that unless this is done, the tension created by the Kenya decisions must continue to exist and India must refuse to accept a position of inferiority in the Empire.

I am aware of the objections that have been raised to this scheme, which has been accepted by the Imperial Conference. It has been said that the committees will be expensive. That they will cost some money I have no doubt, but political fights in these days necessarily involve expenditure. I do not know of any political organisation at present existing in India, which can carry on its propaganda or achieve any substantial results without pecuniary sacrifices. At the same time I think that the expenditure involved should by no means be so heavy, as to justify our rejection of the scheme. It has next been asked, if the committee fails to

achieve any result, what is to be done next. I should not like to anticipate events, but in all constitutional fights it seems to me the failure of one step is only an incentive to another. Frankly speaking, those who raise objections of this character should be prepared to suggest alternatives and if they have alternatives of their own, why have they not hitherto acted on those alternatives and what has been there to prevent them from taking independent action of their own? It is far better that we should work steadily and patiently but with a full determination to get the wrongs remedied than that we should indulge in threats, which we do not mean to give effect to or which we know or ought to know cannot be given effect to.

### South Africa.

I shall now pass on to South Africa. The problem is the biggest there. There are about 161,000 Indians there, who, excepting a few thousands residing in Cape Colony, have no political franchise. In Natal their municipal franchise is threatened. In the Transvaal there is no franchise of any kind. In Natal they cannot acquire town lands in townships and in the Transvaal they are prohibited, either as individuals or as companies from acquiring land. In the gold area, they cannot occupy land. The manner in which traders' licenses are granted and the law relating to them is administered, makes their lot still more unbearable. Last of all, the Union Government has under contemplation, legislation providing for the compulsory segregation of Indians in urban areas, by imposing certain restrictions on the ownership and occupation of land. All these facts I brought forward in my speech at the Conference and nowhere throughout his speech, did General Smuts challenge any one of them. Throughout his speech he treated the Indian question as if it was a question only relating to franchise, and yet he asserted that he did not think that his Indian fellow-subjects could complain of injustice "and that it was just the opposite." Consider for a moment the manner in which he spoke. "People who have come there as coolies," said General Smuts, "people who have come there as members of depressed classes in India have prospered. Their children have been to school; they have been educated, and their children and grand-children to-day are many of them men of great wealth." One should have thought that if these men had acquired wealth and received education they were good enough to exercise some sort of political and municipal franchise. But General Smuts' position is, that he cannot make a distinction between these men and the original inhabitants, and he says:—"You have a majority of blacks in the Union, and if there is to be equal manhood suffrage over the Union, the whites would be swamped by the blacks; you cannot make a distinction between Indians and Africans, you would be impelled by the inevitable logic, to go the whole hog, and the result would be that not only would the whites be swamped in



Natal by the Indians, but the whites would be swamped by the blacks, and the whole position for which we have striven for two hundred years or more, now would be given up. For White South Africa, it is not a question of dignity but a question of existence and no Government could for a moment either tamper with this position or do anything to meet the Indian point of view." This is the unqualified doctrine of white supremacy within the British Empire—a doctrine which to my mind, cannot be accepted by those who owe allegiance to a common sovereign. In the first place General Smuts conveniently forgets, that the whites in the South Africa are as much foreigners as the Indians. In the next place the Indians there, who according to his own admission have been educated and have acquired wealth, cannot justly be grouped together with the blacks until the latter have reached the same stage of civilisation. In the third place, even assuming that the predominantly large number of Indians is a standing menace to the safety of the whites, that may be an argument for regulating the law of franchise, but it can never be an argument for the permanent and wholesale disenfranchisement of the Indians and in any case there can be no justification for those economic restraints which have been put upon Indians and which, apart from imposing indignity on them and on India, strike at the very root of their prosperity as well as freedom. What I was most anxious about was that General Smuts should join hands with the Government of India in exploring avenues for the solution of this difficult problem. I knew that he had dissented from the resolutions of 1921 and I had little or no hope that I could persuade him to agree to those resolutions now. But he would give nothing, consent to nothing, and hold out no hopes. On the contrary, as I have shown above, he showed his concern not only in the whites of South Africa but also in those of Kenya, and attacked the Government of India for their attitude towards the Kenya decisions. He also refused to agree to the appointment of a diplomatic agent to be sent by the Government of India, to look after the Indian interests there and to act as an intermediary between it and the South African Government and to keep the Government of India well informed of the facts relating to Indians there. I am satisfied that from General Smuts and his Government we need not expect the smallest possible response to our demands, and I believe that if he persists in the course, which he has adopted the problem of Indians in South Africa will at no distant date become such a grave problem, that it will be a source of the greatest weakness to the very idea of imperial unity; of which he professes to be an ardent exponent and apostle. It is bound to lead to a cleavage among the subjects of our common Sovereign, on racial lines and however much we may regret it, it must be recognised that when that stage is reached it will be a most dis-

turbing factor in imperial unity, which will have to be reckoned with seriously, by, those who are unwilling at the present moment to recognise its evil potentialities. Here let me strongly repudiate one of the propositions urged by General Smuts, viz., "We must not derive from the one British citizenship, rights of franchise, because that would be a profound mistake." I regret that even the Duke of Devonshire fell a prey to this confusion, when he sought to make a distinction between imperial nationality and "local citizenship." If, however, imperial citizenship is not a mere shadow but consists of something substantial, then I cannot see how it is possible to divide that citizenship into two grades, a higher and a lower. You may raise your franchise as high as you like, but I do maintain, and maintain very strongly, that notwithstanding any measure of internal autonomy that you may possess, you cannot bar out any section of His Majesty's subjects, merely on racial grounds. The question, therefore, arises as to what is to be done with regard to South Africa. General Smuts will not have a diplomatic agent from the Government of India, he will not have a committee to investigate the facts and explore the avenues for a solution, he will not remove the economic restraints imposed on our countrymen and I fear he will persist in his policy of segregation. If we had a fairly substantial population of white South Africans living or carrying on trade in India, I should not despair of a solution, But as matters stand, he can pursue his even course in the name and on behalf of the whites there and refuse to be dictated to, by any outside authority on the ground that South Africa is an independent self-governing unit of the Empire. India on the other hand is not a self-governing unit and its Government is still in the leading strings of the India Office and His Majesty's Government. Meanwhile, in recent years, Natal has been making money out of its coal trade with India.

#### **Tariff against South African Coal.**

I certainly think that the time has come when the Government of India should take courage in both its hands and failing to get any satisfaction out of General Smuts, as it is bound to fail, raise the tariff against South African coal, reduce railway freights for Indian coal, improve transport facilities, and give other encouragement to the local coal industry. Unless some such action is taken by the Government of India and unless it tells the authorities in England, that out of respect for Indian feeling and also on consideration of self-respect it must be allowed to take this line, I think nothing that we may do, will produce any impression on the South African Government. I think the safety and prosperity of our brethren in South Africa and our own national dignity demand that we should call upon the Government of India to take a strong line, in dealing with South Africa; for I am convinced that if the Government of India feels that by representations or negotia-

tions it can achieve any satisfactory results now or for a long time to come, such attempts are doomed to failure and their failure is bound to lead to a development of political feeling in this country, which will be extremely embarrassing to it, in regard to its internal administration.

To sum up, my view is, that so far as the Dominions, other than South Africa and the Crown Colonies including Kenya are concerned, we must give a patient trial to the scheme which has been adopted by the Imperial Conference and do nothing in the meantime which may prejudice the course of negotiations with the Dominions or the Colonial Office in regard to Kenya. But so far as South Africa is concerned, I am clear that there is need for strong action on the part of the Government. I say the Government, for unless the duly constituted Government asserts itself in an unequivocal manner in a controversy with another Government, the result of any action on our part may be far from satisfactory or substantial.

#### **India and the Imperial Conference.**

The position of India in relation to the Imperial Conference is a peculiar one. To quote the words of Mr. Duncan Hall, "The recognition of the rights of India to a place in the Imperial Conference is a mark of her special position and circumstances. No other portion of the Empire can yet be said to have advanced sufficiently towards self-government to have any just claim to recognition as a member of the Conference." India has got a vote, as every Dominion has and speaking for myself, I must gladly acknowledge that the Indian delegation was listened to with patience and courtesy. Indeed the one thing noticeable throughout the proceedings of the Conference was the atmosphere of good will in which we worked. But when I say this, I think, I owe it to you to say also, that the thought was not absent from my mind, that if India were a self-governing Dominion, it could speak with greater authority and greater power. The Ministers of the Dominions speak with the consciousness that they have their Parliaments and their countries behind them. Not so is the case of the non-official Indian representatives. The Indian representatives have no mandates from their Parliament and the Indian Government is not yet an independent Government. Undoubtedly, to my mind, India's prestige in this Council of the Empire would be infinitely greater if she could deal with the rest of the Empire on terms of perfect equality, and it is for this reason that I feel that unless and until India first achieves self-government the position of her nationals overseas, must always continue to be more or less unsatisfactory. We are reminded every now and then by our critics, friendly and otherwise, that we must wait and be in no hurry to press the claims of our countrymen in the Dominions and the Crown Colonies until a more favourable change takes place in the opinion of the white settlers. It seems to me that if India were a self-governing country the necessity for addressing these injunctions to the white set-

tlers would be equally strongly felt. As matters stand at present, the underlying basis for advice of this kind is, that Indians can at best expect an indulgence. I do not think, that if India were a self-governing country within the Empire, the wishes of her Government or her people could be ignored or a decision which was resented even by the Government of India could be given, as it was July last, when on the main questions the opinion of the white settlers prevailed. It, therefore, seems to me that while on the one hand it is our duty to emphasise our claim regarding proper, just and equal treatment outside India, our duty is even more imperative, that we should lay still greater stress upon the achievement of responsible government in India itself. This leads me on to the second part of my address.

#### **The Indian Situation.**

The present constitution has been in force for the last three years and we have just passed through the turmoil of the second general elections. When the reforms were initiated political India found itself split into two camps. Our party decided at that time to enter the councils and to work the reforms. There were others who would have nothing to do with them, who looked upon them as a mere camouflage and who thought that the political salvation of India lay not in working the reforms in the councils but by opposing them and by boycotting the councils. We had to bear the heat and burden of the day, we had to court much unpopularity. Undoubtedly the other party was better organised, more active and more richly possessed of the sinews of war. We had however the courage of our convictions and according to our lights worked the reforms. In the process of working them, we came into conflict with popular opinion in regard to certain matters and towards the end of our term in the councils we were in acute disagreement, on not a few occasions with official opinion. The verdict of the electorates at the last elections has gone against us. That is a fact which must be recognised and even in quarters where our work was appreciated at one time, there is a tendency to belittle it and to find fault with our outlook. Speaking for myself, I am not in the slightest degree perturbed, if in certain official circles, which shall be nameless, there has been a change of attitude towards us. I should be sorry indeed if, as repeatedly asserted by our political detractors, there was an iota of truth in the charge made against us, that we had entered into an unholy alliance with the bureaucracy against the liberties of our country. We were prepared to work and I have no doubt we shall continue to work with those in power only on one condition, that is, that we reserve to ourselves in the fullest possible measure the liberty of taking a line of our own, when a course proposed to be taken by the Government on a particular occasion does not commend itself to our judgment or conscience. I do not think that we can have any justification for surviving as a party, if we allow our judgment

to be subordinated to any extraneous considerations. As regards the popular verdict I venture to think, that it would not have been so wholly against us as it has been, if we had been better organised and had taken care long before the elections, to educate public opinion more effectively. You will pardon my frankness, if I say that so far as the education of public opinion is concerned, we have not done a fraction of what was necessary and thereby allowed the impression to go abroad that everything that went wrong in the country during the last three years was done either with our connivance or with our acquiescence.

#### **Liberals' Record of Work.**

Our party's record of work in the councils taken *en masse* has to my mind been such, that we could reasonably expect at least some credit for it. It is due to your efforts that the Press Act of 1910 has been repealed. To you also the country owes the repeal of many other repressive laws and if circumstances had been more favourable, I have no doubt that one or two other pieces of similar legislation, which still stand on the statute book would have disappeared. I can multiply instances of legislation and other solid work for which you may claim credit. When the true facts relating to the situation during the last three years are published, even those who condemn you to-day without knowledge or because of prejudice, and as I maintain without justification, for having been parties to what they describe as wholesale repression, will regret that they have indulged in language which, howsoever profitable as an electioneering device, will not be endorsed by history. From knowledge that I possess, I feel satisfied that without your moderating and restraining influence the position of your critics would have been much worse. Professedly, you could not favour and I hope, you will never favour anything which disturbs or prejudices the orderly development of the country. But equally true it is, that you did all that you could to pour oil over troubled waters and if you failed in your attempts, the blame cannot to my mind be laid at your doors. On the other hand, if personalities are eliminated and party passions kept well under control, it must be frankly admitted that it is a great tribute to your foresight that those who refused to enter the councils in 1920, have after three years, decided to follow your example.

#### **The Wrecking of Councils.**

It is true that they are going into the councils with professions of destruction on their lips, but you must make allowance for their very natural desire to seem to be consistent. As to whether they will succeed in destroying the councils the next three months will show. Speaking here again from my knowledge of the constitution and of the machinery of administration, I have very serious doubts as to whether even a fraction of the threats which are at the present moment held out will materialise. But even assuming that un-

fortunately the stage is reached, when they will succeed in giving effect to their threats and the entire machinery of the Government is paralysed, it will be for these wreckers to give us the alternative to the present constitution. You will at any rate have the satisfaction, that you have been no party to the wrecking of the constitution and it may very well be, that those of you, who may find themselves face to face with a situation like this in the Assembly or the provincial councils may yet try to prevent the machinery from wholly being wrecked. It is assumed however, by those who are at present going into the Councils, that they and they alone desire and are prepared to work for the achievement of responsible government in India. The facts however are too strong for such an assumption. Within the very first year of its existence, a resolution was moved in the last Assembly, urging further constitutional progress. The Government of India sent a despatch to the Secretary of State and the present Secretary of State, sent a reply which is well known to you. The Secretary of State vaguely hinted at the possibility of further exploring the avenues of progress under the present Government of India Act. What exactly he meant by it I cannot say. But time after time, your representatives in the Assembly gave free and forcible expression to the desire for further constitutional advance. Meanwhile, opinion has crystallised in Liberal circles all over India and during the last two years, the Liberal party has not hesitated to express its views on the question freely and frankly. I personally think the time has come when you should definitely frame a programme, put it before the country and the Government, work for it and fight for it. I have no doubt, whatever, that when you put it forward that programme, it will be received with strong opposition in official circles in India and if the present Government should continue in England, you need expect very little from it in the way of constitutional advance. Arguments which were used 30 years ago against any progress, are still being used to-day and I have no doubt that they will continue to be so used if the question of constitutional advance arises not now but 30 years hence. Opposition of his character need not deter you. You have conquered such opposition in the past and I have no doubt that you will still be able to conquer it in the future. But to my mind, it is not enough that you should formulate your programme. It is at least as necessary that you must effectively deal with your opponents' arguments and even more than that, it is necessary that you should set your house in order first.

#### **The Position in the Provinces.**

The position at the present moment is that in the provinces you have got diarchy with partial responsibility. Diarchy has got very few friends left in India, either among officials or non-officials. The whole basis of diarchy was that in regard to certain subjects of

administration Ministers would have complete control and in regard to others they would have an effective voice. So far as the transferred subjects are concerned it is an admitted fact that the Ministers have been expected to make bricks without straw. They have had practically no control over the purse and our finances have been at the lowest ebb in almost every province. It is as much to the credit of the statesmanship of our Ministers as to the sense of discipline of the services, Imperial and Provincial, associated with them, that inside the Government there has not been friction, such as under the constitution might have paralysed the administrative machinery. But experience has exposed its defects and we must profit by experience. As regards the other half of the Government, experience shows that at least in certain provinces, Ministers have had no effective voice and the system of joint deliberations which the Parliamentary Committee, so much emphasised, has not been followed to the extent to which it might have been. Besides there has been no such thing as joint responsibility of the Ministers either. Indeed, in at least one province, the differences between the Ministers and the members of the Executive Council, have on certain important occasions come to the surface in open Council. On the other hand the position of the Ministers in at least some parts of India, has been far from enviable, as they have not had that support from the councils, without which true responsible government is impossible.

#### **The Central Government.**

In the central Government the position if anything is, even more unsatisfactory. On the top of the central Government is the Secretary of State and it should never be forgotten, that the power of direction, superintendence and control which is vested in him, is not a mere figure of speech. It is a very real and living control. At any rate I have not noticed much evidence of any self-abdication on the part of Whitehall. In the altered state of things, notwithstanding, the theory of the ultimate responsibility of Parliament for the good government of India, the centre of political gravity has shifted from Whitehall to Delhi and Simla and yet the position of the Government of India is by no means a very enviable one. On the one hand, constitutionally it is under the control of the Secretary of State, on the other it has to deal with an Assembly which has an overwhelmingly large non-official majority. The executive is irremovable, but all the same, excepting in regard to certain matters it feels the pressure of solid non-official opinion in the Assembly. A Government situated as it is, can never depend upon the support of any party in the Assembly. It may at times accept compromises, which perhaps it would have rejected if it had a party to fall back upon and when it refuses to accept any such compromises it comes into conflict with non-official opinion in the Assembly and popular opinion outside. On

the other hand, an Assembly, which knows that it can criticise the Government and offer obstruction whenever it can close up its ranks, but which is not entrusted with any responsibility, must more or less be always in an attitude of suspicion and resent the limitations which have been placed upon its powers.

#### **A Thorough Re-examination Needed.**

Taking the situation as it is, I submit that a true sense of responsibility cannot grow in a soil like that of the Assembly. Admittedly, the constitution, which was given by the Act of 1919, was of a temporary character and the Government of India Act itself, contemplates the appointment of a commission for the purposes of enquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions, etc. It seems to me that upon a true construction of section 84 (A) it cannot possibly be held, that this commission cannot be appointed before the expiration of 10 years. I think, the whole position has been put very pointedly by Mr. Hope Simpson (whose re-election to Parliament I welcome) in a speech, which he delivered last month, at the National Liberal Club. "It is patently unreasonable" said Mr. Hope Simpson, "that India should be condemned to the administration of a faulty constitution for six long years, if intermediate reform is possible, nor can I see any reason, why the statutory provision for an examination in 1929, should preclude examination of the question before that date. Only good can come from investigation of the working of the machinery set up under the Act of 1919. If all is well, it is good that this fact should be authoritatively stated. If there are weak points, they should be strengthened—if modification is required the change necessary should be undertaken. The case is one for detailed, careful and thorough enquiry, in all its aspects by a commission of first class men, to include an expert in constitutional law." With these observations of Mr. Hope Simpson I need scarcely tell you that I am in complete agreement and I have repeatedly urged them myself, both here and in England during the last twelve months. There are no doubt dangers in over-acceleration, but to my mind there are even greater dangers in undue delay. At a recent debate in the Royal Colonial Institute Sir William Vincent, who can speak with direct knowledge which is by no means out of date, is reported to have stated as follow:—'Sir William Vincent emphatically declared that Britain had given India certain solemn undertakings, and it was impossible for Britain to go back on them. None was more alive to the dangers of over-acceleration of the reforms than those who have some measure of responsibility for carrying on the administration. But it was impossible in the new system, which has been inaugurated, for good or bad, to carry on the old system of bureaucratic government that

had got to change with changing times, and the sooner they made up their mind to that the better it would be for future relations." These are not the words of an irresponsible agitator or a dilettante politician. They are the words of a man who has had intimate experience of the reforms and who has held so many distinguished positions in India under the old and new systems alike. I, therefore, think that it is the weakness of the present constitution which furnishes the strongest argument for a thorough re-examination of the whole position and when to that is added the undoubted fact that political sentiment in this country among all classes has unmistakably been growing and that a new consciousness is pervading the whole of the country. I cannot see how it is consistent with statesmanship or with the best interests of England and India to postpone the appointment of such a commission until 1929. Indeed, Mr. Montagu himself, during the passage of the Government of India Bill, declared that the law relating to the appointment of the statutory commission was not like the law of Medes and Persians and I for one fail to see how either the Government of India or the Secretary of State or Parliament can improve the position by waiting until 1929. On the other hand there is every danger that the situation may still further deteriorate and what may be possible now to achieve, with the goodwill of all or many, may present difficulties of an enormous character, a few years hence.

#### **Amendment of the Government of India Act.**

I am aware, that it is held in certain quarters, that it is possible to make an advance in certain directions under the present Government of India Act itself, without in any way modifying or altering the provisions thereof. Even assuming that the Secretary of State in Council may by rules framed under section 19 (A) of the Act, regulate and restrict the exercise of the powers of superintendence, direction and control vested in him, with a view to give effect to the purposes of the Government of India Act 1919, it is obvious that such relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State, will be very much different from genuine responsible government. Let us assume further, that under the Government of India Act itself, it is possible to establish provincial autonomy. Will you be satisfied with provincial autonomy without a corresponding change in the character and composition of the Central Government? The words "provincial autonomy" seem to have a great fascination for some of us, but I venture to think, that when you will take the trouble of viewing the Government as a whole, you will not be free from serious doubt as to whether in actual practice it is practicable to give the provinces autonomy, when the Central Government, which must continue to deal with certain national matters of the most vital character, will continue to own the control of a higher authority. From a purely constitutional as also an administrative point of view, I think

the system will not work even fairly satisfactorily for long and I am afraid there will be constant friction between the so-called autonomous "provincial Governments and the Central Government. It is true that the sphere of functions of the two Governments may be more clearly defined, but it seems to me inevitable that in certain matters affecting the interests of the country as a whole, your Ministers will be in the unenviable position of choosing between their supporters in Councils and the Central Government. It seems to me that nothing can be more ill-assorted or more likely to retard the growth of full and real responsible institutions in this country, than to introduce complete responsibility in the provinces and place them under the control of an irremovable and irresponsible executive in the Central Government. The spirit actuating the two respectively, will be, if not antagonistic, very different and I am afraid that instead of getting the substance of responsibility, you will get the shadow. Among other problems of the future as I envisage, it is the problem of having a Central Government which in regard to national matters will be the most cohesive element. For, our provinces cannot in the interest of national safety and national progress afford to be too provincial. I am not pleading for the introduction of diarchy in the central Government. All that I am urging is, that field of administration covered by the Central Government, should be carefully surveyed and examined, the sphere of functions of the central and provincial Governments should be precisely defined, and that the civil administration in charge of the central Government should be made responsible to the extent to which it is made responsible in the provinces. This necessarily gives rise to the question as to what we are to do in the future with the Army and the Foreign and Political Departments of the Government of India.

#### **The Army.**

As regards the army, I desire to emphasise that it is such a huge and delicate machinery and the problems connected with it are of such a complex and technical character, that I think you will be well advised not to press for its control, until you are ready for it. It should not however be beyond the scope of statesmanship to provide ample statutory safeguards for the army budget. That is a matter for experts. Meanwhile, we should have a definite and steadily progressive programme for the Indianisation of the army, by which I understand the providing for the recruitment of Indian officers, with the highest training in the different branches of the army. This must necessarily be a slow process, but not so slow as I am afraid will be the case if no further progress is made upon the scheme, which was adumbrated early this year—a scheme which, though it is a concession to Indian sentiment, is very far removed from the real Indianisation of the army and may take generations before our aspiration in that direction bears fruit. If the scheme which

was put forward before the Assembly early this year, has not evoked much response or enthusiasm, it is to no small extent due to the consciousness that whatever it may do it cannot achieve the end, which it professes to achieve, within any reasonable distance of time. I shall perhaps be asked, as to who in future is to administer the Army Department and who is to represent it in the legislature. Well, gentlemen, the Foreign and Political Departments are supposed to be in the hands of the Governor General himself and yet the fact that the Governor General is not a member of the legislature has not placed those Departments at any special disadvantage. Similarly, I think, some such arrangement will have to be arrived at, by which the Governor-General may assume definite responsibility for the administration of the army and be also represented in the Assembly of the future. These are matters for the examination of the commission, which I have suggested above, and I, therefore, refrain from going into details. It is sometimes urged that India can never be a self-governing country, unless it is able to assume responsibility for its defence. Well, if in the case of some Dominions England could take responsibility for their defence, until they were able to assume that responsibility for themselves, why not in the case of India?

#### The Indian Princes.

Not less important is the problem relating to the Indian Princes and their relations to the Central responsible Government. That there are some enlightened and patriotic Princes I readily admit, but the vast majority of them, I maintain, are extremely jealous of their rights and dignities, and having been accustomed to centuries of the autocratic rule, they cannot be expected easily to fall into line with democratic institutions. So far from courting their opposition or arousing their suspicion, it is far better, that in the interest of the bulk of the country, you should leave them alone, and let them remain under the direct charge of the Viceroy, than that you should try to bring them into direct relation with your responsible Government of the near future. I am open to argument and should always be ready to accept a better plan but I suggest to you that you should adopt a programme for responsible government in the provinces and a corresponding, *simultaneous* modification of the character and composition of the Government of India.

#### Objections Answered.

I shall now briefly notice some of the arguments which may be urged against any such further constitutional advance in the near future.

(1) In the first place, it is urged that a democratic responsible Government in India is an impossibility, without an intelligent and capable electorate. Under the present scheme we have got an electorate of some 5 millions. The election of 1920 was criticised on the ground that a considerable number of electors abstained

from voting. This year, although exact figures are not yet available, it is a fact that a very much larger number of electors have gone to the polls. Howsoever, we, as party politicians may regret the electors' choice, the fact that they have gone to the polls in much larger numbers is significant. You cannot increase the intelligence and the capacity of the masses by keeping them away from the exercise of those rights, which are best appreciated and valued only when they are exercised. If I may be permitted to quote from an article which I contributed to the *Contemporary Review* for November, "I maintain very strongly that the mass of our people are naturally shrewd, and understand their local problems. They are far more orderly than people of their class in any other country. They are responsive to generous treatment and elevating influences. The consciousness of the possession of political power and the repeated exercise of it at elections, should in itself be an education of incalculable value. In addition there is an obligation upon those who seek their suffrages to give them political education." To those who constantly remind us of the illiteracy or want of education of our masses without at the same time recognising their own share of the responsibility for that state of things I shall say, "Do not forget the history of your own country in or about 1832. Your system of elementary education did not commence till nearly half a century later and you are still busy in expanding and improving education but that has not prevented you from expanding the representation of the people." At any rate, if there was any seriousness about the announcement made in Parliament on August 20th, 1917, as I think there was, the argument of the ignorance of the masses should then have been carefully weighed. I do not wish to minimise the importance of it, but at the same time I maintain that the education of the masses and constitutional development must go hand in hand.

(2) It is next urged that India is a country of important minorities and sometimes we are told of warring minorities. I am prepared to admit that in any scheme of responsible government which may be evolved, it is of the most vital importance that the political, civil and religious rights and interests of the minorities should be adequately and most scrupulously protected. It will do no good to ignore or minimise the problem. Let us face the situation boldly, courageously, and yet hopefully.

So far as the depressed classes and what are called the untouchables are concerned, our sympathies are unreservedly with them and I do maintain that if our passion for political freedom and democratic government is real we have got to modify our old world notions of social relations. Either you value those traditional social distinctions or you value the political institution you are aspiring after. If you value



the latter then you have to alter radically your old outlook.

### **The Hindu-Muslim Problem.**

(3) Similarly, in dealing with the Hindu-Mohamedan problem, I would make an earnest appeal to all concerned, to consider whether the cherished idea of responsible government does not imperatively demand that we must make unaccustomed sacrifices on both sides and part with prejudices and narrow sectarianism. This, let it be admitted, is a most serious comment upon our entire political life, and go wherever you may outside India, this is the one question which is put to you by every one, friend and foe alike. If hitherto Hindu-Mohamedan unity has lacked strength or durability, it has been mainly due to the fact that we have not adopted the true basis of unity. This can only be the recognition by the two communities that India is the common country of both, that the claims of India on the service and loyalty of both are paramount and that political freedom and political rights are by no means inconsistent with the exercise of religious rights and ceremonies by each community with the fullest possible freedom. I do not wish to go into the details of the solution of this problem. I wish merely to state the problem as it strikes me. There is, first of all, the question of representation on municipal, local and parliamentary bodies. This again resolves itself into two questions—(1) What is the adequate representation to which the Mohamedans are entitled? (2) What is the best method of representation? Nearly seven years ago when the Mohamedans of my province wanted separate representation in the municipalities, I supported them, not because I thought that it was politically sound but because it seemed to me that that was the only condition on which they were prepared to cooperate with the other communities. Even after this distance of time, I do not regret my action. Separate electorates, appear however to have brought in their train a mass of evil. But unless and until the Mohamedans themselves change their attitude, I think we should do nothing to take away from them this method of representation, to which they rightly or wrongly attach so much importance. As to the amount of representation I should have thought that the question had been solved by mutual agreement. But if that is not so, why should it be impossible to solve it now? A little exercise of patience and forbearance on both sides and an earnest desire to understand each other, should bring us nearer the solution, than anything else, and I think the duty rests heavily on leaders of all sections of politicians, who believe in the destiny of India that they should, at a joint conference, fairly and frankly discuss this question and arrive at some solution.

### **Minorities and the Services.**

The next question is the question of the representation of the minorities in the public services. Much as I deprecate recruitment to public services

based on communal grounds, I recognise that in the present circumstances of India it is inevitable. I personally think that the best solution of it lies in the appointment of a Public Services Commission, on which Hindus, Mohamedans and Europeans should all alike be represented and the work of recruitment should be left to it. Excepting in regard to certain appointments of a political character, which should in my opinion be left in the hands of Ministers, I believe that we should meet the situation much better, if we were to transfer all such power from the hands of Ministers or the Executive Government to an independent body, like the Public Services Commission which must see also to the adequate representation of each community.

### **Religious Disputes.**

As regards religious disputes in which the ignorant masses get at times involved, it is certainly the duty of the leaders to do nothing or say nothing, which may inflame sectarian passions. But that alone is not sufficient. With the fullest exercise of religious freedom there must be the understanding that each party has got to respect the susceptibilities of the other. Moral injunctions alone will not solve the problem, conscious effort is even more necessary and it seems to me that in your Constitution of the future the amplest safeguards for these rights and privileges should be expressly provided for. Necessarily, you will have to depend upon the growth of sound public opinion to support your effort. But the problem cannot be solved except by facing it. A heavy responsibility in this connection lies on the press and with its growing power in the country I think it can be a potent factor in dealing with this problem. The recent disturbances in India have been advertised a good deal in England and the impression produced naturally is one, which is not very hopeful for the future. But I do maintain that so far as this question is concerned, we should take the responsibility for the solution of it on ourselves and if the leaders of both communities to whom Indian unity and Indian self-government are such sacred words, make a determined effort to restore happier relations and to arrive at a settlement, which will be acceptable to the vast majority of both, I think the problem may yet be solved.

### **British interests and Imperial Services.**

We shall probably make our task much easier if we also recognize that there are certain vital British interests in India and that unless and until those interests are safeguarded, we shall have to meet with no little difficulty in our attempt at achieving self-government. Similarly, in regard to the Imperial Services, which are predominantly European in their composition, we shall have to define our attitude. I do not wish to go into the details of this question, for more reasons than one. But I venture to make a few observations. The

Services do no good to themselves or to this country by impugning the good faith of Indian politicians. nor is it right or just for us to indulge in wholesale condemnation of the Services. Any unjust or unfair criticism of the Services must be deprecated. At the same time it must be borne in mind that hitherto the services have occupied a peculiar position. It does not correspond to that of the public services in England or the Dominions. They have been to a large extent responsible for the formulating of policy in India and if in the future their position is approximated to that of the permanent services elsewhere, I have no doubt that much of the criticism which is levelled at them, will be diverted to the responsible Minister. Indeed, the recent elections show, that much unkind language has been used by our countrymen towards our own Ministers and other Indians, associated with the Government towards members of the permanent services. We hear much of cases, in which officers come into conflict with public opinion. I wish, we heard as much of cases, in which officers are held in esteem by the public, for I refuse to believe that there are no good men among them or that all appreciation of their work is extinct among Indians. So far as the question of salaries and emoluments is concerned, if there are any legitimate grievances, by all means let them be examined and redress given where it is due, subject only to the financial capacity of India. But the essential question to my mind is the question of the venue of recruitment. Why should the decision of self-governing India, unless it is a thing of the distant future, be anticipated now? In any case, it seems to me that many of those who are already in the services, will be here for at least another 25 years; but the longer you continue recruitment in England the longer you postpone the day when the services will be Indianised.

#### **Necessity for a Commission.**

Gentlemen, I have placed these views before you in the broadest possible manner without going into minute details and all that I ask you to do on the present occasion is to give your careful consideration to your future policy and future programme. If you want constitutional progress, you must set to work for it. That work does not and should not consist merely in passing resolutions or making speeches. You have got seriously to educate public opinion in favour of your policy and to acquire support for your views; for unless this is done, the forces of opposition against you, will be strong indeed, far stronger than you imagine. Do not reject my suggestion about the early appointment of a commission, merely because commissions and committees are supposed to be a method of shelving pressing problems. If that were my conviction and belief, I should not have brought this suggestion before you. But I do believe that before any constitutional advance takes place, the whole position will require very careful examina-

tion; so many interests have to be reconciled, so many different points of view have got to be borne in mind, so much readjustment of the system of Government will be necessary, that I cannot imagine that merely because you express the wish for the establishment of Swaraj, it will be an accomplished fact. A commission is the very thing contemplated for such progress, by the present Government of India Act and even if it were not so, further constitutional development would in any case have involved the bringing into existence of an agency for it giving effect to it. Once a commission is appointed you can put forward before it, your own views on the future of the Constitution and put all the pressure that you are capable of, on the Government here and Parliament in England to give effect to your views. That is the only constitutional method which to my mind seems likely to yield any satisfactory results. Constitutions are not easy to make, as is sometimes imagined and it is for you to prepare the ground by taking the necessary steps.

#### **The Liberal Party.**

Above everything else, it is necessary that you should define your own position and organise your forces. So far as your position is concerned I have no doubt as to what it should be. The Liberal party cannot be an asylum, either for Tories or for revolutionaries. Liberalism is not merely a mode of expression but a habit of thought and action. Our watchword should always be Progress, and continuous Progress. Our methods should also be clear and well defined. While we should resist to the utmost of our power and capacity anything which is calculated to retard our progress, I do not think that we can seriously contemplate the adoption of a calculated policy of obstruction, which so far from helping our progress may seriously hinder it. Again it seems to me that if the Liberal party is to extend its influence, casual and unorganised activity is not enough; its work must be continuous and incessant. I admit that our detractors have poisoned the public mind against us, but that ought not to deter us from approaching the public and putting up with the rough and tumble of public life. We must have a strong Central Executive and we must try to establish living and serious-minded associations, all over the country wherever we can. Not only must we do this but we must strengthen our own press and wherever it may be necessary, establish new organs. We shall no doubt meet with difficulties for some time, but I have not lost all faith in the shrewd commonsense of the people. It may be clouded for some time but it cannot be for all time. It is by persistence alone that we can conquer those forces of opposition, which have accounted for our defeat and disappointment at the last election. I do not sympathise with those who find solace merely in the thought, that they might have done better if only their opponents had indulged in less

misrepresentation of their views and position. We must frankly admit that much of our present position is due to the weakness of our organisation, the want of party discipline and above all, our omission to organise an adequate party fund. For I think that if we are to survive as a party it is necessary that we should have funds and ample funds. I know the difficulties in the way but I also know that we have to fight those difficulties and overcome them. In order to advance our scheme it may be necessary, indeed I think it will be necessary, for us, not only to send a strong representative deputation to England but to establish an independent and active organisation of our own there, for the dissemination of our views and correct information in England. Be it said to the credit of Mrs. Besant that hers is the only organisation there that does something for India in the way of propaganda. It is all very well for our countrymen to say that we can afford to ignore English opinion, but do not forget that we have no real living organisation of our own there. Those who are opposed to any further progress, and who regret even the present measure of reforms have got powerful organisations, supported by plenty of funds and led by some retired Governors and officials, who still think and talk, as if India stood where it did in their time. The English nation is essentially conservative and fights shy change. Its conservatism is all the greater in the case of India, which it has been accustomed to treat as a country full of ignorant people, hopelessly divided among themselves and flying at each other's throats and kept together only by the controlling hand of its representatives here. I do not blame people in England to attach weight to the uncontradicted statements of some of those who claim knowledge and experience of India. Besides, let us not forget that the impression which some happenings in this country have produced, has been most unfavourable to us and yet my experience during the last few months was distinctly hopeful, for, while on the one hand there is a section of die-hards who will continue to oppose our aspirations for as long as they can, on the other there are men of broad sympathies and large outlook but little knowledge who, if properly approached will be willing to help us. Such help I would not discard or despise. I would avail myself of every such

source from which we can gather strength and support. I believe we can do much useful work by sending a strong, well-informed and capable deputation to England. Our work in India must go on simultaneously, if we wish to push the cause to a successful issue. I, therefore, think that if this meeting of the Liberal Federation succeeds in nothing more than in devising means to organise the party and in adopting a definite line of policy, we shall not have met in vain. If we fail in that, I for one must view the future of our party with the gloomiest of forebodings. But I have still hope that the traditions of Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale are not dead among us. Howsoever unworthy we may be, as their successors, let us make an honest attempt to live up to their ideals and seek inspiration from what they said or did in their day. Eighteen years ago, it was left to Gopal Krishna Gokhale to give a definite shape to our ideal in his great speech at Benares. Since then that ideal has ceased to be a far off adorable dream. It has become now a living passion with us. To be in our own country, what other subjects of our common Sovereign are in the self-governing Dominions is no longer a dream, which we would leave it to posterity to realise. Our difficulties may be great, they are great, but they have to be conquered and must be conquered. I venture to think, that, if we approach these big problems in the practical spirit of those great and hallowed names and with their robust faith in the justice and righteousness of our cause, if we only realise that constitutionally our position is much stronger than it was in their days, then I have every confidence, that we shall succeed in building the edifice of Self-Government within the Empire, the foundations of which were laid by them.

Temporary defeat ought not to damp our spirits. On the contrary it should act as an incentive to more active, more persistent and more substantial work. I yet believe that the Liberal party, if only it can reorganise itself, will play a great part in the development of the Constitution and though temporarily Liberals may have received a set-back, Liberalism will still be the rallying cry of all these elements in the country, which recognise the value of constitutional work and which believe in the efficacy of constitutional methods.

**READY FOR SALE.**

## Indian States Act, 1922.

(Protection of Princes Against Disaffection Act)  
Demi 8 vo., pp. 450, Paper cover

This pamphlet is published under the authority of the Daxini Sansthan Hitvardhak Sabha. It contains a full report of the debate in the Legislative Assembly at the time of the introduction of the Bill, in the Council of State at its passing and in the House of Commons on the motion of Col. Wedgwood, M. P. It contains all the published Government papers pertaining this question; the evidence given on this subject by witnesses before the Press Laws Committee; the petitions presented to Parliament on behalf of the Daxini Sansthan Hitvardhak Sabha, Kathiawar Hitvardhak Sabha and the Progressive Association of Bombay. The articles of Messrs. N. C. Kelkar, Mansukhalal Metha and G. R. Abhyankar dealing with this question are fully reproduced. Press opinions from about 25 leading papers are given in a separate Appendix. In the introduction the Government case has been fully examined and the unsoundness of its arguments exposed. Price Rupees two. Postage Extra.

All those who are interested in Indian States should possess a copy.

Copies can be had from ---

The Manager, Aryabhushan Press,  
Budhawar Peth, POONA CITY.

Revised and brought up-to-date.

## THE Indian Administration.

FIFTH EDITION

BY

Prof. V. G. KALE, M. A.

Professor, Fergusson College, Poona,  
Member, Tariff Board.

This, the Fifth Edition, is thoroughly revised and brought up-to-date. In preparing this Edition, the Author has rearranged and expanded his exposition of the constitutional and administrative changes, inaugurated by the Reforms Act of 1919. The developments in the Indian Government, have been dealt with chronologically and logically and an effort has been made to bring out prominently, the peculiarities of the new organisation and to give an insight into the working of the Central, Provincial and Local Administration. As the economic, social and political bearings of various administrative problems have been instructively dealt with in the book, University students will find the present edition a very helpful guide in his studies. To the general reader, the present edition will be very useful, as it gives full information regarding the Government, he has to influence.

Price Rs. FOUR. (Postage Extra.)

Copies can be had of:—

(i) THE MANAGER, ARYABHUSHAN PRESS,  
POONA CITY.

(ii) ALL PRINCIPAL BOOK SELLERS  
of leading Cities and Towns in India.

## CUT ME OUT

and mail me, with your name and address, to  
Good Luck Co., Benares City.

I will bring you, per V. P. P., one CUSSI SILK SUIT  
length for Rs. 12 only. These pieces are economical, hard  
wear and handsome ever made.

Test them any way you please—Why not give it a trial.

Name.....  
Address.....

Just Received.

Just Received.

## MILESTONES

### On The Road To All Round Efficiency & Health.

By

Mr. & Mrs. Eustace Miles.



	Rs.	As.
1. FEAR AND WORRY: Their Prevention and Cure. ...	0	7
2. EAST CURES FOR INDIGESTION. ...	0	7
3. FOR BETTER SLEEP. ...	0	7
4. HOW TO PREVENT FATIGUES. ...	0	7
5. CATARRH & COLDS: Their Nature and Cures. ...	0	7
6. LIVER TROUBLES, and how to remedy... them. ...	0	7
7. MUSCULAR RELAXING, and its practice... ..	0	7
8. SELF-MASSAGE. ...	0	7
9. THE EYES AND THEIR HEALTH. ...	0	7
10. THINNESS: Its Causes and Cures. ...	0	7
11. VARICOSE VEINS, PILES, AND BLOOD-PRESSURE. ...	0	7
12. FASTING AND MODIFIED FASTING. ...	0	7
13. HOW TO STRENGTHEN WEAK HEARTS....	0	7
14. INFLUENZA AND OTHER WINTER TROUBLES. ...	0	7
15. LAUGH AND GROW FIT. ...	0	7
16. NEURASTHENIA AND TOXÆMIA. ...	0	7
17. ANÆMIA & TOXÆMIA. ...	0	7
18. WEIGHT-REDUCTION MADE EASY. ...	0	7

The Theosophical Publishing House,

Adyar.

Madras.

INDIAN BOOK SHOP

George Town,

Madras.

## A Wonderful Discovery.

No medical expert could say that there was ever a guaranteed cure for diabetes in the world. Our cure for diabetes is a Heavenly Blessing which never fails to cure it. Accordingly instead of quoting excellent references we are ready to offer it gratis to all Provincial Governments and the Chiefs for trial on the condition that the results thereof are duly published for public information. We undertake conditional treatment on satisfactory terms. It restores also lost vitality and removes general debility of either sex. A sample for trial at Rs. 3 will give complete satisfaction and remove bias against advertisements in general.

Apply with 2 as. postage for further particulars to:—

G. R. KHORANA, LYALLPUR

## HINDU LAW.

(3rd Edition.)

BY

J. R. GHARPURE, Esq., B. A., LL. B., (Hons.)

High Court Vakil, Bombay.

Price Rupees Ten, Postage Extra.

Copies can be had at:—

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.

## THE LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY JOURNAL.

A high class University Journal for the promotion of original research.

Four issues will be published during each academic year, viz., in September, December, February, and May.

*Editor*—W. Burrige, M. A., M.B., B.Ch., L.M.S., S.A., and N. K. Siddhanta, M. A.,—supported by a strong Consultative Board representative of all the Departments in the University.

### Special Features.

The Journal will contain original contributions from members of the Lucknow University and will also publish Vernacular contributions in Hindi or Urdu of a suitable character. It will contain portraits and illustrations from time to time. It will also publish Reviews and Notices of all important Books and Reports coming out in the educational world. Another important feature of the Journal will be the publication of the latest news about University affairs and other interesting informations about educational matters.

### Annual Subscription.

	Town.	Mofussil.	Foreign.	
For Students of the University,	Rs. 2 0	2 8		} 10s.
For all others ... ..	Rs. 4 0	4 8		

Matters for publication should be sent to the EDITOR. All business communications relating to subscriptions and advertisements should be sent to the Business Manager.

The Journal is an excellent medium for advertisement. For advertisement rates and other particulars apply to—

LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY, }  
LUCKNOW, }  
LUCKNOW: UPPER INDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, Ltd., 41, Aminabad Park.

**M. B. REHMAN,**  
*Business Manager.*  
Lucknow University Journal.

LONDON: P. S. KING & SONS, Orchard House, 2 & 4 Great Smith Street, Westminster, Lond., S. W.

## The Book For You!

IF you want a treatise noted for clearness and conciseness, a treatise that within a limited space will teach you the principles of clinical medicine, better than most books of *double the size and double the price*, then buy

### An Introduction to Clinical Medicine

PART I

BY

DR. A. J. NORONHA, M. D.

The book is illustrated most profusely with actual photographs from Indian experience. You have the very example, the actual typical clinical picture before your very eyes. Purchase the book to-day and it will bring it home to you that we are speaking the truth !!

To convince you still further we need only mention that the book is recommended to all the Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries all over the Bombay Presidency, Aden and the Persian Gulf by the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay. Besides it is spoken of in the highest terms by leading teachers of Medicine in India. *It is the book for the Student.*

*The book for the Practitioner.*

Price Rs. 12-8. Postage Extra.

For Copies Apply to—

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

*From H. M. Stationery Office, London.*

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS, ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CHIEF INSPECTOR OF ( for 1922 ). ( Cmd. 1920. ) 1923. 9½ x 6. pp. 153. 5s.

TANGANYIKA TERRITORY, REPORT ON ( for 1922 ). 1923. 9½ x 6. pp. 34. 1s. 3d.

DEFENCE COMMITTEE, RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE NATIONAL AND IMPERIAL. ( Cmd. 1938. ) 1923. 9½ x 6. pp. 15. 6d.

PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES. ( United States No. 1 of 1923. ) ( Cmd. 1915. ) 1923. 9½ x 6. pp. 4. 2d.

JAPAN, REPORT ON THE COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL SITUATION IN. By E. T. F. Crowe and H. A. F. Horne. 1923. 9½ x 6. pp. 64. 2s.

EGYPT, REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SITUATION OF. By E. Homan Mulock. 1923. 9½ x 6. pp. 55. 1s. 6d.

*From the Author:*

WARTY, K. S.: HOW INDIA IS GOVERNED. BOMBAY. 1923. 6 x 4. pp. iv and 108. (Vaibhea Press. 12as.)

*From Hodder and Stoughton Ltd, London:*

HANNAY, JAS. O.: CAN I BE CHRISTIAN? LONDON. 1923. 7 x 5. pp. 158. 5s.

*From Fricdr. Cohen, Bonn:*

LANDSBERG, P. LUDW.: DIE WELT DES MITTELALTERS UND WIR. EIN GESCHICHTS-PHILOSOPHISCHER VERSUCH UEBER DEN SINN LINES ZEITALTERS. 2ND ED. BONN. 1923. 8½ x 5½. pp. 125. 4s.

## Railways and the Budget.

BY

"ECONOMY"

*A Collection of articles published in the "Servant of India."*

( Crown 16mo. size. pp. 80 )

Price Rs. 8 net.

The book exposes the happy-go-lucky system of the work of the Railway Board and the distribution and management of railway finance. It demonstrates how, instead of managing the Railways as a business and conserving and improving them as a valuable national asset, the Board and the Government of India have been only muddling through at the expense of the travelling public and the general tax-payer.

*Books can be had from—*

THE ARYABHUSHAN PRESS, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

### Hon'ble Prof. V. G. Kale's Works.

	Rs. a. p.
1. Indian Economics— (4th edition). Featherweight paper Demi. 8 vo. pp. 700. Cloth Bound. Revised & enlarged.	8-0-0
2. Gokhale and Economic Reforms— Crown 16 mo. pp. 250. Cloth Bound.	2-0-0
4. The Reforms Explained— Demi. 8 vo. pp. 100.	1-0-0
5. Indian Industrial and Economic Problems— (2nd edition). Crown 16 mo. pp. 340.	1-9-0
6. India's War Finance and Post-War Problems— Crown 16 mo. pp. 164. Cloth Bound.	2-0-0
7. Currency Reform in India— Crown 16 mo. pp. 120.	1-0-0

*These books can be had of—*

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.

Printed at the Aryabhushan Press, Poona

By A. V. Patvardhan.

# VI National Liberal Federation of India.

## WELCOME SPEECH

BY

Dewan Bahadur K. R. GODBOLE, M. C. E.,

*Chairman, Reception Committee.*

Wednesday, December 26, 1923 at 3 p. m.

FELLOW-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

ON behalf of the Reception Committee of The Sixth all-India National Liberal Federation, it is my privilege to-day to offer you a hearty welcome to Poona. I may tell you that I am only a substitute or *Badli* chairman, and as such I am not likely to be a very successful functionary. Sir Hormasji Wadya, the President of the Deccan Sabha, was the Chairman of the Reception Committee according to the original programme, but he resigned on account of his ill health and I have been asked to supply his place, rather late in the day. Under these circumstances, you will have to judge of my performance with some leniency.

The city to which I welcome you has a long record of political thought and activity behind it. The founder of the Great Maratha Empire was born in one of the hill-forts of the Poona District, and was educated in this city in his early years. It was in this Poona District that he commenced the formation of the Maratha Empire by acquiring territory and hill-forts from the Mahomedan Ruling powers of the day. After the Maratha power was established under Shivaji, it became a large Maratha confederacy in the time of his grand-son Shahu and his minister Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath.

The Peshwai head-quarters were in Poona, and it was from this city that the Maratha Empire was governed for upwards of seventy years. After the fall of the Maratha Empire also, Poona has continued to be an important place as it has been the capital of the Bombay Presidency during the greater portion of the year from the commencement of British Rule in western India.

Some of our most eminent public men such as the late Justice Ranade, G. K. Gokhale and B. G. Tilak were bred up and worked in this city. It was here that one of the most successful political organizations of its day, namely, the Sarvajanik Sabha was started by Justice Ranade in the seventies of the last century. This was an organization that commanded great prestige and influence in its day, controlled as it was by public men like Ranade and Gokhale. The late

Mr. Gokhale started here in 1905 the Servants of India Society which consists of public workers of the type of the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri and Mr. G. K. Deodhar. It is to a city with these antecedents that I offer you a welcome this afternoon.

### OUR LOSSES.

Since the last meeting of the Liberal Federation, we, on this side of India, have had to mourn the sad death of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar Kt. who was one of our foremost public men working in Political, Educational and Social fields in this Presidency in the Liberal ranks. He gave invaluable assistance and lead in all fields of his activity. At the time of his sad demise he was the President of the Bombay Legislative Council where his work was marked by conspicuous zeal and ability. Sir Narayan's loss has been found to be extremely difficult to replace. Another death which we have to mourn on this side is that of the late Mr. V. R. Gupte. He was a rising public man and actually died in harness while doing public work in the Bombay Legislative Council where he was attacked by paralysis a few hours before his death.

### HISTORY AND POLICY OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

Before proceeding with my further remarks, I should like to place before you two extracts from the Liberal Party manifesto issued in August last. The first of these extracts gives a history of the formation of our Federation and runs as follows:—

"The Liberal Party of India is as old as the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and its greatest member was Dadabhai Naoroji. It is the party that is faithful to the traditions and principles, policies and methods, and is steadily, and consistently carrying on the work of the Indian National Congress that was founded by Hume, served devotedly by Wedderburn, and rehabilitated after 1907 by Mehta and Gokhale among others. It exists to realize the ideal held forth by Dadabhai Naoroji at the great Congress of 1906, of Swaraj for India within the British Commonwealth. It seeks to achieve by constitutional action, Self-Government and Dominion Status for India as early as possible. It is to the constitutional efforts of the Indian National Congress that India owes the Reforms of 1892, 1909 and 1919. In connection with the last and most liberal of the three Acts, those robust-hearted Congressmen who had not lost faith or given up patience were obliged in



the public interest to separate themselves from the old organization when it passed under a new control and ceased to be what it had been. They then founded the National Liberal Federation of India with the double object of ensuring the effectuation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme in as liberal a form as possible and of sustaining the old Congress movement."

The second extract relates to the principal objects for which the Liberal party is working and will work in future. These are given as follows : —

1. The same status for India in her dealings with other members of the British Commonwealth as is accorded to the self-governing Dominions ;

2. The approximation as far, as may be, of the relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India to the relations that subsist between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governments of the Dominions, and the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India ;

3. A reform of the constitution and functions of the Government of India so as to make it responsible to the Legislative Assembly in all matters save foreign, political and military affairs, and including fiscal policy ;

4. The abolition of Executive Councils in the provinces and the conversion of the whole of the Provincial Governments into ministries responsible to the Legislature ;

5. The extinction of the provincial contributions to the Central Government ;

6. A radical reform of military policy such that Indians may get into their proper place in all branches of the defensive organization of the country, and a substantial reduction of military expenditure ;

7. A rapid Indianization of the Civil Services and their control by the Government of India instead of by the Secretary of State, as an integral and indispensable part of the policy of responsible government for India ;

8. The widest possible diffusion of education and a reform of the system so as to bring it into greater harmony with Indian conditions and requirements ;

9. The adoption of measures for the up-lift of all backward classes, and specially the provision of extended educational facilities for their boys and girls ;

10. Legislation to bring land revenue policy under the control of the Legislature for the better protection of the legitimate interests of land-holders, and for the amelioration of the condition of tenants ;

11. The improvement of agriculture and the development of the co-operative movement ;

12. The development of Indian industries ;

13. Social legislation, and the welfare of labourers ;

14. The complete separation of Judicial and Executive functions as well as services ;

15. The eradication of the drink evil. The Indian Liberal Party will strive by vigorous and sustained constitutional methods to secure the above objects as early as possible.

I think the above extracts will be interesting to you as they give in a compact form the reasons why a separate Liberal party was formed and what that party proposes doing.

#### WORK OF THE COUNCILS.

Since the last meeting of our Federation at Nagpur, the Legislative Assembly and Provincial Councils formed in 1920 have ceased to exist and elections for the next triennial Assembly and Councils have taken place. The work of the Liberals in the old Assembly and Councils has been pronounced to be good and satisfactory. The members of the Liberal party inside the several Governments and legislature have laboured unceas-

ingly for the removal of wrongs and the redress of grievances as well as for the development of beneficial services and have proved the fitness of Indians for the exercise of the rights of self-government. Their achievements have not been more marked and striking, on account of the periods of exceptional financial stringency through which India has been passing during the last three years, and also on account of the spirit of non-co-operation which was exhibited in some of the legislatures. Most of our Liberal ministers have worked with conspicuous zeal and singleness of purpose and have proved undoubted successes.

#### NEED FOR VIGOROUS PARTY ORGANISATION AND PROPAGANDA.

The tale is, however, woeful, with reference to our new legislatures. Our foremost men like Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri and others have been telling us repeatedly that we must have party organizations and regular propaganda work carried on not only in cities and large population centres but even in the remote country side for educating our masters, the electors. The elector must learn to distinguish between his true friend and his impostor friend. The Liberal party has failed hitherto in doing the propaganda work and in forming the required organizations and the consequence has been that the party has been swept away in the recent elections. This is what Mr. Chunilal Gandhi predicted in his Presidential address in the Karad Provincial Liberal Conference of May 1923. This is what Mr. Gandhi said :—

If that ( i. e. forming Liberal organizations ) is not done betimes, there is a very imminent danger of the party being swept away at the coming elections, at which, so far as I am able to read the signs of the times, a large number of our friends of the N. C. O. movement will try to enter the Councils for the purpose of either getting a redress of the Punjab and the Khilafat grievances through the Councils or failing that wrecking the same."

What Mr. Gandhi predicted has come to pass and prominent Liberals, like Sir Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. Chintamani, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Dr. Paranjpye and Mr. Kamat on our side have lost their seats. The Council entry section of the Congress calling themselves Swarajists put up a large number of candidates both for the Central Legislature and for the Provincial Councils and they have secured seats in considerable numbers defeating Liberal candidates in many cases. The numbers of declared Swarajists ( Das party ) politicians that have got into the Provincial Councils are 18 in Madras, 23 in Bombay, 45 in Bengal, 43 in the United Provinces, 9 in the Punjab and 42 in the Central Provinces. The figures for Bihar and Orissa and Assam are not available. In the Central Provinces, the Swarajists have a clear majority and will rule the Council, which con-

sists of 70 members altogether, if they work on right lines. All these successes of the Swarajists are due to the network of organizations that they have all over the country side in the shape of District and Taluka Committees and the large followings they have created. The Non-co-operation and Congress organizations have been mainly helpful in procuring seats for our Swarajist friends.

#### WHAT WILL DASITES DO ?

It remains to be seen what the Swarajists are going to do after entering into the Councils and the Assembly. They are apparently not going to accept the responsibility of Government, judging by what Mr. C. R. Das, the Swarajist leader, has done in Bengal. The Government of Bengal is stated to have offered ministerships to Mr. C. R. Das's followers; but he, on behalf of his party, has declined to accept the offer. Apparently, therefore, the Swaraj party will be in the opposition. Their declared policy so far is to mend or end the Councils. If they mend the Councils, they will continue the work of the Liberal party and will practically be Liberals themselves. If they attempt to end the Councils and wreck them, they will do an incalculable harm to the country. The policy of the Swaraj party in the Assembly and the Provincial Councils is going to be settled on the 29th inst. and early next month.

As regards the Liberal party, we must take a lesson from what has taken place, and must form proper organizations and educate the electors by steady propaganda work. Whatever our lapses in the past, I trust that in this session of our Federation, we shall take some definite steps for the organisation of the party and the systematic education of the electorate. Unless this is done, the chances of Liberals getting in large numbers into the legislatures in the future will be very meagre. The Right Honourable Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has observed in his Nagpur Presidential address of 27th December 1922, that the ordinary elector being illiterate, ignorant and desirous to be let alone is liable to be gulled by the demagogue and persuaded to vote for the person who makes the most intemperate speeches and the most extravagant promises. This is quite true of the ordinary Indian elector. He must be properly educated and must learn to appreciate the value of his vote and the merits of the several candidates who ask for the same. He must know who is his true friend and who are empty talkers who will achieve nothing.

Having made the above general remarks with reference to the Liberal party and its present position, I carefully considered whether I should review in my speech in detail, the principal questions which have been before the public during the last year in India and in Indian Legislatures—questions in the Political, Social and Economic

fields. I have come to the conclusion that it will not be proper for me to do so as Chairman of the Reception Committee. Chairmen in my position have done this in the past, but I consider this procedure to be open to objection and I will tell you why. We choose a President every year to guide the deliberations of the Federation and he is always a gentleman in the front ranks of our politicians and public men. I think it unfair that his Presidential address should be forestalled by another lengthy speech from the Chairman of the Reception Committee probably going over the same ground as the President has to cover in his address. This is like cutting the sand under the President's feet. I will, therefore, refrain from making any lengthy remarks on the questions of the day and will content myself by simply briefly referring to some of them.

#### TREATMENT OF INDIANS OVERSEAS.

First is the treatment of Indians in Kenya and in the Colonies and Dominions of the British Empire. We have a President for this session who has complete first-hand information on this subject and who has just returned from a conference where this question was fully discussed. He has found a promising avenue for the solution of this important question, and we will soon have in his address his considered and mature views on this subject.

#### THE CERTIFICATION OF THE SALT-TAX.

The next item is the certification of the increase of salt tax by the Governor-General in March last, in face of the repeated opposition of the Legislative Assembly. Lord Reading has defended this action of his, in his speech at the European Association dinner at Calcutta on 15th December 1923. Whether the certification was justified or not is another question, but it had the effect of putting the Liberal candidates at a considerable disadvantage in the recent elections. Several intelligent electors pointed to this certification and stated that the Councils and the Legislative Assembly were useless bodies when their decisions, as in the case of the salt tax, were flouted by Governors and Governor-General.

#### THE KHILAFAT.

Next comes the Khilafat question. A republic has been established at Angora and the Khalifa has been deprived of all temporal powers. Are the Mahomedans in India satisfied with this arrangement? Apparently they are, as we have had no agitation on this subject of late amongst our Mahomedan friends.

#### ROYAL COMMISSION ON SUPERIOR SERVICES.

The last item to which I will refer is the Royal Commission on Superior Services in India, which is at present holding its sittings in India. I have followed the proceedings of this

Commission with considerable interest, as I hold some views on this subject formed during my membership of the Bombay Legislative Council of over ten years. Speaking generally, I hold opinions on this subject which are similar to those held by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. I hold that the present Imperial and all-India services should be constituted on a Provincial basis as soon as possible, except in the case of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. The element of Europeans in the latter two Services should be steadily decreased until it reaches the minimum compatible with the maintenance of law and order throughout India. The foreign element in the Indian Civil Service should be reduced to half the whole strength of the service in the next ten years. In the case of the Police Service, the Indian element should be steadily increased until the European element is reduced to half the total strength in the next fifteen years. All other services should be provincial and under the control of local Governments and legislatures. They should be manned by Indians almost entirely, the few foreigners that may be needed being engaged on 5 years' or 10 years' contracts on special terms. The pays of all ranks should be fixed on an Indian basis, Europeans being allowed 50 per cent. additional overseas pay. The Provincial Services should be divided into two grades lower and upper, the pays of lower grades ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 750 and the pays of upper grades from Rs. 400 to Rs. 1200, the Commissioners and other divisional officers getting special allowances ranging from Rs. 300 to Rs. 800 per month.

The recruitment should be by open competition to the extent of 75 per cent. the remaining 25 per cent. being kept available for selection from lower services. I would have our superior services organized on the above lines. The all-India Services should be controlled by the Government of India and all other services by the Provincial Governments and legislatures. The control of the Secretary of State should be altogether abolished.

#### CONCLUSION.

Before concluding my remarks, I want to draw attention to one other point and that is the great necessity, that exists at present, of unification of several castes, creeds and religions that prevail in India, specially as regards political work in Councils and elsewhere. The differences between Hindus and Mahomedans must vanish, so must the differences and misunderstandings between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, and Lingayats and Hindus. These class differences are clogging the wheels of progress in our legislatures and administrations. The sooner they go, the better. As remarked by my friend Rao Bahadur Kale of Satara, we must all abandon the doctrine of hate and exclusiveness and cultivate the spirit of love and broad-mindedness. We Liberals must try our utmost to secure this end.

I have now done, and conclude by according once more a hearty welcome to you all.

You will now proceed to the election of your President.