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REPORT
OF
THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRD SESSION

OF THE

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA

HELD AT MADRAS

On the 29th, 30th and 31st December, 1920

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THE
National Liberal Federation of India.

Third Session, Madras.

Report of the Reception Committee.

At the Calcutta Session of the National Liberal Federation of India the following Resolution was unanimously adopted :—

That the third annual Session of the National Liberal Federation of India be held at Madras in the year 1920 on such dates as may be fixed by the Council in consultation with the Committee of the Madras Liberal League.

With a view to make the necessary arrangements for the same a meeting of the general body of the Madras Liberal League was held at Mr. Natesan's office on the 21st of November, 1920, with the Honourable Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in the chair.

The following resolutions were passed :—

That the National Liberal Federation do hold its third sittings on the 28th or 29th of December, the date to be finally settled by the Executive of the Reception Committee in consultation with the Executive Committee of the following bodies :—

- (a) The Indian Association, Calcutta.
- (b) The Bengal National Liberal League, Calcutta.
- (c) The National Liberal Association of Western India, Bombay.
- (d) The Deccan Sabha, Poona.
- (e) The United Provinces Liberal Association, Allahabad.
- (f) The National Liberal Association of the Central Provinces and Berar, Nagpur.
- (g) The Madras Liberal League, Madras.
- (h) The Sivaganga Liberal League, Sivaganga.

That a Reception Committee (with power to add to the number) be constituted, consisting of

- (1) all the City and Mufussil members of the Madras Liberal League, and
- (2) others who are prepared to abide by the following declaration of objects :—

OBJECTS:

1. The attainment of responsible government by India as an integral part of the British Empire in the quickest possible time by methodical and ordered progress.
2. The promotion of an Indian Nationality by fostering a patriotic spirit of unity among the different classes and communities of the people.
3. Advancement of the moral and material progress of the Indian People.

4. The attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members,—objects to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.

That the minimum subscription payable by a member of the Reception Committee be Rs. 10.

That the fee payable by each delegate be Rs. 10, provided that in the case of a member of the Reception Committee who has already paid the minimum subscription of Rs. 10, no separate delegation fee be demanded.

That the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number be requested to form the Executive Committee of the Reception Committee :

- (1) Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, (2) Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Raghava Aiyer, (3) Mr. G. A. Natesan, (4) Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, (5) Mr. M. Kolandavelu Mudaliar, (6) Mr. D. K. Asher, (7) Mr. Girdar Doss Narain Doss, (8) Mr. K. S. Subramaniam M.A., L.T., (9) Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, (10) Dewan Bahadur Govindoss Chatur Bhuja Doss, (11) Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, (12) Mr. K. Varadachariar, (13) Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, (14) Rao Bahadur Annamalai Chettiar, (15) Rao Bahadur C. S. Subramaniam, (16) Rao Bahadur A. P. Patro, (17) Rao Saheb P. Sambanda Mudaliar, (18) Khan Bahadur Walji Lalji, (19) Rao Saheb G. Venkataranga Rao, (20) Hon'ble C.V.S. Narasimha Raju, (21) Hon. B. Venkatapathi Raju, (22) Rao Bahadur M. S. Natesa Aiyer (23) Mr. N. Fattabhirama Rao, (24) Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, (25) Rao Bahadur S. V. Narasimha Rao, (26) Mr. S. Gnanidikkam, (27) Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyer, (28) Mr. K. A. Virarghava Chariar, (29) Mr. R. N. Aiyangar, (30) Mr. B. Sitarama Rao, (31) Mr. P. A. Subramania Aiyer, (32) Mr. G. Mukundaraja Aiyangar, (33) Mr. C. Doraiswami Aiyangar (34) Mr. K. Parthasarathi Aiyangar, (35) Mr. K. R. Guruswami, Aiyer, (36) Dewan Bahadur D. Seshagiri Rao, (37) Rao Bahadur T. M. Narasimha Chariar, (38) Rev. Dr. Lazarus, (39) Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, (40) Mr. V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, (41) Dewan Bahadur T. Desikachari, (42) Mr. L. Ananta Aiyer.

That the following bodies or associations shall have power to elect delegates to the ensuing session of the National Liberal Federation :—

1. Indian Association, Calcutta.
2. Bengal National Liberal League, Calcutta.
3. National Liberal Association of Western India, Bombay.
4. Deccan Sabha, Poona.
5. The United Provinces Liberal Association, Allahabad.
6. National Liberal Association of the Central Provinces and Berar, Nagpur.
7. The Madras Liberal League, Madras.
8. Sivaganga Liberal League, Sivaganga.

That no one who has not already made the declaration mentioned above and who has not been duly elected by any one of the bodies mentioned above shall be enrolled as a delegate.

That the Executive Committee be requested to prepare the draft resolutions and, if possible, arrange to select the speakers previously.

That Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Raghava Aiyer be elected as the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

That Messrs. G. A. Natesan, T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, and Naraindoss Girdaridoss be elected secretaries; and Mr. M. Kolandavelu Mudaliar as Treasurer.

The Executive Committee of the Reception Committee met frequently to transact business in connection with the forthcoming session. In one of their meetings it was also decided to form Sub-Committees for various purposes. Thus at the meeting of the Committee held on the 17th December with Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer in the chair a Committee consisting of —

Messrs. P. A. Subrahmania Iyer, C. G. Narain Doss, K. A. Veeraghavachari, M. Kolandavelu Mudaliar and K. Varadachariar were appointed to look after the arrangements for boarding and lodging of delegates.

At the same meeting a Committee for general purposes consisting of.—

Messrs. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, B.A., B.L., K. S. Subrahmanian, M.A., L.T., R. Suryanarayana Rao, B.A., V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L. and C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A. was also appointed.

A third Committee for drafting Resolutions for the forthcoming conference consisted of the following :

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, Mrs. Annie Besant, Messrs. V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L., C. Doraiswami Aiyangar, C. Naraindoss Girdardoss and G. A. Natesan.

With a view to form a small volunteer corps senior students of Colleges and other young men willing to offer their services were invited to meet the Secretaries. In response to this invitation a number of young men, mostly students of senior classes presented themselves for enrolment as Volunteers on Sunday the 12th December at the office of Mr. G. A. Natesan. About 30 Volunteers were chosen from among those present. Mr. P. A. Subrahmania Iyer, B.A., L.T., Head Master of the Hindu High School, Triplicane, was appointed Captain and Messrs. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Lecturer in the Pachaiyappa's College and S. Ramachandra Iyer, B. A., Assistant, Kellett High School, Triplicane, were elected Vice-Captains.

Several Provincial Leagues urged the 29th in preference to an earlier date and on the pressing invitation of the Reception Committee Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, then Editor of the *Leader*, Allahabad, accepted the Presidentship of the Session.

The importance of the Session was well brought out in a letter dated the 10th December which the Right Hon'ble (then Hon'ble Mr.) V. S. Srinivasa Sastri addressed to his friends and colleagues :—

“You know that in spite of the dissuasion of many friends of our party I have been attending the sessions of the Indian National Congress whenever I could. My experience, however, has been most disheartening. Every session since the special meeting in Bombay of 1918 has outdone its predecessor in the adoption of impracticable programmes, in unreasoning opposition to Government and in the use of unrestrained language. The few of our way of thinking who attended could obtain a hearing only with the greatest difficulty, and their voice invariably went unheeded. So long as there was the slightest hope left, some of us felt it a duty to warn our reckless countrymen against the perils of the course along which they were drifting. That excuse is no longer there, after the non-co-operation movement began and even those nationalists who opposed it resolved, out of a mistaken sense of loyalty to the Congress, to fall into line. I confess the idea of going to the Congress no longer appeals to me.”

“I am not forgetting that a certain section of Nationalists are putting forth an effort to secure at the Nagpur session a reversal of the decisions taken by the Congress at the special session of Calcutta. Many who have not so far joined one party or another and even some Liberals may consider it a duty to help in securing that reversal. Mr. Gandhi, whose movement gains immensely by the moral support of the Congress, will use every legitimate means of keeping up his majority, and so far as one can judge at present, he will be able to do so. It is at least doubtful whether nationalists can save the Congress from him. Supposing however, that the Congress did get out of the hands of Non-Co-operators, it would fall inevitably into the hands of nationalists, with whom we have recently developed deep and material differences. Their chief organs have in so many words expressed the opinion that, though they differ from non-co-operators on one vital issue, there is a unity of spirit binding them together, while with us of the liberal party they have no substantial agreement on which to build a *rapprochement*. We know, besides, that one of their cardinal doctrines is the absolute impossibility of ever co-operating with Government on any matter. They have quite made up their minds that on principle non-co-operation is justifiable at this juncture, their only difficulty

being that they cannot approve of Mr. Gandhi's particular variety of it. Again, they are for immediate *swaraj* and will postpone everything to its attainment. It is also quite probable that they will consent to substantial modifications in the first article of the Congress constitution, although not perhaps to all the drastic proposals of Mr. Gandhi's committee. Moreover, their contemptuous attitude towards the Reform Act continues without the slightest abatement, and certain principal leaders among them have declared a partiality for the policy of obstruction and deadlocks, hoping that the British Parliament would grant India full *swaraj* as the only means of getting over the *impasse*. As if these causes of division were not sufficient, a campaign has been started, for which the sanction of the Congress will be sought and in all probability given, to discredit and boycott those Liberals and others who have been elected to the new legislatures by the first exercise of a wide and direct franchise. The sum total of these differences makes reconciliation and united work impossible. The wisest course in the circumstances is to maintain the purity of our principles and our complete freedom of action. The results of recent elections and the feeble response that the country has given to the call of Mr. Gandhi are signs that the good sense of the people is asserting itself. If we keep the generous flag of liberalism flying, a large and influential party will gather round it no long time."

The Reception Committee was fully alive to the futility of trying to get the Congress back to its old and well laid lines of "co-operation wherever possible and opposition whenever necessary with the Government." They appealed in the name of Liberalism to rally round the Federation and support its constructive programme. They accordingly urged in a communication published a fortnight before the Session :—

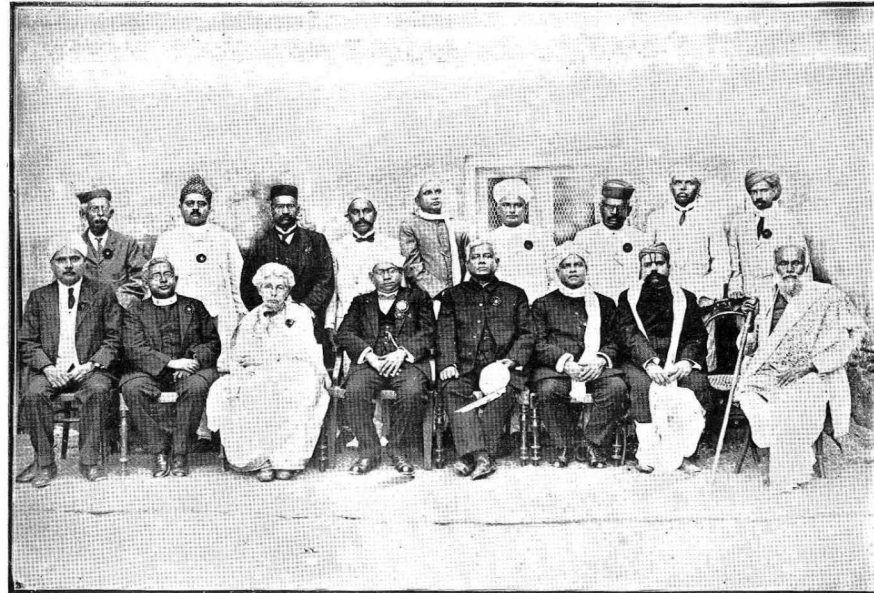
"The Liberals of India have justly claimed a share in the constructive politics of recent years that have led to the ensuing regime of new hopes, new opportunities, new powers for the people. By the general abstention of Nationalists from the elections just concluded, which we deplored and tried to avert, a great part of the responsibility for moulding the new regime in its varied aspects, devolves unexpectedly on us. In this high task we shall have the co-operation of other elements of our polity which will no doubt contribute each its special strength and freshness of view. But the Liberals must realise their peculiar importance in being among political parties, the main connecting link between the past and the future, competent to interpret aright, in ways at once safe and progressive, the newborn aspirations of the people on the one hand and the possibilities of the newborn constitution on the other. We fully trust this consideration will appeal to you and induce you to attend

even at some inconvenience and bear a personal part in giving a practical shape to the root-ideas that should govern the immediate programme of our party in national and in provincial affairs."

"The menace of the Non-Co-operation Movement continues strong. Its first effort has failed; but it will be a great mistake to suppose that it is incapable of more harm. Already its leaders have announced a campaign for discrediting and disheartening the representatives whom the people have chosen in their first exercise of the franchise. In Madras and elsewhere perhaps fresh efforts are to be made to draw students away from schools and colleges. On the other hand the publication of the Esher Committee's Report has greatly aggravated the bitterness and ill-feeling already caused by the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs, and in the minds of a considerable section of the public the Moderates are, by some mysterious process of reasoning, to be held answerable for the blunders of a blundering government."

"We have reason to believe that a great many men of position and influence who are in general sympathy with the aims and methods of the Liberal Federation of India have forborne so far, largely bewildered by the complexities of the situation, to join its ranks openly. To such, as to others, we wish now to extend the hearty invitation of the Madras Reception Committee to attend the coming session as delegates and help to make apparent the widespread sympathy and support which the liberal cause has in reality always commanded in the country."

The result of this appeal was amply evidenced in the success of the session which was largely attended by leading Liberals from different Provinces besides a strong contingent of Madras delegates who as might be expected formed a considerable body of them. Mrs. Besant and her colleagues of the National Home League joined the Reception Committee and participated in the proceedings of the Federation. The recent decisions of the Congress and subsequent events in the course of the year have more than justified the separatist movement of the Liberals to continue the traditions of the old Congress in the Liberal Federation—the Congress of Hume and Dadabhai, of Wedderburn and Gokhale and Mehta.



A GROUP TAKEN AT THE THIRD SESSION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION AT MADRAS.

THE
National Liberal Federation of India

THE THIRD ANNUAL SESSION

HELD AT THE GOKHALE HALL, MADRAS

Thursday the 30th and Friday the 31st December, 1920.

LIST OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED.

I. WELCOME TO THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT.

Welcome to the Duke.

THE National Liberal Federation of India desires to accord a loyal and most hearty welcome to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught on this occasion of his visit to India on behalf of His Majesty the King-Emperor to inaugurate the constitutional reforms.

—From the Chair

II. LORD SINHA'S APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR.

Lord Sinha's Appointment.

This Federation records its satisfaction at the appointment of His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Sinha of Raipur as Governor of the Province of Bihar and Orissa and tenders its hearty congratulations to him on this mark of high appreciation of distinguished service to this country and offers its best wishes for success of his administration.

—From the Chair

III. INDIAN MILITARY POLICY.

Indian Military Policy.

I. (a) This Federation protests against the recommendations of the Army in India Committee, the composition of which was alike inadequate and unsatisfactory in that it included pronounced reactionaries, like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Malik Sir Umar Hyat Khan Tiwana and left Indian interests to be represented practically by only one member.

(b) The Federation expresses strong condemnation of the procedure followed by the Committee (1) in deciding upon the principles governing the future military policy of India before they left England and before the Indian members were appointed or could join them and before they could consult the Government or the people of India ; (2) in deciding to examine no witnesses ; and (3) in conducting the proceedings *in camera*.

**Indian Military
Policy.**

(c) The Federation desires to record its protest against His Majesty's Government giving effect to, or otherwise disposing of, the recommendations made by commissions or committees on matters of vital importance to the people of India, without affording any opportunity for the expression of their views to the Indian legislature and Indian public, and the Federation urges that none of the recommendations of the Esher Committee should in any way be acted upon until the Indian public and Indian Legislature have expressed their views and before the actual cost of the scheme is worked out and made known to the public. The Conference notes with alarm that the Government is even now carrying into effect some portions of the recommendations without consulting Indian public opinion and considers that such action will only deepen the distrust of British military policy already widely prevalent in this country.

(d) The Federation is further of opinion that the problems considered by the Esher Committee have been approached exclusively from the standpoint of Imperial policy and requirements, and hardly, if at all, from the point of view of the requirements of India, whether with reference to her internal needs or her position as a partner entitled to equality of status with the Self-Governing Dominions, or to the natural rights and aspirations of the people of India to take an honourable part in the defence of their country, or her capacity to bear the financial burdens entitled by the scheme.

(e) The Federation regrets the fundamental assumption in the report that conditions of grave unrest in the Near and Middle East, which have been created by complications of European diplomacy and politics, and for which India is in no way responsible, are matters which must be provided against by saddling India with burdens necessitated by Imperial military policy.

(f) The Federation records its emphatic protest against the recommendations of the Committee (1) to allow the Imperial General Staff in England to exercise what the Committee call a considered influence on the military policy of the Government of India, which, if carried out, must have the effect of reducing the military administration of India to a position of dependence upon the War Office in England, and depriving the Government of India of their control over Indian military affairs, and (2) to virtually release the Commander-in-Chief in India from the supremacy of the civil power.

(g) In the opinion of the Federation the reforms urgently needed in the organisation and administration of the Army in India should, *inter alia*, include the following: (1) The position that the Army in India should be independent of the British

Army and under the control of the Government of India and not of the War Office should be recognised. (2) The Commander-in-Chief should only be the executive head of the army, and not a Member of the Governor-General's Council and the portfolio of defence should be entrusted to a Civilian Member of the Governor-General's Council. (3) Indian troops should not, as a rule, be employed for service outside external frontiers of India except for defensive purpose or in very grave emergencies and with the free consent of the Governor-General in Council. (4) The King's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of His Majesty's Forces in India, including the Territorial Army. Not less than 25 per cent. of the King's Commissions should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects to start with and the proportion raised in ten years to 50 per cent. by annual increment of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (5) Adequate facilities should be provided in India for training Indians as officers in all branches of the army by their admission into the existing institutions, as well as by the establishment of new institutions and in all other possible ways. (6) The system of having two sets of Commissions in the army, one proceeding from the King and the other from the Viceroy, should be abolished. All differences of designation between the British and Indian officers of various ranks should likewise be abolished. (7) All invidious distinctions, based upon racial considerations, should be abolished in the army.

Indian Military
Policy.

(h) So long as the army in India is maintained partly to meet Imperial needs and controlled by the British War Office, a fair and adequate share of India's military expenditure determined by the relative interests and capacity of the two countries should be paid by the British.

Proposed by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
(Madras).

Seconded by Dr. Sir Deveprasad Sarvadhikari, Kt. (Bengal)

Supported by Mr. B. S. Kamat (Bombay).

Supported by Mr. B. Venkatapathi Razu (Madras).

IV. THE NAVAL DEFENCE OF INDIA.

Naval Defence.

The National Liberal Federation of India requests the Secretary of State to publish immediately in India the report of Lord Jellicoe regarding the naval defence of India, and urges that no conclusions should be reached on the recommendations contained therein until the Indian Legislature and the people of India have had opportunities of expressing their opinions on the same. Any fresh burdens imposed upon India without reference to her needs and requirements and to her existing burdens, will produce great dissatisfaction. No scheme of naval defence

which does not provide for the free and unrestricted admission of Indians to all ranks of the Navy will be acceptable to the country.

—From the Chair.

Commissions &
Committees.

V. PROCEDURE *re.* COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES.

The Federation urges that rules be framed to ensure that no action, administrative or legislative, shall be taken on the reports of any commission or committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India or the Government of India until an opportunity shall have been given to the Indian Legislature to express its opinion thereon and, in regard to matters specially affecting any province, until such an opportunity shall have been given to the legislature of that province. It further urges that, in regard to commissions and committees appointed by Local Governments, similar rules be framed ensuring that an adequate opportunity shall be afforded to the local legislature concerned for the consideration of the reports of such commissions and committees.

—From the Chair.

Non-Co-operation.

VI. THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT.

The Federation expresses its emphatic disapproval of the policy of Non-Co-operation as calculated to destroy individual liberty of speech and action, to incite social hatred and retard the progress of the country towards responsible government; but the Federation feels that the best way of successfully combating the Non-Co-operation movement is for the Government to redress the wrongs that have led to its adoption.

Proposed by Mrs. Annie Besant (Madras).

Seconded by Mr. B. S. Kamat (Bombay).

Supported by Rev. Mr. Nag (Bengal).

Supported by The Hon'ble Mr. V. G. Kale (Bombay).

Supported by The Hon'ble Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana
(United Provinces).

Supported by Mr. Jethmal (Sind).

Tilak & D. C.
Ghose.

VII. THE LATE MR. TILAK AND RAI BAHADUR D. C. GHOSE.

The National Liberal Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss that the country has sustained in the death of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the eminent patriot who devoted his life to the political advancement of the Indian Nation.

The Federation also desires to place on record its sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Rai Bahadur Debendra Chandra Ghose who rendered distinguished services to the country.

—From the Chair.

VIII. INDIANS ABROAD.

Indians Abroad.

1. (a) Having regard to the historic and honourable connection of Indians with the East African Territories which owe not merely their development but practically their very existence to Indian capital and labour and to Indian enterprise and initiative, and to the part played by Indian soldiers in the conquest and pacification of the East African Protectorate (Kenya Colony), the National Liberal Federation of India strongly protests against the anti-Indian agitation of the European residents of the Protectorate and against the political and economic disabilities imposed upon Indians by the Government of the Protectorate.

(b) The Federation urges that there is absolutely no justification for the policy of racial discrimination against the Indian subjects of His Majesty in a part of the British Empire the internal administration of which is under the control of His Majesty's Government, and that Indians should enjoy absolute equality with Europeans in the Protectorate (Kenya Colony). The Federation urges in particular that restrictions on the allotment of land for commercial and other purposes to Indians should be abolished and that a liberal political and municipal franchise and adequate representation on the legislative and municipal councils should be granted to them.

2. (a) The Federation invites the urgent attention of the Government of India to the news received from Fiji that 30,000 Indians, despairing of obtaining justice, have been driven by gross oppression to decide to sell all their property and leave the colony in which they have settled and which owes its prosperity mainly to them.

(b) The Federation would urge strongly that the Government of India should press for an independent inquiry into the causes of the recent riots in Fiji, the methods employed in suppressing them with special reference to the treatment of women and the wages of labourers and the conditions under which Indians live, representatives of the Government and the people of India being associated with the enquiry.

Proposed by Pandit Hirdyanath Kunzru (United Provinces).

Seconded by Mr. G. A. Natesan (Madras).

B

Racial Distinctions.

IX. RACIAL DISTINCTIONS.

That, in the opinion of the Federation, the inauguration of the new regime conferring a measure of Self-Government on the people of India must be signalised by a comprehensive measure abolishing all distinctions in law based merely on the race of the individual and urges, in particular, that the provisions in the criminal law of India conferring upon Europeans and Americans certain special privileges and rights must be repealed at an early date.

Proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (Madras).

Seconded by Mr. Jogendra Mohan Sinha (Bengal).

Exchange and Currency.

X. EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY.

In view of the admitted failure of the efforts of the Government of India to maintain the country's gold exchange at or near the basis recommended by the last Committee on Exchange and Currency and even at the sterling level fixed by themselves, and in view of the enormous losses caused to the Indian Exchequer mainly by the sale of reverse councils against which the public strongly protested, and the utter disorganisation and demoralisation of the export and the import trade of the country which have been accentuated by the said policy of the Government, the National Liberal Federation strongly urges a fresh and immediate inquiry into the whole exchange and currency problem, such a reconsideration of Government's policy having been recommended by the Babington-Smith Committee itself. The Federation further urges that the suggested reconsideration should aim at placing the Indian system of exchange and currency on a self-adjusting basis so as to promote the best interests of the trade, manufactures, industries and finance of the country and to bring India in a line in this connection with the advanced nations of the world.

Proposed by the Hon. Mr. V. G. Kale (Bombay).

Seconded by Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar (Asst. Secretary, Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Madras).

Fiscal Policy.

XI. FISCAL POLICY OF INDIA.

In pursuance of the recommendation of the Committee appointed by the Governor-General in Council in February 1920 to advise as to the best method of considering the future fiscal policy of India, the National Liberal Federation of India urges the immediate appointment of a strong and representative Commission, with power to take evidence in various parts

of the country from representatives of all interests concerned' such as those of importers, exporters, producers, manufacturers and consumers, to examine the whole question of the future fiscal policy of India.

The Federation further urges that the country should not be committed, in the meanwhile, to any policy of Imperial Preference until a Commission such as the one recommended above has collected evidence and made its report.

Proposed by Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar (Advocate-General, Madras).

Seconded by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakadas (Bombay).

XII. THE MEDICAL SERVICES.

Medical Policy.

The Federation considers the recommendations of the Lovett and Esher Committees as being retrograde and calls upon the Government to set them aside. The Federation is of opinion that the Medical Service in India should be separated into two divisions, one military and the other civil. The former should be recruited both in England and India, while the latter should be recruited mainly in India. While exchange of officers may be allowed for purposes of training, the two services should be kept strictly separate and to meet military emergencies officers in the Civil Medical Service should be obliged to undergo military training for fixed periods at stated intervals and go on field service when required.

Proposed by Dr. C. B. Rama Rao (Madras).

Seconded by Rao Bahadur C. S. Subramaniam (Bellary).

XII. THE KHILAFAT.

The Khilafat.

The National Liberal Federation of India regrets that the Prime Minister's pledge to the Mussalmans of India made in January 1911 has not been redeemed; and strongly urges His Majesty's Government to avail themselves of the developments in Greece and suitably revise the Treaty with Turkey.

—From the Chair.

XIV. REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION.

Repressive
Legislation.

The Federation urges the Government of India to take immediate steps to repeal the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and the Deportation Regulations.

—From the Chair.

Woman Suffrage.

XV. WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Federation requests the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils respectively to remove the sex disqualification in their respective franchise from women otherwise duly qualified.

—From the Chair.

Trade Unions.

XVI. TRADE UNIONS.

The Federation urges the Government of India to take steps to legalise trade unions on the lines of the English legislation on the matter.

—From the Chair.

The Punjab.

XVII. THE PUNJAB.

1. The Federation records its conviction that the failure of British statesmanship to rise to the demands of the situation in regard to the Punjab affair, has largely prevented the people from realising the value of the Constitutional Reforms.

2. The Federation protests against the failure of the Government to render justice by imposing adequate punishment upon officers who were guilty of acts of cruelty, oppression and humiliation during the period of martial law administration in the Punjab.

3. The Federation has noticed with surprise that the compensation awarded to the victims of martial law excesses was extremely inadequate and disproportionately small as compared with the compensation awarded to the victims of mob violence as well as with the losses sustained by them. This Federation further regrets that the heavy fines levied upon certain cities have not been revised and reduced.

4. The Federation again strongly urges that effective safeguards should be provided against a recurrence of such things as happened in 1919 in the Panjab on the lines recommended at the Calcutta Session of the Federation.

Proposed by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (Madras).

Seconded by Mr. D. G. Dalvi (Bombay).

The Factory Act.

XVIII. THE FACTORY ACT.

The Federation is of opinion that, to improve the conditions of labour in this country, the Factory Act should be amended in the following respects:

(1) Work in all industrial undertakings should for the present be limited to ten hours a day in the case of men, eight in the case of women and five in the case of children between the ages of 12 and 14. (2) Children between fourteen and sixteen

years should be classed as young persons and their hours of work should not exceed six per day. (3) In the case of mines the maximum should be fixed at 54 hours a week. (4) Exceptions under Sections 21 and 22 of the Indian Factories Act of 1912 should be removed altogether. (5) A rule should be made prohibiting the employment of women for six weeks before and six weeks after child-birth and provision should be made for maternity benefit. (6) Women and children should, under no circumstances, be employed during night time. (7) Provision should be made for the appointment of special health officers, including women health officers, to supervise health conditions in factories. (8) The minimum age for admission to industrial employment should be fixed at twelve. (9) The definition of "Factory" should be so revised that all industrial undertakings employing 20 persons and above even without the use of mechanical power are brought under the Act.

Proposed by Mr. N. M. Joshi (Bombay).

Seconded by Mr. Mavji Govinji (Bombay).

XIX. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The Govern-
ment of India.

The Federation regrets that, instead of consideration being given to the need for reduction of the strength of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, there should have been an addition to the Council even after the devolution of powers to Ministers in the Provinces. The Federation protests against the recommendations of the Government of India Secretariat Procedure Committee in so far as they relate to the creation of consequent increase in the staff and to the creation of posts of Private Secretaries to the Members of the Executive Council.

Proposed by A. Rangaswami Aiyar (Madura).

Seconded by Prof. K. R. Kanitkar (Poona).

XX. THE EXECUTIVE COUNCILS.

The Executive
Councils.

(1) The Federation protests strongly against the fixing of the strength of the Executive Councils in Madras, Bombay and Bengal at 4 instead of at 2 as involving waste of public money, as thoroughly unjustifiable in view of the transfer of about one-half of public business to Ministers, and as tending to retard the transfer in the near future of more subjects to Ministers.

(2) The Federation notes with regret that the strength of the Executive Council in Bihar and Orissa should have been fixed at 3 instead of at 2 and that, with the strength of the Executive Council at 3, only one Indian should have been appointed against the express recommendation of the Joint Select Committee, both when they first reported on the Government of

India Bill and subsequently, when they discussed the matter at the instance of the Government of India in connection with the Rules.

—From the Chair

Depressed
Classes.

XXI. DEPRESSED AND BACKWARD CLASSES.

The Federation urges the Reformed Legislatures in the provinces to lose no time in framing a suitable programme for the educational advancement and social uplift of the backward and depressed classes in the country.

Proposed by Mr. V. R. Kothari (Poona).

Seconded by Mr. M. A. Altekar (Bombay).

Indian Reform
Committee.

XXII. THE INDIAN REFORM COMMITTEE OF LONDON.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India recognises the Indian Reform Committee of London as its British Committee, and resolves to contribute a sum of £600 per annum for its maintenance, in addition to one-half of the delegation fees realised by the Reception Committee of the Annual Session of the Federation.

(b) Of the said £600, the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras shall each contribute £150, the United Provinces £100, and the Central Provinces and Berar, £50.

(c) The amount shall be remitted to the Indian Reform Committee in the December of each year in advance for the next succeeding year.

—From the Chair

The Organisa-
tion of the
Federation.

XXIII. THE ORGANISATION OF THE FEDERATION.

Resolved that Resolution XIV of the Second Session of the Federation be amended as noted below :—

(a) In clause (4), substitute 'twenty-five' for 'fifteen,' and insert at the end of the first paragraph of the clause, 'and five members nominated by the President of the Annual Session.

(b) In clause (6), substitute 'Rs. 10' for 'Rs. 5'.

—From the Chair

General Secre-
taries.

XXIV. GENERAL SECRETARIES FOR 1921.

Resolved that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mr. G. A. Natesan be the General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India during the year 1921.

—From the Chair

Council for 1921.

XXV. COUNCIL FOR 1921.

That the Council of the National Liberal Federation for 1921 shall be constituted as follows :

President.

The Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, M. L. C.

Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. Sir Surendranath Banerjee, M. L. C.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.A.

Members.

BENGAL.

1. Sir Rajendra Nath Muckerjee, 7, Harrington Street, Calcutta.
2. Sir Binode Mitter, 2/1, London Street, Calcutta.
3. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, C.I.E. LL.D., 20, Suri Lane, Calcutta.
4. Rai Bikuntha Nath Sen Bahadur, C.I.E., Murshidabad.
5. Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, 174, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.
6. Mr. K. C. Neogi, M.L.A., 84/1, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
7. Mr. S. C. Basu, 8, Strand Road, Calcutta.
8. Mr. Kissori Mohun Chowdhuri, M.L.C., Rajshahi.
9. The Hon. Mr. P. C. Mitter, C. I. E. 34/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
10. Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitter, C.I.E., 6, College Square, Calcutta.
11. Mr. Fanindra Lal De, M.L.C., 99, Grey Street, Calcutta.
12. Mr. Mohendra Chandra Mitter, M.L.C., Hooghly.
13. R. C. Bonnerjee, Esq., 9, Queen's Park, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
14. Rev. B.A. Nag, 1-2, College Square, Calcutta.
15. Sir Nilratan Sircar, 7, Short Street, Calcutta.
16. Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, 65, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
17. Mr. Syed Erfan Ali, 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
18. Rev. K. N. Basu, 65/1-1, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
19. Mr. D. C. Ghose, M.L.C., 54, Kansaripara Road, Bhowanipur.
20. Mr. Devi Prasad Khaitan, 125, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
21. Mr. Gatindranath Basu, M.L.C., 14, Balaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
22. Mr. Tarit Bhusan Ray, M.L.C., 6, Abhoy, Ch. Mitter Street, Calcutta.

Council for 1921.

23. Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray, 43, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.
24. Mr. Mahboob Ali, 160, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

BOMBAY.

1. Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Jiji House, Ravelin Street, Bombay.
2. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Pedder Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay.
3. Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh, New Queen's Road, Bombay.
4. Sir Hormusji Wadia, Marine Lines, Bombay.
5. Mr. W. A. Chambers, Fort, Bombay.
6. Mr. N. M. Samarth, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay.
7. Mr. B. S. Kamat, M.L.A., Ganeshkhind Road, Poona.
8. The Hon. Prof. V. G. Kale, Fergusson College, Poona City.
9. Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Charni Road, Bombay.
10. Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay.
11. Mr. N. M. Joshi, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.
12. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Poona City.
13. Mr. M. B. Marathe, Poona City.
14. Mr. Gopal Krishna Devadhar, M.A., Senior Member, Servants of India Society, Girgaon, Bombay.
15. Mr. M. D. Altekar, M.A., Hajee Cassum's Blocks French Bridge, Bombay, No. 7.
16. Mr. G. M., Gupte, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, 102-A., Hill Road, Bandra, near Bombay.
17. Mr. H. J. Bhabha, M.A., Peddar Road, Malabar Hill Bombay.
18. Mr. Peter A. Baptist, Mathew Road, Chaupaty Bombay.
19. Mr. Kazi Kabiruddin, Bar.-at-Law, Chaupaty Sea face, Bombay.
20. Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Buildings, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
21. Mr. H. C. Coyajee, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, Hughes Road, Chaupaty, Bombay, No. 6.

MADRAS.

1. Mr. N. Subbarau Pantulu, Rajahmundry.
2. Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, M.L.C., Gooty.
3. Diwan Bahadur L.A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, M.L.C., Mylapore, Madras.

4. The Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Madras.
5. Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Row, M.L.C., Ellore.
6. The Hon. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Teynampet, Madras.
7. Mr. B. Venkatapati Razu, M.L.A., Vizagapatam.
8. The Hon. Rao Bahadur S. R. M. Annamalai Chettiar, Madras.
9. Mr. C. V. S. Narasimha Razu, M.L.C., Vizagapatam.
10. Mr. Narayandas Girdhardas, M.L.A., Madras.
11. Rao Bahadur A. P. Patro, M.L.C., Berhampore (Ganjam).
12. Rao Bahadur C. S. Subramanyam, M.L.A., Bellary.
13. Mir Asad Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur, M.L.A., Madras.
14. Mr. M. G. Mukundaraja Iyengar, M.L.A., Sivaganga, Ramnad.
15. Mr. M. Kolandavelu Mudaliar, Sunkurama Chetty Street G. T., Madras.
16. Mr. A. Srinivasa Pai, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mangalore.
17. Mr. A. S. Krishna Row, M.L.C., Nellore.
18. Mr. T. K. Sivarama Iyer, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil Kumbakonam.
19. Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar, B.A., Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Madras.
20. Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.

THE UNITED PROVINCES.

1. Rai Ananda Swarup Bahadur, M.L.C., Cawnpore.
2. Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana, M.L.C., Allahabad.
3. Mr. Durga Charan Banerji, Allahabad.
4. Rai Krishnaji, Benares City.
5. Mr. A. P. Sen, Banks Road, Lucknow.
6. Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava, Golaganj, Lucknow.
7. Rai Tara Datt Gairola Bahadur, Pauri, Garhwal.
8. Rai Gopaldas Sharma Saheb, M. L. C., Orai, Jalaun District.
9. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, George Town, Allahabad.
10. Lala Sheo Charan Lal, M.L.C., Allahabad.
11. Munshi Gulsari Lal, M.L.C., Allahabad.
12. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M.L.C., Cutcherry Road, Allahabad.

Council for 1921.

13. Rai Braj Narayan Gurtu, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
14. Major D. R. Ranjit Singh, M.L.C., Allahabad.
15. Mehta Krishna Ram, South Road, Allahabad.
16. Babu Gauri Sankar Prasad, Bulanala, Benares City.
17. Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, Fyzabad.
18. Dr. Manohar Lal, M.L.C., Aligarh City.
19. Pandit Kishen Pershad Kaul, Aminabad, Lucknow.
20. Pandit Venkatesh Narayan Tewary, Allahabad.
21. Mr. Shamnath Mushram, George Town, Allahabd.
22. Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan, M.L.C., Lucknow.
23. Babu Raj Chandra, Fatehpur (E.I.Ry.)
24. Mr. Girdharilal Agarwalla, M.L.A., Allahabad.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

1. Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, K.C.I.E., Nagpur.
2. Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, K.C.I.E., Nagpur.
3. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Yeotmal.
4. Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma, Amraoti.
5. Mr. N. A. Dravid, M.L.C., Nagpur.
6. Rao Saheb B. V. Dravid, Yeotmal.
7. Mr. S. N. Bhalchandra, Yeotmal.
8. Rao Saheb B. R. Landge, Yeotmal.
9. The Hon. Sir M. B. Dadabhoy, C.I.E., Nagpur.
10. Rai Saheb Mathura Prasad, Chhindwara.
11. Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle, Akola.
12. Mr. R. R. Jayasanb, Amraoti.
13. Mr. Jaywant.
14. Mr. Mangalmurti.
15. Mr. Brahmi.

THE PUNJAB.

1. Dr S. K. Dutta, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta.
2. Mr. Manohar Lal, M.L.C., Lahore.
3. Mr. Alfred Nundy, Dehra Dun.
4. Lala Rañan Chand, Gopalpore Tea Estate, Molan P.O., Kangra Valley.

NOMINATED BY THE PRESIDENT.

1. Sir Nilratan Sircar, Calcutta.
2. Mr. Narayana Vishnu Gokhale, Bombay.
3. Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipat Ram, Ahmedabad.
4. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Madras.
5. Mr. V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Madras.

General Secretaries.

Council for 1921.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., M.L.A., Madras.

Mr. G. A. Natesan, B.A., F.M.U., George Town, Madras.

—From the Chair

XXVI. NEXT SESSION OF THE FEDERATION.

Next Session.

Resolved that the Fourth Annual Session of the National Liberal Federation of India be held at Allahabad in the year 1921.

Moved by the Hon. Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana.

Seconded by Mr. Girdharilal Agarwalla.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR, C. Y. CHINTAMANI,

G. A. NATESAN,
Secretaries.

President.

THE
National Liberal Federation of India.

The Third Annual Session.

Madras, December 1920.

The National Liberal Federation of India opened its third Annual Session at 12 noon on Wednesday, the 29th December 1920, amid scenes of great enthusiasm under the presidency of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, of Allahabad, at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, which was *en fete* with floral decorations, flags and buntings. There was a large gathering of delegates from almost all parts of India, including Bombay, Bengal, Poona, United Provinces, Behar Orissa, and Hyderabad (Sind). Prominent among those seated on the dais were :—

Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary.
R. D. Mehta, Esq., C.I.E.
Rev. Mr. A. B. Nag,
Mrs. Annie Besant.
Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.
Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.
Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.
Hon'ble S. R. M. M. Annamalai Chettiar.
Dewan Bahadur Govindas Chathurbhujadas.
Rao Bahadur Mundle.
Mr. N. M. Joshi.
Hon'ble Mr. V. G. Kale.
Hon'ble Mr. Kamat.
Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.
Munshi Narayana Prasad Asthana.
Mr. and Mrs. Jinarajadasa.
Rao Bahadur C. S. Subrahmaniam,
Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakadas.
Dr. C. B. Rama Rao.
Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.
Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao.
Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.
Dr. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar.
Mr. and Mrs G. K. Gadgil.
Mrs. Ramabhai Paranjpye.
Dr. K. K. Joshi.
Prof. Kanitkar.

Dr. V. S. Trilokekar.
 Mr. M. D. Altekhar.
 Mr. and Mrs. Patwardhan.
 Rao Bahadur T. S. Balakrishna Iyer.
 Mr. Manjeri Rama Aiyar.
 Mr. C. Narayanadas Girdhardas.
 Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar.
 Mr. A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu.
 Mr. G. A. Natesan.
 Mr. R. G. Tilak.
 Mr. D. G. Dalvie.
 Mr. V. R. Kothari
 Mr. M. Kolandavelu Mudaliar.
 and many others

There was a large gathering of visitors and lady delegates.

The President-elect, accompanied by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, was on arrival, received at the entrance with band and music by the Members of the Reception Committee headed by Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, the Chairman, and conducted to the platform, where he was received by the audience amidst loud cheers.

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, Chairman, Reception Committee, then delivered the welcome address.

Welcome Address.

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar.

FELLOW DELEGATES AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have been entrusted with the high privilege of welcoming you to the Third Session of the Liberal Federation. I give you our most cordial welcome. It is exceedingly kind of you to have responded as you have done to the call made on you to come and take part in the deliberations of the Federation. We are alive to the inadequacy of the arrangements made to secure your comforts. We regret we could not have made them better and we beg that you will overlook such deficiencies as you may find.

Welcome
Address.

**Dewan Bahadur
Govindaraghava
Aiyar.**

THE NEW ERA.

We are met at an epoch-making time in the evolution of our country and one is bewildered at the number and variety of forces influencing the current of politics. The circumstances in which the National Liberal Federation was started are well known. It is not correct, as is sometimes put forward, that the Federation is an anti-Congress movement. Whether we have at present parties in the English sense of the word, each with a programme of its own as distinct from that of others based upon differences in the principles and the policies that it enunciates or advocates, is, at the present stage of our political growth, not one easy of answer. But the indications are abundant that the formation of parties will be found inevitable. The Reform Act has only served to bring out the differences in the outlook and course of conduct of those who have been interesting themselves in the amelioration of the conditions of our motherland. The standpoint from which the Reform Act had to be considered, the goal to which it pointed and the machinery that it served to create were all of course the subjects of anxious consideration and had their own share not only in evoking the differences that are now to be found among the politicians in India but also in confirming and giving point to them. The National Liberal Federation represents one aspect of the political thought. While we yield to none in our anxiety to see India occupy a

Welcome
Address.

Dewan Bahadur
Govindaragha-
ya Aiyar.

foremost place among the nations of the world and that as early as possible, we have our own views as to how this aim can be secured. We believe that the surest method of progress is by remembering that we have no clean slate and that the past should not be ignored, that what is needed in the present condition and circumstances of our country is not revolutionary change but safe and sure reconstruction and that, above all, no course of conduct should be advocated or pursued which will have the effect, directly or indirectly, and in the near or more distant future, of provoking or encouraging violence, whether intended or not or of even undermining the foundations of good citizenship. We are thoroughly aware of the defects of the Reform Act and none would have been more glad than ourselves if the Reform Act had contained a more substantial instalment of responsible Government but we maintain that it is an improvement and a substantial improvement-over the Morley-Minto Reforms and that, while it accepts responsible Government as the legitimate goal of Indian administration, it also has given us an instalment of responsible Government, not altogether inconsiderable in importance. I for one am humbly of opinion that the possibilities of progress that the Act unfolds, will, if availed of, go a long way in realising the objects even of those from whom we have the misfortune to differ and that in judging of any particular measure as bearing upon the development and welfare of the country, the principal consideration ought to be not how long it will take to realise our aims thereby but whether it is certain to realise them. Viewed from the standpoint thus stated, the fixing of a time-limit within which full Responsible Government shall be secured appears to me to be of subordinate importance and our efforts should rather be directed to strengthening and consolidating our position and the perfecting of our experience of Responsible Government in the actual working.

In the few words that I shall take the liberty of addressing to you, I have in mind not those, whether Indians or non-Indians, who think that India's place is one of subordination in the Empire and her function is only to supply the resources with which other countries may lead the world, but those whose aim is, if I may say so, the same as ours but who are impatient with us as we do not accept and are not prepared to advocate the methods of activity on which they have set their hearts. If we only remember how, notwithstanding the altogether inadequate character of the Morley-Minto Reforms and the still more unsatisfactory manner in which they were worked in actual practice, we were able by availing ourselves of the opportunities they afforded for ventilating our views to reach a stage when it was found by the British Government altogether impossible to withhold any longer from us the promise of full Responsible

Government and the immediate grant of an instalment of the same, it cannot be said that with the new Reform Act, we are altogether without resources to make ourselves felt so as to ultimately realise our wishes.

Welcome
Address.

Dewan Bahadur
Govindaragha-
ra Aiyar.

We have also to take note of the communal and sectional differences that unhappily exist amongst us at present and of the impediment that they constitute to the rapid or healthy growth of our nationhood. In the above circumstances, it is but natural that we should have differences both as to the outlook and to the courses of conduct to be pursued. We claim and we think rightly, that the proper course for us to pursue in dealing with a representative Government which is to partake more and more of the character of a responsible Government is to support it in all good measures and to oppose it fearlessly in all bad measures. This is the kind of political experience needed for the exercise of full Responsible Government.

WORK OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

I am free to confess that ours is the meeting of only one party in the body politic and that in that respect it differs from the India National Congress which ought and is supposed to give room for persons of all shades of opinion to take part in its deliberations, provided they accept what is called the Congress Creed. The criticism is often made, that we have no reason to form a separate organisation and that our place, if at all, is only in the Congress and that it is there that we should have our say and once having had the opportunity for it, we should accept the decision of the majority and act in accordance with it. My view of the correct position is different. The main question is, are there differences of a vital character between us and our critics. If, as even they must admit, there are differences as I have above indicated, we are bound to form a party of our own and consolidate our organisation so that the country may have the full benefit of it. We require a separate organisation to also increase our following. We shall then be able to influence effectively the deliberations of the Congress provided there is an identity of goal between us and the Congress. At present the need is greater than ever, as unhappily, from our point of view, the Congress is or appears to be dominated by a party whose counsels, if fully accepted and acted upon, can only mean disaster to the country. The formation of organisations for propagating the views of separate parties is not unknown in western countries and it is the western models that we seek to follow. The very idea of Responsible Government carries with it the idea of parties. The parties I have in view are, however, not those wherein the element of cohesiveness consists not in any positive idea or principle that forms the basis

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Address.

Dewan Bahadur
Gorindaragha-
ya Aiyar.

for action but only in the negative qualification of not belonging to a particular community, a principle of formation of parties which is altogether destructive of progress and of the possibility of nation building.

THE CREED.

It is no news to you that attempts are being strenuously made to change the creed of the Congress and that a sub-Committee of the All-India Congress Committee has already pronounced in favour of a change. We are also interested in the question as it vitally affects the national outlook and the goal that we should strive to attain. As you are aware the Congress creed, as at present accepted, postulates the maintenance of the British connection and aims at the raising of India by constitutional means to the status of a Self-Governing Dominion. The new creed that is proposed for adoption drops all mention of the British connection and aims at the attainment of Swaraj by all peaceful and legitimate means. The word 'constitutional' has been dropped, the reason assigned being that it is difficult to define it, that, at any rate, it gives room for differences of opinion. It does not appear how the word 'legitimate' is better from that point of view. But my quarrel is not with the words. It is rather with the ideas that are at the back of this proposed change. Mr. Gandhi has explicitly stated that he does not think highly of the British connection and that he would lay no special stress on the maintenance of it as a factor to be insisted on by the Indian National Congress. I, for one, am strongly of opinion that no blunder can be more fatal than the dropping of the British connection as a necessary postulate of Congress activities. We have been promised Responsible Government and the promise has been embodied in the preamble, a substantial, at any rate, a not inconsiderable instalment of Responsible Government has also been granted to us. We have not yet worked that instalment and are therefore unable to say from actual experience how potent it will be for the realisation and the acceleration of the goal that we have in view. In my humble view, the proposal for a change of creed fails to give due weight to the past history of the Congress. However much the general outlook, world conditions and the conditions of India in particular may have changed since 1907, this may be stated with certainty that the need for the maintenance of the British connection has undergone no change whatever. We, in no way, carry out Congress traditions but really break away from them when we advocate the severance of British connection—traditions created and fostered by men of deep wisdom and far-sighted statesmanship.

Ever since its inception, the aim of the promoters of the Congress has been the raising of the status of India as a unit

within the British Empire and not as a power disconnected from it. The ideal that has appealed to our predecessors and that even now is largely accepted is that of India as a self-contained unit in the Commonwealth of free nations constituting the British Empire. This ideal is noble and comprehensive enough to enable to the full the realisation of the possibilities that the Indian people possess to make them take a foremost place among the nations of the world. To the extent we maintain and pursue this ideal, we are certainly carrying out the traditions of the Congress and we are more truly loyal Congressmen than those who charge us with defection. The idea of Swaraj is undoubtedly plausible and attractive. But if absolute independence is a part of its connotation we must pause to examine what it is that is suggested to us. We have to realise that we want the resources, the experience, the training and the solidarity needed to enable us to carry on an independent existence. The example of the Self-Governing Dominions shows that the British connection is a source of strength and not of weakness. If the progress we are to make is to be orderly, peaceful, certain and effective, it can be secured only by remaining within the British Empire and not by getting away from it. Not that I am blind to the faults of the British administration but I think that, especially with the system of government that we are now to work and with successive elaborations of it, such faults are bound to become fewer and less mischievous and that the advantages of maintaining the British connection far outweigh those of giving it up. I find that this view is powerfully supported by Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar in his address as the President of the Congress at Nagpur.

Welcome
Address.

**Dewan Bahadur
Govindaragha-
va Aiyar.**

NON-CO-OPERATION.

I am bound to say a few words on the Non-co-operation movement. We are all familiar with the causes that have led to the starting of this movement. In condemning the Punjab tragedy, I am not behind those who think that Non-co-operation is the only effective means by which we can make the Government realise our sense of the enormity of the serious wrong done to us. I also feel that the way in which the Government has dealt with the offenders in the Public Service, Civil and the Military, is but a mockery of punishment and adds insult to injury and the meanest part of it is that the Indians in the lower grades of service like the Sub-Inspectors and the Inspectors of Police who, I believe, were only instruments in carrying out the orders of their superiors were dealt with more severely than those responsible for the orders themselves. While we have dissociated ourselves from and condemned in as emphatic a manner as it is possible for one to do, the conduct of those that offered violence to un-offending Europeans and women, the Government have not done their part by suitably punishing those

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ya Aiyar.

responsible for the Punjab tragedy. A deep and indelible wrong has been done to us and this is truly the darkest spot in the British administration of India.

I also realise how deeply our Mussalman fellow countrymen resent the treatment that was accorded to Turkey and how, when the Turkish Peace terms were settled, Mr. Lloyd George went back on the promises that he had deliberately and solemnly made. In this connection it is necessary to remember that the Government of India did all they could to dissuade the British Cabinet from adopting a policy opposed by our Mussalman brethren and that much of the Peace terms recognising the claims of the Khalifate, although altogether inadequate in themselves, were due to the persistency with which the Government of India urged the Indian Mussalman's views. Public opinion has been wholly with our brethren in this country. It is a grievous blunder that the British Cabinet made when it ignored the strength of public opinion here and the motives that have inspired the blunder are in no way creditable to British statesmanship and British justice.

While, therefore, I am perfectly alive to the great wrongs that have been done, I am unable to bring myself to believe that Non-co-operation is the best means of expressing our indignation and of securing the redress of the wrongs inflicted. It is enough for our present purpose to examine the programme as set on foot by Mr. Gandhi. It has to be remembered that the Non-co-operation movement is enjoined to be non-violent and it is to be practised by practically the whole of the Indian population composed of all sorts and conditions of men. As you are aware the original programme was more ambitious than the one now sought to be adopted. The giving up of titles is a comparatively harmless affair and neither Mr. Gandhi and his followers nor those who are opposed to him attach any great importance to it. It is curious however to find that even here the practice of Non-co-operation has not been as wide-spread as it might well have been. The boycott of Councils has been perhaps somewhat more effective than was originally expected, but I cannot congratulate the promoters of the movement on the result thus achieved; for what is it? A number of capable men who would have been in a position to influence the deliberations of the Council for the good of the country have been kept away and the country is the poorer for not having their services. This no doubt is what Mr. Gandhi and his followers wished for. Indeed they would have been gladder if no capable person at all was returned to the Council. But, is it in the best interests of the country? Mr. Gandhi has stated that if we all practise Non-co-operation as suggested by him we should have Swaraj in a year. Making due allowance for the inexactitude that generally charac-

terises catch-phrases, is it to the well-being of the country that we should have Swaraj of the kind intended by him and on the conditions laid down by him? Have we healed up our differences so that we shall be enabled to stand up successfully against those that may attack us? Has our experience in Self-Government become so perfected that we shall be able to practise it in all its branches if to-morrow we were given a full and free hand? Have we institutions ready and accessible in our midst to take the place and fulfil the functions of those that we are asked to give up? Above all, is it possible for Non-co-operation to be practised on the very large scale on which it has necessarily to be practised if it is at all to lead to anything like tangible results without provoking and encouraging violence, on the first appearance of which Mr. Gandhi has told us he would take to the woods.

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As for the withdrawal of lawyers from practice, except in a few cases, the counsel has fallen on altogether deaf ears. No wonder that it has been so, for lawyers as a class are, if anything, men of the world and know what is best not only in their own interests but in the interests of those they seek to serve.

The most melancholy feature of this stage of Non-co-operation is that the movement has been caught with enthusiasm by the students. It is a matter for the greatest regret that our students should have been exploited to their incalculable harm. Some of their best instincts have been appealed to and taken advantage of and they have been made to undergo sacrifices from which older and more responsible men have shrunk. If the students' withdrawal from our educational institutions is made to depend upon the nature of the instruction given in them and upon the extent to which they lack safe-guards for the healthy-development of the student's life and the fitting him up for his duties as a citizen, the position is intelligible, but no more fatuous course can be recommended than of making the withdrawal depend upon the fact of their receipt of aid from Government funds, which are after all the people's money, and upon the control, in many cases altogether inconsiderable, that the Government may exercise over their management. Mr. Gandhi and his prominent followers have been educated on western lines and if the education that has been given them has helped them to be what they are, it surely cannot be that that education, whatever may be the improvement of which it is capable, is so bad in itself and Government aid and Government control have so demoralised our educational institutions that they should be shunned and that the pupils and students of such institutions should go without education altogether rather than be educated in them. It is not that National Schools and

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Colleges are in existence to receive those leaving Government aided institutions or that the giving up of Government aided institutions is to be postponed until such Schools and Colleges are brought into existence. It is said that the interests of the country require this sacrifice on the part of our students. It is a truism that the students of to-day are the citizens of tomorrow and what can be more radically wrong than that such citizens should be unlettered and uncultured without even the rudiments of the knowledge required for the practice of healthy citizenship. With the best of good will and the most active efforts for starting National Schools and Colleges, there will not be in the near or remote future anything like the number of institutions needed to supply the existing wants and by the time they come into existence, the need for such institutions will have increased manifold. If one only takes the trouble to realise what this policy means that is so eloquently preached to the most impressionable part of our fellow-beings, it will be difficult to believe that any body of responsible men could have brought themselves to think it is a sound policy. Even the Egyptian University at Cairo than which there is no stauncher stronghold of Muhammadan orthodoxy has closed its doors to the preaching of politics. Fortunately there is a silver lining to the cloud. The efforts of our Non-co-operation friends have not met with any large success and such success as attended their efforts is already becoming a thing of the past. This aspect of Non-co-operation could not have been better discussed and its mischievous effects could not have been better exposed than by Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar in his recent Presidential address. He has also shown how the withdrawal from courts is not practicable and even if practicable, is not desirable. It will thus be seen that even those of whom it cannot be suggested that they have any prejudice against Non-co-operation and who may be taken even to accept the principle in the abstract, find themselves compelled to condemn even the comparatively mild programme of Non-co-operation sought to be put in practice by Mr. Gandhi. We have no doubt to grow and make ourselves strong as a nation and should so develop and order our resources as to make India self-reliant economically and industrially. Even for the above purposes and to quicken the rate of progress wisdom lies not in refusing to work but in working the Reform Act, and in thus accelerating the attainment of full responsible government. It is impossible to resist the conviction that nothing but a fixed idea that finds nothing good in the Reform Act that is responsible for the total ignoring of it in this connection. It is significant that the British Labour Party on whose sympathy and aid great store is rightly set and which has in its ranks some of our best friends, has definitely pronounced against this policy of Non-co-operation and has counselled its rejection.

INDIANS IN THE COLONIES.

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ya Aiyar.

I shall permit myself to refer only to one other question before I close and that is the treatment of our countrymen in the Colonies. You are all familiar with the long continued ill-treatment of Indians in the Colonies and the refusal on the part of the Colonial Governments to recognise their just claims as equal subjects of the British Empire. The outrageous treatment that is accorded to our fellow countrymen and the inane plausibilities by which it is sought to justify it, are such as will rouse the indignation of the most apathetic amongst us. The latest development is the saddest and the least excusable character in the history of this question. It was Indians that made East Africa what it is and now that its possibilities have been unfolded and Indians have expended an infinity of pains to bring it to its present condition, we have the White settlers claiming what is best in it for themselves and we have the Secretary of State for Colonies practically admitting their claims. What is most astonishing is that Lord Milner should have thought that a different policy would have meant discrimination against Europeans. Nothing but the desperate exigencies of party advocacy could have driven one to so strange an argument. It is as sound to argue that all Indians should give up their properties in and clear out of, the hill-stations in India for the European can thrive and multiply there better than on the plains.

Perhaps it is late enough already but it is desirable to remind those that are responsible for this policy of exclusion of Indians that if ever India become lost to Britain and the British Empire, it will be not so much on account of questions of internal administration, important and intricate as they are and may become, but on this question of the treatment of Indians in the Colonies. (Hear Hear) One may camouflage it as one pleases and call it an economic question but at the root it is one of race and unless British and for the matter of that Colonial statesmanship rises superior to race pride and race selfishness, the consequences to the Empire will be calamitous indeed. We must here gratefully acknowledge that the Government of India have powerfully vindicated in their recent despatch of the 21st October the Indian claims in East Africa and Uganda.

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT.

We have invited to preside over and guide our deliberations the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani who, as you know is, a publicist of the first rank in India (Applause; Hear, Hear). To us of the Madras Presidency it is a matter of gratification that he has been able to accept our invitation. He belongs to our Presidency, though he has made the United Provinces the land of his adoption. His distinguished services there have found ready and

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grateful recognition. Rumour has it that he is to be selected as a Minister. Let us give him our congratulations in anticipation. (Applause) His selection is one of special satisfaction to us, for we know that it is due not to the accident of birth nor to his capacity, if he has any such, to emphasise and promote communal differences, but to solid work (Hear Hear and Applause) steadily done for the people to whose services he has dedicated himself. I now request you to formally elect him as the President of this session of the National Liberal Federation and proceed with the work of the session. (Applause).

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

Election of Pre-
sident.

Sir Sivaswami
Aiyar.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar in proposing that the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani do take the chair, said:—

Fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Chintamani is so well-known to you all both as a politician and as a journalist that it is unnecessary for me to say much in moving the resolution with which I have been entrusted. I beg to propose that the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani be elected to preside over the deliberations of this conference. He began his career as a politician and as a journalist at the same time, in the year 1898, and to-day at the age of 40 he is a publicist of the first rank and one of the foremost Indian journalists. He is a self-made man and though he does not bear the hall-mark of any University, he has won his way up by his sheer ability and force of character. He has realised the dignity of his calling as a journalist and has, by the admirable conduct of his paper, raised the status and tone of journalism in this country. Clear-headed and sober in his views, he has the courage of his convictions. He is a man who hits hard but fights with clean weapons. He is not an opportunist who sits on the fence, but pursues the straight path of duty and of conviction regardless of frowns or favours. He has neither truckled to the bureaucracy nor pandered to the ignorance and prejudices of the mob. He does not set the sails of his paper to catch the passing breeze of popular applause. As a politician, he has been trained in the school of those wise men who founded the Congress and guided its destinies for over a generation. He has been inspired by the wisdom of those founders and by the robust optimism which animated them. Of him it may be said that he is more true to the past traditions of the Congress than those who claim to have the monopoly of representing it at the present time. His influence has always been cast on the side of moderation. Of his services to the public I need only refer to one or two instances. Every one of you must be aware of the dauntless courage with which he espoused the cause of the sufferers of the Punjab tragedy last year. There is no journal in the whole of India which has advocated the cause of those who suffered during the Punjab tragedies more than the "Leader"

which was conducted by Mr. Chintamani. Of the services he rendered to this country during his visit to England and his appearance before the Joint Committee as a witness, I have heard the highest accounts from those who are entitled to speak with authority. Of the part that he has taken, and so courageously taken, in endeavouring to stem the tide of Non-Cooperation which threatens to flood this country with disaster, I need hardly tell you. You are aware that no one has taken a greater part than he and we must all admit the courage with which he has endeavoured to oppose this dangerous movement of Non-Cooperation. It is a matter of gratification to us that signal services such as his should have been appreciated everywhere and should have received a fitting mark of recognition from the Government of the Province in which he has lived and laboured. We have just heard that he has been chosen as a minister in the U. P. and is in charge of the important subjects of development and education. I have no doubt that in his hands you will find one who is a zealous guardian of our rights and interests, and I trust that you will all ratify the choice of the committee and accept his election as President with applause. (Loud cheers).

Election of President.

Sir Siraswami Aiyar.

Dr. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari (Bengal):—in seconding the proposition said:—Ladies and gentlemen, it is a pleasant duty that I have of seconding the proposal of Sir P. S. Sivasawmi Ayyar, namely, that our distinguished friend Mr. Chintamani should take the chair on this occasion. We come together on a very significant day, and added to the pleasure that I feel in seconding the proposal, I desire for one brief moment to draw your attention to the significance of the hour at which we are about to enter upon our deliberations. Within a few hours, if not already, the Indian National Congress will have got definitely and completely away from its old moorings and the reason of this conference not only coming into existence but getting solidified more than ever will have been amplified and demonstrated to the fullest possible satisfaction. Within a few hours again, the crowning event of the constitutional agitation which has been going on for the last 35 years is about to be attained. Lord Sinha of Raipur will, on this 29th day of December (Loud applause)—even making allowance for Madras time—be taking his place as the first Indian Governor of an Indian province since the British advent in this country. And this morning we have the Gazette announcement that our old, trusted and best friend Babu Surendranath Bannerjee is chosen as minister of Bengal. (Loud applause). Gentlemen, I call your attention to these significant hopes and symbols and this significant hour of the day; because this day of all days calls upon us more than ever to keep together, to stand shoulder to shoulder and do the great work which the Congress had so long been doing and which it is going to give up by adopting a frank

Dr. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari.

Election of President.

Dr. Sir
Devaprasad
Sarvadhikari.

revolutionary propaganda; and what better leader could we have at such a time than the leader who has led us so well and so long and so successfully? Sir Sivaswami Ayyar has kept one point in the back-ground. I claim for Madras, in comparison to degenerate Bengal,—I shall not speak of other provinces—that the southern Brahmins are not yet extinct, that though the Golconda mines had been exploited, the neighbouring province of Madras is manufacturing its diamonds afresh. To-day the eyes of Indians and of the world are centred upon two prominent Madrasees, Mr. C. Vijiaraghava Chariar of Salem—all honour to him, the sage stalwart whom I remember and he has not altered since I knew him. He has endeavoured to do the best he can to save the Congress, and his failure shows why we are met here having an organization, not only a party organization but an organization self-contained and capable of doing good constructive work. At such a gathering we are called to welcome Mr. Chintamani as our president. This diamond was consecrated by the holy waters of the Godavari and the Cauvery before the diamond was sent to Allahabad for cutting, and blessed with the other three holy waters of the Ganges, the Jumna and the Saraswati this Jem comes more brilliant now to you. I ask you, gentlemen, to adopt the resolution so well proposed by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar and elect Mr. Chintamani to the chair. (Loud applause).

The Hon.
Rao Bahadur
Annamalai
Chettiar.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur S. R. M. Annamalai Chettiar (Madras) in supporting the proposition said:—By long experience of public life and by arduous work as journalist, Mr. Chintamani is eminently fitted to guide the deliberations of this conference. In Mr. Chintamani we have one of the brightest men of Madras, and I may say of India as well. With these words, I support the proposition. (cheers).

Mrs. Annie
Besant.

Mrs. Annie Besant who, on rising was received with a loud ovation, said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I am very happy to support this proposition. I have known Mr. Chintamani for a long time, and ever since I have read his paper with instruction. I claim him particularly as a fellow-editor which I regard as a great distinction in these days. As the democratic spirit rises, the conduct of the press becomes more and more important. A journalist must be brave, but he must also be just. He must be truthful but more so he must not be unduly severe. I know that in the early days Mr. Chintamani had many a struggle in order to carry his infant newspaper through those storms which surround every new attempt at journalism and now to-day the paper is a power in the land and its editor is known all over the length and breadth of India. I believe now that he has been sent to higher work he will prove as useful to India in the Council as he has shown himself to be useful as an editor in the press. (Applause).

Rao Bahadur Mundle (C. P.) :—Ladies and gentlemen, I am very glad to support the proposition.

Rao Bahadur Mundle.

Mr. Narayana Prasad Asthana (Allahabad) :—Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me a special pleasure to support the proposition as I come from the adopted province of Mr. Chintamani. As his fellow citizen, as his fellow worker for a long time in the political cause and as a fellow provincial man, I take special pleasure in supporting this resolution. Is it not strange that your province which is known to be the benighted province should have in plenty the torch of light and learning in the province which has been known to be the seat of learning namely Benares and in the city of Muhammadan culture, Agra and Lucknow? Your province has discharged a debt which was long due to that province. As a man who claims Mr. Chintamani as belonging to the United Provinces, I have a special pleasure that the guidance of this session has been given to a man from my province. (Cheers).

Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana.

Mr. A. C. Parthasarathi Nayudu (Madras) :—I volunteer myself to speak on the subject because there happens to be on the presidential chair one whom I had known and one who had with me laboured in the press at a time when there was no encouragement. It was at the Lahore congress, if I remember aright, I said "whoever thought that the school-master Babu Surendranath Bannerjee in the third Congress at Madras would have become the President of that Congress." Time passed away and that was true. Whoever thought that my friend Mr. Chintamani labouring at Vizagapatam with a scrap of demy paper called "The Vizag Spectator" and who laboured along with me, would have come to prominence in a place where the sangam is? I had known the late lamented Mr. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar recognised his talents, capacity and energy and sent him. It is a great privilege that we have the editor of a newspaper to-day as our president. He happens to be moreover an Andhra gentleman and so we are specially grateful. (Cheers). This conference has selected one who is head and shoulder over others to discriminate matters for the smooth-sailing and successful achievement of our objects. (Cheers).

Mr. A. C. Parthasarathi Nayudu.

Mr. B. S. Kamath (Bombay) :—Ladies and gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in supporting the proposition so ably moved and seconded. I cannot help thinking as one of the representatives of Bombay that Bombay wanted to give a president to this congress and our choice had fallen on Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. Though we had to make a sudden change at very short notice, I believe the change is a most welcome change and a very good change. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad had unavoidable difficulties and I do not know whether Mr. Chintamani had also

Mr. B. S. Kamath.

Election of President.

Mr. B.S. Kamath.

unavoidable difficulties, but he has conferred a great obligation upon the conference by conquering his unavoidable difficulties and coming over to preside here. His great services to the country have been already referred to by the previous speakers. Let me only add from my personal knowledge and from what I saw of him in England that even English editors with whom he came into contact while in London, so admired his capacity that I may confidently tell you that, if he had been born in England or America, he would probably have made a great mark as one of the best editors in those western lands. His services in the Legislative Council had also been referred to. The sound knowledge that he brings to bear on matters of administrative detail is so well known—in fact I regard his knowledge of men and matters relating to India is so vast that sometimes friends call him a living cyclopædia ; and if we take away the volume of "Who is who" and if my friend Mr. Chintamani is there, he can supply the volume so far as the men in India are concerned. Speaking of the services to the country, I must refer to his visit as a member of the Moderate Deputation to England last year. Here again, permit me, gentlemen, to refer to one or two things which impressed me and it is this: I believe so far as the Reform Act is concerned there is hardly an important feature in that Act to which Mr. Chintamani has not contributed by sound knowledge and by acumen a great deal which is for the good of the country. Then, while in England, I believe the very sound advice which he gave to the Secretary of State so far as the Panjab tragedy was concerned was largely responsible for the Hunter Committee and for the unearthing of the atrocities connected with the incident. I need not dwell in detail on his other services. I believe in choosing him we have done the greatest good to the country, especially at a time when the Moderates have to make their way. If there is one qualification more than anything else that is needed, it is this: he is the most steadfast moderate and of the sterling character. I believe you have made an eminent choice and a very good choice and I have very great pleasure in supporting the proposition. (Loud applause).

The resolution was then unanimously carried and the president—elect was inducted into the presidential chair amidst loud applause.

Telegrams and Letters.

Mr. G. A. Natesan.

Mr. G. A. Natesan :—then read telegrams and letters wishing success to the conference, received from the following gentlemen.

Messrs. Surendranath Bannerjea, Sir Binode Mitter, Sir R. N. Mukherjee, Provosh Chandra Mitter, Kishori Mohan Chaudhri, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, Prof, Paranjpye, Dhanvant.

Bhupatrai Desai, Prof. Datta, Durgacharan Bannerjea, the Editor *Hindi Punch*, Baikuntanath Sen, Rai Bahadur Ananda Swarup, C. V. Narasimharaju, P. Kesava Pillai, Sind Provincial Congress Committee, N. Subba Rao Pantulu, Rao Bahadur A. P. Patro, P. Siva Rao and others.

Telegrams and Letters.

Mr.G.A.Natesan

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the president, who on rising, was received with a very loud ovation, then delivered the following address :

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

FELLOW-LIBERALS,—I hoped to come to this session of our all-India organization not in the capacity of president but as an humble member of the rank and file. Last year and the year before we had for presidents two honoured leaders, admired for their ability and respected for their character, who have laid the country under deep obligation by their life-long services. It was my hope, and your hope, that our distinguished countryman Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, who relinquished the office of a High Court judge in order to resume his active participation in political life but who has since been appointed a member of the Bombay Executive Council, would fill the chair that had been adorned by Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and Sir Sivaswami Aiyar. But this was not to be. My sense of the fitness of things would have led me unhesitatingly to decline the kind invitation that took me by surprise a fortnight ago if I had not deemed it unwise to embarrass the Reception Committee by putting them to the necessity of a fresh election so late in the day. The difficult and honourable office of president of the National Liberal Federation of India is only deserved by one of our veteran leaders, and I am not guilty of affectation when I say that my gratitude is the deeper that even under the stress of necessity you should have thought of me in that connection. Apart from my sense of your generous kindness, you will not blame me if I feel a particular gratification in the thought that I have been summoned to this position in the presidency to which I belong although my adopted home is in another province.

Presidential Address.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

LIBERALS AND THE CONGRESS.

Fellow-Liberals, the events of the year and the complexity of the political situation, combined with the shortness of time at my disposal, have increased the difficulty of my task and I have need of your indulgence in full measure. It is not necessary

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Chintamani.

to re-state the circumstances that led to the organization of our party. Whatever disposition there might have been in 1918 among ourselves or those from whom it was our painful duty to separate, to doubt whether it was a wise step we took, I venture to think that there can be none at this stage. During this interval, the Indian National Congress has marched rapidly from policy to policy, under leaders some of whom are entitled to respect but not all of whom were familiar faces even in the recent past. It may have acted rightly, or it may not have. Of one thing I am certain. We who left it with sorrow because of the conviction that its old policy was still the wise policy and that the enduring interests of the country demanded an organization that would pursue it vigorously without divided counsels upon fundamental points, cannot in reason be accused of disloyalty to the principles of the Congress. (Hear, Hear.) I go farther and say that we are the true Congressmen and not those who, while nominally in the Congress, have lost faith in its very creed and committed themselves to, or are in search of, policies and methods incompatible with the vital Article of the Constitution to which they have pledged themselves to adhere. Indeed, it would be in the fitness of things if they gave themselves another label and left to us the cherished name of the Indian National Congress. (Hear, Hear)

EVENTS OF THE YEAR.

Gentlemen, I have referred to the changed policy of the Congress. You and I disapprove of it because in our judgment it is not only not calculated to achieve its avowed object but is injurious to the best interests of our country. It is true we decline to endorse hysterical descriptions of the British Government. We are certain that it is not beyond redemption as the ardent missionaries of the new cult must attempt to make out in order to make converts of unthinking men and callow youths. But we are as sensible as they are of the wrongs that have been perpetrated and the grievous failure to do justice, and I am sure I interpret your mind correctly when I say that our opposition to Non-Co-operation is not due to misplaced tenderness for the authors of the wrongs. The Government cannot escape the responsibility for the present political muddle. If it had acted with wisdom and righteousness, the reforms would have had a fairer reception and England's credit in India would have stood much higher. I need not detain you over the Rowlatt Act, except to ask the Government of India to admit with candour that the last twenty months have proved that they were wrong in passing it, and to act with courage and remove it from the statute book. Such legislation was bound to provoke a strong reply, and it did. But I am bound to say that the agitation overstepped the limits imposed by considerations of the public safety,

and there followed those disastrous occurrences which furnished an excuse for the Punjab horrors. For these the Government of the province was not alone to blame. The Government of India were answerable in equal measure. They upheld the former and were impervious to counsels of moderation and restraint. They forgot that 'he who allows oppression shares the crime.' At about the same time was published their dispatch on the reforms (of March 5, 1919) which betrayed a regrettable tendency to whittle them down. The Government of India Bill as introduced in the House of Commons did not give satisfaction either. Fortunately it was passed later in a more acceptable form. Also, the appointment of the Hunter Committee with three capable Indian representatives created some hope of relief in the matter of the Punjab. But the confessions of the wrong-doers before the Committee, in which a note of challenge was struck, naturally made a most painful impression on the public mind. Fortunately, the release of a large number of persons unjustly incarcerated after the mockery of a judicial trial brightened the outlook a little.

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Address.

Mr. C. Y.
Chintamani.

This was the situation when we met in Calcutta a year ago. What has happened since? I am sorry to have to say it, but it is the fact that we have met with a series of disappointments. A financial policy was followed, particularly in the matter of the sale of Reverse Councils, which was the reverse of beneficial to India. It was not only Indians possessing a knowledge of the subject, but the *Times of India* that described the action of Government as organized 'plunder.' Indian criticism made no impression upon the Government of India. Military expenditure has been run up with a reckless disregard of Indian interests. The increases of emoluments of the so-called imperial services, whose personnel is European in the main and who were always in receipt of handsome salaries, allowances and pensions, have further added to the enormous cost of administration and also given occasion for a repetition of the old question, whether the services are for the country or the country is for the services. (Hear, Hear).

The Punjab.

The majority of the Hunter Committee, *i.e.*, the European members, made a disappointing report, and, while the dispatch of the Secretary of State enunciated sound principles for future guidance, action was not taken to vindicate justice and the honour of the Indian nation. The Government of Lord Chelmsford, who failed in their duty in the months of our agony, continues to enjoy the unabated confidence of his Majesty's Government; Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who to our amazement was sent back to India as chairman of the Army in India Committee, instead of being at least censured was bespattered with unbe-

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Address.

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Chintamani.

coming praise ; (cries of shame) nearly all the other wrong-doers still occupy positions of authority in the hapless province ; even Dyer is allowed the enjoyment of a comfortable pension at the expense of the very people whose salt he has eaten only to show how cheap he held their lives. Germany in Belgium has been faithfully copied by Britain in the Punjab (Hear, Hear) and heavy indemnities have been levied from whole cities and districts because some of their inhabitants committed crimes. The relative amounts of the compensation awarded to the English victims of frenzied mobs, and to the far more numerous Indian victims of official lawlessness are a melancholy study in contrasts and a fit subject for the satirist. Because the Secretary of State screwed up his courage to the sticking point and disapproved of Prussianism in India he became the object of envenomed attack in Parliament ; the House of Lords upheld Dyer ; and a hundred or more honourable M. P.'s memorialized the Premier to remove Mr. Montagu from office. This series of transactions was fittingly concluded by the avoidance of discussion in Council by the exercise of an arbitrary right, which, I regret to say, will continue to reside in heads of Governments in the reformed constitution.

Some of the clauses of the treaty of 'peace' with Turkey gave just offence to our Moslem fellow-countrymen, who rightly complain that the pledge given by the Prime Minister in 1918 was not kept.

The recommendations of the Esher Committee on the Army in India followed by those of the Lovett Committee on the Medical Services, had not precisely the effect of a healing balm, for both were unquestionably anti-Indian in their nature, whatever the intentions of their authors might have been, and their effect was to exacerbate a situation none too easy without these irritants. The question has been put, rightly in my opinion, What is the practical value of the Declaration of the 20th August, 1917, if the constitution of the Army in India is to be what the Esher Committee have recommended ? It is asked, again I say rightly, How are Indians to dismiss from their minds suspicion of the motives of some at any rate of Englishmen in high places if such recommendations could seriously be put forward by a body of responsible officers of the Government as those of the Committee presided over by Sir Verney Lovett ?

Reforms Rules.

If we consider for a moment some of the Rules made under the Government of India Act, is it easier to think favourably of those who wield authority in and over this country ? I am mindful of the certificate given to Simla by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, but this circumstance does not make me distrust-

ful of my own opinion to the contrary when I remember who some of its members are and what are their political complexion and antecedents.—Did not the noble chairman of the Committee vote for Lord Finlay's motion in the House of Lords for Dyer and against Mr. Montagu?—I will only say this on these rules, that apparently, no important suggestion made by any non-official body was deemed worthy of acceptance by Government here or the Joint Committee in England. The rule that the finance member of Government must be a member of the Executive Council makes finance practically a reserved subject and is not very complimentary to ministers. The principle of the corporate responsibility of ministers, the importance of which was emphasized in the Joint Committee's report of last year, is departed from in some of the rules and yet they have been sanctioned by that very Committee. Heavy, unequal, and in at least two cases excessive, toll is levied upon the provinces by the central Government, which, instead of husbanding its resources is dominated by a 'spirit of expenditure' and is spending far too much on unproductive objects. In Bihar the existing constitution of the Executive Council is retained, *i.e.*, there are two European official members and only one Indian non-official member, which is a flagrant departure from the recommendation of the Joint Committee. In this presidency and in Bengal, the strength of the Executive Council has been raised from three to four, although ministers have taken or are about to take over about half the subjects, for no more serious reason than that the I. C. S. members who are in possession may not have to be disturbed. The strength of the Government of India has not been reduced although a number of subjects has been transferred to ministers responsible to provincial legislatures. Nor, finally, can one pretend to be satisfied with all the selections that have been made of members of councils and ministers.

No one hears of the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force, whose discouraging story was told by Sir Sivaswami Aiyar some little time ago. I am not aware that any action has been taken as yet to constitute a territorial force. King's Commissions granted to Indians are still few and far between. One hears not a word about the provision of facilities in India for the training of Indian officers. A recent notification of the Government of India has the effect of exempting practically every European in India from the operation of the Arms Rules, while they are eminently unsatisfactory from the standpoint of the Indian. The tale that comes from our countrymen in South Africa, in Kenia and Tanganyika, and in Fiji is distressing and humiliating and his Majesty's Government have failed to safeguard the legitimate interests and protect the honour of the King's 'equal subjects' of Indian nationality. The continued employment of Indian troops in Mesopotamia and other countries

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of Mid-Asia for imperial purposes, and the permission accorded for the export of 400,000 tons of wheat when the season was unfavourable and prices were prohibitive have also to be noted. I have reason to think that the Government of India are proceeding to constitute 'imperial' chemical and industrial services to be manned principally—this will be in practice whatever may be avowed to the contrary—by Europeans. Not all the provincial Governments have supported this measure, and it is the more difficult to defend as the development of industries is a transferred subject in every province.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

This summary of the principal political events of the year is illustrative and not exhaustive. There are other and similar acts and omissions which could be pointed to as evidence of a spirit in the Government which is far from being conducive to the creation of opinion in its favour, to the strengthening of the belief which all advocates of ordered progress and constitutional action are naturally desirous of fostering, that there is a genuine and earnest desire on the part of the Government to act in the spirit of the reforms and the Royal Proclamation that heralded them, to accelerate our political progress and economic development. Certainly I do not imply that nothing has been done by the Government worthy of our commendation. Even one such outstanding event as the appointment of Lord Sinha to the exalted office of Governor stands to the credit of British statesmanship and is calculated to keep bright our hope for the future of India as a free nation in the British Commonwealth. Yet it stands to reason that in the face of a succession of disappointments anger is apt to overcome reason in the not highly instructed popular mind, and any political method that looks heroic and promises quick results naturally finds ready acceptance, particularly when preached by a political Sanyasi widely revered for the rare moral grandeur of his character and among a people to whom anything even seemingly spiritual makes an irresistible appeal.

In promulgating their resolution on Non-Co-operation the Government of India evidently looked at its cause and cure from a different view-point. There was no perception that their own mistakes and those of their masters chiefly accounted for the amount of public support that the movement had succeeded in obtaining, or that the remedy lay in their own hands. No exception can be taken to their appeal to the sober elements of society to make a bold stand against the disruptive propaganda, and I am grateful for the wisdom that resisted the temptation to embark on a fresh campaign of repression. Coercive action by the state would only have added to the number of heroes and martyrs and the movement stood to

gain everything from an excess of zeal on the part of the guardians of law and order. If it has been a failure, as fortunately it has been, the result is due to its own inherent unsoundness and to the common sense of the people of India. But the good sense of the Government has also contributed to the result and it is to be hoped that the lesson of the different policies of last year and this will not be lost upon Simla and Delhi. There are two points which should be emphasized in this connection. One is that the Government of India should not imagine that all trouble is over with the failure of the Non-Co-operation movement. They ought to realize that there is acute discontent in the land and that immediate remedial measures are imperatively needed. They owe it to themselves to regain the lost confidence of the people. Without the support of opinion their position will become increasingly untenable, but they cannot hope to have it on their side notwithstanding the introduction of the reforms, until their acts speak for them and convince the people that, though partly alien in personnel, the interests and the honour of India are safe in the keeping of the Government of India as in that of a national government. The narrative of events that I have placed before you is proof positive that at present it is impossible for Indians to cherish such a feeling for the British Government. (Hear, Hear.) On behalf of the party whose watchword, in the language of Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, is loyal patriotism, none of whom seeks a destiny for the Motherland outside the British Empire, I would send forth from this platform of the National Liberal Federation an earnest appeal to the Government of India to change their policy, not to do anything that may justify the suspicion that they are less regardful of Indian interests, Indian life and Indian honour than of British, (Hear, Hear) to be vigilant in the removal of wrongs, to substitute Justice for Prestige as their rule of conduct, to initiate and carry forward measures to secure economic development, social efficiency and political equality. Without positive action along these lines, no appeals to the people and no costly publicity bureaux will avail them. Once they regain their credit, they can defy fomentors of trouble to do their worst.

Fellow-Liberals, the Government resolution on Non-Co-operation was, as you are aware, utilized in certain quarters to teach us our duty at this juncture. It was said that we were lethargic, it was assumed that it was in our power to stop the movement if we but exerted ourselves, we wanted courage to face unpopularity, we timidly followed the Extremist at a distance, our weakness would be responsible for repression by Government to end a pernicious campaign if it could be suppressed by no other means. I have pleaded 'not guilty' to these and other accusations as often as they were uttered, and I do so again in your name and on your behalf. Our critics forget that extremism is the direct

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product of the policy of the Government and our unpopularity is in reality the expression of the public distrust of its motives and measures. When English friends refer to our party's lack of influence I invariably tell them that it is a tribute to the character of their administration and the reputation they enjoy, rightly or wrongly, after a hundred and fifty years of rule. Is it not remarkable that every Indian who is suspected of a kindly feeling for Englishmen and their Government should lose caste with his own people? I would ask them to reflect upon the meaning of this phenomenon. We have a straight policy. We are neither apologists nor enemies of the British Government. Our supreme concern is the well-being and advancement of our Motherland and we approach every problem from this single point of view. And we speak our mind freely in disregard of consequences to ourselves—it is immaterial whether we offend extremists on the one side or the other—but with a deep solicitude for the public interests. And all who judge our acts and utterances by any other standard must necessarily be disappointed time and again.

I have stated that our opposition to Non-Co-operation springs from our conviction of its inutility, the harm it would do to our cause and our countrymen. Your time need not be taken up by an attempt at a detailed consideration of the several items of the programme. So much has been said upon them that there is little need to adduce arguments again to demonstrate their unwisdom. At first it was put forward as a protest against the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs; it has since developed into a political method to obtain Swaraj in twelve months—nearly four of which have expired. If electors did not vote and politicians declined to go into the councils; if lawyers gave up the practice of their profession and students left colleges and schools, and if imported goods were boycotted, we should be within sight of *nirvana*. Mr. Gandhi's explanations on the platform and in the press leave me for one in some doubt as to his idea of the Swaraj we are to enjoy: the government of the country or of our individual selves. Frantic efforts were made, at various places and in as many ways, although there was a family resemblance between the tactics employed at all places,—some of them not so 'non-violent' after all, and at some places, *e.g.*, Agra and Cawnpore, positively disgraceful,—to restrain voters and defeat obnoxious candidates. But the electors recorded votes and the councils have been filled. No client is inconvenienced to-day by a dearth of practising lawyers. Nor has any school or college had to be closed for want of teachers or students, in spite of the reprehensible advice given to them to disregard parental authority and give up their studies, forsooth, because we are 'in a state of war.' I may be blamed for employing strong language, but I confess I cannot condemn too strongly this sinister ingredient in the non-co-operator's

specific for obtaining immediate Swaraj. (Hear, Hear) I am not aware that an impression has been made upon Lancashire's business with India. Unfortunately, too, the race for honours, not honour is in full swing as ever, while I verily believe that the number of candidates for honorary as well as stipendiary offices is still largely in excess of the numbers required. It has all along been my conviction that the negative creed of non-co-operation is opposed to the nature of things and no raging, tearing propaganda, no whirlwind campaign, no shock tactics, no, not even such social tyranny as was practised the other day in Delhi, can bring it success.

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Neither can Swaraj, immediate or remote, within or outside the Empire, be attained by such means. We can and shall reach our political goal of complete self-government such as the dominions enjoy, by constitutional action inside the councils and outside, by demonstrating our fitness in office and in council, and by building up the strength of the nation. Unceasing work in the various spheres of national life so as to make of Indians a more efficient as well as a more united nation, and organized and sustained efforts in the political field to secure much needed reforms in administration, military not less than civil, are the only means by which we can hope to achieve success. They may be commonplace and unheroic, there may be nothing about them to catch the fancy, they are certainly old-fashioned and not novel or sensational. But originality in politics is not always a merit and not everything that is new is good. To those, however, who are impatient for immediate Swaraj, I must frankly admit that our well-tried method offers no hope. Let there be no make-believe or self-deception; let us call things by their proper names. Immediate Swaraj is an euphemism for revolution. (Hear, Hear.) And revolution cannot be accomplished by appeals to constituted authorities. But non-co-operation cannot achieve it either. I have a constitutional aversion for prophesying, which Mr. Balfour has described as the most superfluous form of error, while according to Sir Charles Dilke political prophecy is the most futile of all prophecies. But not even Macaulay's school-boy runs any risk in venturing the prediction that non-co-operation will not bring about the wished for revolution. To those into whose soul the iron has entered and who have worked themselves into the conviction that any state of existence would be better than life under this Government, the only path that is open is armed revolt. If they think they can, if they feel they must, let them go forward and risk it. I will deplore their folly but will respect their courage and straightforwardness. But to desist from such a course of action and at the same time to denounce constitutional agitation as another name for mendicancy, while you go on stirring up feeling and undermining respect for law and authority among the masses who have not

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developed an intelligent understanding, is, I confess, beyond my poor comprehension on any assumption that does not savour of uncharitableness. Whether such persons adopt Mr. Gandhi's programme or more modestly content themselves with the acceptance of 'the principle of non-co-operation', the while releasing their surcharged feeling by the denunciation of us Liberals, so dear to the heart of a species of extremist publicists, they equally mislead themselves and their hearers and followers and only act as clogs in the wheel of progress. In this view of the matter, I deplore the attempt that is being made to alter the creed of the Congress. We shall lament the blunder if it should be perpetrated, and as an old, if humble, Congressman I cannot but wish that in that event they may also decide to call that institution the Swarajya Sabha or anything else—anything, in fact, but the Indian National Congress. (Hear, Hear.)

One word more on this subject. It is desirable that people should understand whither it is that Mr. Gandhi would lead them. For this purpose they cannot do better than to acquaint themselves with the contents of his book, *Indian Home Rule*. It will be an eye-opener. In fact, fellow-Liberals, it strikes me that it will not be a bad investment for our Liberal leagues to arrange for wide distribution of copies of that publication, in English and in the languages of the country. I rather think that the glimpse it will afford into Mr. Gandhi's Swarajaya will disillusion the people and we shall have won back at least a respectable number of our temporarily misguided countrymen to the path of political sanity.

THE Esher COMMITTEE REPORT.

Now, gentlemen, I will, with your permission, proceed to consider briefly a state paper on a subject of capital importance, which has provoked acute controversy both in this country and in England. The attention that has been bestowed upon the report of what is known as the Esher Committee, is less than was demanded by the astounding recommendations it embodies. Your Council recorded a weighty resolution upon the subject at their meeting held at Bombay in October under the chairmanship of Sir Sivaswami Aiyer. It was the first and only connected and comprehensive statement of the Indian position in relation to that Committee and their report, and I am justified in asking his Majesty's Government not to take action without giving their serious consideration to our representation. The Committee was sprung upon an unsuspecting public who were taken aback by its composition. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was not left to rest upon his laurels as the saviour of the Punjab but sent back in the face of protests as a member and acting chairman to the country which he had wronged and humiliated. (cried of "Shame".) The president, Lord Esher never came. Not a solitary Indian was

included in it in the first instance : was it in order to confirm the Indian view of Britain's military policy, that the Army in India exists primarily to safeguard her Empire in the East at India's expense ? It was not until this was strongly criticized by your deputation then in England, that the nomination of one Indian was announced. And who was he ? Sir Umar Hyat Khan, whose ways and views remind one of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's phrase 'friends of every country but their own'. This was Simla's little joke at our expense. Again it was in response to the urgent representations of members of your deputation, that towards the end of November, *i.e.*, more than three months after the appointment of the Committee and after the first and most important part of the report had already been submitted and given a sort of benediction, a second Indian was asked to join it. The Committee made up their mind on fundamental points before setting foot on India's soil and without caring to know the views of the people or the Government of the country. Here they examined no witnesses ; they were content with informal consultation with such persons as they themselves chose to honour with an invitation. The whole of their proceedings was conducted within closed doors. If this was how the Committee was constituted and how its business was transacted, what is one to say of the authority that accorded even a semblance of approval to any part of the recommendations at that very early stage of its deliberations ?

The recommendations themselves are in the main reactionary and objectionable in the extreme. What is their essence ? That the Army in India is for all practical purposes a branch of the British Army, to be controlled from the War Office much more than by the Governor-General in Council or even the Secretary of State for India. Its strength, its constitution and organization, the purposes for which it is to be employed, are to be determined more with reference to Britain's imperial needs, real or supposed, actual or potential, than by the requirements of the people of India. The Indian Legislature is to be *non est* so far as the defensive organization of India is concerned ; even the executive Government, in which there are two English members for one Indian and which acts in subordination to the Secretary of State who is a member of his Majesty's Government, is to have little voice. The Secretary of State himself is to be virtually powerless. The centre of authority is to be the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. The Commander-in-Chief in India is to be his nominee, to be in direct communication with him over the heads of the Governor-General and the Secretary of State and their Councils, and to carry out his behests. The former is not to have a military adviser save this Commander-in-Chief ; even the adviser of the latter is to be a deputy of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. There is one Indian,

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however, whose existence is recognized. He is never ignored, never let alone: it is the Indian taxpayer. His business is not to reason why; it is to pay, pay, pay. It is stated that India's military budget is to be considerably increased. It is already more than double of what it was before the war that was to end war, the war that was fought to establish the reign of peace on earth and good-will among men. Gentlemen the war has certainly ended peace. Who among us that knows how poor and incapacitated the people are, with insufficient food and clothing, with wretched houses to live in and no medical relief, sunk in destitution and ready victims of disease, who among us that realizes what enormous strides we have to make in the arts of peace before we can raise our head among the nations of the world, who that has the slightest notion of what vast increases of outlay on beneficial services are urgently required and how difficult it is to raise fresh revenue,—what Indian is there who can contemplate with equanimity the dire prospect of a further addition to the military burdens of this poor country? But this is what is in store for us unless we are able to persuade the British Government and Parliament to reject the recommendations of the Esher Committee.

We are not even to have the consolation that with added expenditure will come a new orientation of policy. Our share in the defence of our country is to continue to be a subordinate and inconspicuous one. Nothing is said about the admission of our countrymen into the naval and air forces of the Crown. Or into the artillery and cavalry. Nor about the admission of an adequate number of Indians to the commissioned ranks of the Army. Nor about the opening of military colleges in India to train Indians as officers. Not even about their admission into the existing institutions maintained out of the taxes paid by us. The Committee's treatment of the subject of a territorial force was meagre, reluctant, condescending, and altogether unsatisfactory. As our veteran leader Sir Dinshaw Wacha used to prove at Congress session after Congress session, India has paid dearly on account of the one-sided Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859. The price exacted from her under the Esher dispensations will be far heavier. The position is humiliating in the extreme and I would warn the authorities here and in England, very respectfully, that not even a more liberal declaration of policy than that of August, 1917, accompanied by more substantial reforms than are being inaugurated in the civil government of the country, will or can reconcile the most modest of Indians to a continuation of the anti-Indian military policy that has been followed throughout the period of British rule in this country. (Hear, Hear.) Does England ask for India's trust? She on her part must trust India. And England's military policy will be the touchstone of her sincerity. (Hear, Hear.)

We do not profess to be able to pronounce on purely technical matters of which the professional soldier must remain the judge. If England's convenience is served by the stationing in India of a larger Army than is required for India's defence, we should not object to it provided the cost of the excess troops is defrayed by England herself. But we have every right, and it is our duty, to insist upon being heard upon constitutional points and upon issues that affect our safety, strength and honour as a nation. On these I venture to think that the Federation cannot do better than to endorse and emphasize the proposals made by its Council in October. The Army in India should be independent of the British Army and under the control of the Government of India and not of the War Office. The Commander-in-Chief should only be the executive head of the Army and should not be a member of the Governor-General's Council. There should be a civilian Member for Defence corresponding to the Secretary of State for War and the First Lord of the Admiralty in the British Cabinet. Indian troops should not as a rule be employed in service outside the frontiers of India, except in grave emergencies and with the free consent of the Governor-General-in-Council. Indians should be freely admitted to all arms of defence. Not less than 25 per cent. of the King's Commissions should immediately be given to his Majesty's Indian subjects, and the proportion should be raised to 50 per cent. in ten years, by an annual increment of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Adequate facilities should be provided in India for the training of Indians as officers in all branches of the Army. All invidious distinctions based upon considerations of race should be abolished in the Army. The Indian Territorial Force should be constituted on exactly the same lines and its members entitled to the same rights and privileges as the Indian Auxiliary Force. There should be a distinct Indian Military Medical Service to meet the requirements of the Army in India, and it should be recruited in India as well as England. And as a transitory arrangement, so long as the Army in India is maintained partly to meet imperial needs and is controlled by the British War Office, a fair and adequate share of India's military expenditure, determined by the relative interests and capacity of the two countries, should be paid by the British Treasury.

A few words more before I leave this subject. In taking decisions I would ask the Government here and in England to pay due heed to a few accepted propositions. As Mr. Balfour has said, the aim should be to secure 'an expansible army, a power of increasing our effective fighting force to a far larger extent than the regular troops.' 'A mistake brings down an avalanche of expense in its wake,' said Mr. (now Lord) Haldane in

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introducing his great scheme of Army Reorganisation in 1906, 'and the result is you find yourself with money thrown away, 'which might have been used, had you had a common policy, 'for a good purpose'. 'We must consider reductions of personnel 'because without such reductions you cannot get economy in 'Army expenditure.' Further on, he said in the same great speech : 'The biggest thing of all is policy. That is not a thing about which soldiers can calculate. The size of the Army depends on 'whether your policy is one thing or another' He laid stress upon the fact that 'it is not absolutely essential in considering what 'you have got to do to provide for every possible contingency 'because, if you were to attempt to do that, you would make your- 'self bankrupt as a nation and so stop all chance of social reform. Social reform' he said with conviction, 'must be provided for. 'It makes an urgent call upon us. Accordingly, your policy, be 'it for the Army or for the Navy, must be policy of probabilities. 'Policy must determine your strategy and the provision you 'make for your necessities.' 'You ought' to aim at getting 'quantity rather than quality in the reservoir from which you are 'to expand.' Lord Haldane as Secretary of State for War was of the same opinion as Mr. Balfour, that the power of expansion is the important factor. It was an interesting coincidence that, speaking in the same year and month in the Indian Legislative Council, our great patriot-statesman, Mr. Gokhale, expressed almost identical views on a wise military policy for India. He urged short service for the Indian Army, the creation of Indian reserves, and the extension to our countrymen of the privilege of citizen-soldiership. Mr. Gokhale said : 'Our military defence 'will then be gradually placed on a national basis, the Army will 'have the support of the nation behind it, the present military 'burden will be largely reduced, and funds set free to be devoted 'to other objects of national well-being ; the people of the 'country, instead of being condemned, as at present, merely to 'pay the taxes and then helplessly look on, will be enabled to 'feel a real and living interest in their Army, and our position in 'the matter will cease to wound our self-respect.' These words of far-seeing wisdom fell upon deaf ears when they were uttered. Fourteen years have since elapsed ; the great war has left lessons behind. Will they now be taken note of and acted upon, or shall we be compelled to repeat, not for the first time, the famous words of Burke, 'Invention is exhausted, reason is fatigued, 'experience has given judgment, but obstinacy is not conquered'?

One last word. I desire to express our sense of appreciation of the service rendered to India in connection with the Esher Committee Report by the *Times* and Professor A. B. Keith.

THE LOVETT COMMITTEE REPORT.

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On the heels of the Esher Committee Report came another document which could not be received by the Indian public with any more favour than the former. A passing reference has already been made to it, and it also formed the subject of a resolution by your Council. It was more comprehensively condemned by a body of professional men, the Allahabad Medical Association. The appointment of the Committee on the Re-organization of the Medical Services in India early in 1919 was shrouded in mystery. The terms of reference and the personnel were both treated as state secrets, and it was not until after both were published without authority by an Indian journal of Allahabad that the Government of India gave any information to the Indian Legislative Council. The most remarkable thing about the Committee was that it did not include a single Indian member—official or doctor or public man. The president and one member were I.C.S. officers and the others belonged to the I.M.S. The radically unsound organization of the medical services and the utterly unsatisfactory position accorded therein to Indian doctors had been the subject of criticism and agitation for a quarter of a century. But it did not lead the Government of India to think of the necessity of according suitable representation to Indians. The questions on which the Committee wanted information were not published, nor was the evidence of witnesses taken before the public gaze. This could be understood as they were mostly the nominees of local Governments and not one political association in the country was asked to send witnesses. As a result of criticisms in the press and in Council a couple of Indian I.M.S.'s still in service were added to the Committee after work in two or three provinces had been done, but they were not permitted to take part in the final deliberations. The report was published less than three months ago although it had been submitted seventeen months earlier.

This is the story of the Committee. It is not to be wondered at that the recommendations are injurious to Indian interests. While we have always advocated the creation of two distinct and separate medical services, civil and military, recruited both in India and England, the former chiefly in India, the Lovett Committee have recommended the constitution of a hybrid Medical Corps with the label Indian, compounded of the Indian Medical Service and the Royal Army Medical Corps so far as it worked in India, but also including what has been called 'the higher civil medical service of the country.' Civil medical posts are to be filled by officers of this preponderatingly military service. What have been designated as 'exclusively civil medical

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'officers' are only to be brought in by the government of provinces to 'supplement their contingents of officers from the Indian 'Medical Corps.' It has been recommended that 'special 'arrangements should be made by Government to secure 'European medical attendance' not only 'for European officers' but 'for European non-officials.' Admission to the so-called Indian Medical Corps 'should be through the portal of a single 'examination held in England', Indians being content with a few scholarships to selected students to go and compete in it. 'Certain posts in the sanitary and other departments should be 'reserved to officers of the new corps.' Here are a few recommendations typical of proposals invariably made by committees composed as the Lovett Committee was. 'Salaries should be 'increased. More liberal provision should be made for leave. 'Full pension should be admissible at an earlier date. The position of civil administrative medical officers should be improved. Better buildings should be provided for Indian station 'hospitals.' The story is the same everywhere. Make things more pleasant for Europeans at the expense of Indians, and leave the latter in undisturbed enjoyment of their privileged position of inferiority in their own land.

No one need be surprised at the dissatisfaction that Indian doctors and publicists feel with this state of affairs. Since first the late Dr. Bahadurji brought up the subject at the Lahore Congress of 1893 it has been constantly kept to the fore, but with almost no result. Evidence was given before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1896 and 1897 by Dr. Bahadurji himself, Sir Dinshaw Wacha and other Indian witnesses, and by several able and trusted representatives of the service and the profession before the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India in 1914. The former did not deal at all with the subject in their report, while the recommendations of the latter, made in 1915 and published in 1917, were never seriously considered. If carried into effect they would have improved the position somewhat, although they were so inadequate that not only Sir Abdur Rahim but Sir Mahadeo Chaubal dissented from them in important particulars. But they were more liberal than the recommendations of the Esher and Lovett Committees. The true spirit informed Lord Morley's letter addressed to the Government of India in 1909, but the latter took care that that reformer's intentions were frustrated. And now, in the year of grace 1920, such astonishing proposals as those of the Esher and Lovett Committees are seriously presented to the world instead of being summarily rejected as unworthy of consideration.

Indian doctors in the service and the profession have never received justice. Compare the salaries of the Indian and pro-

vincial medical services : the increments obtained by the former and the more or less stagnant condition of the latter. The few places of civil surgeon offered to the provincial officers are those of districts where there can be no lucrative practice and which, therefore, do not tempt the I. M. S. officer. I know of more than one able and experienced civil assistant surgeon who declined promotion on this ground. Professorships in medical colleges and important posts in the sanitation department are filled, not primarily with the object of securing greater efficiency—although the bureaucracy is fond of spelling the word with a capital E when that suits its purpose—but gratify the wishes of the I.M.S. officers concerned. All permanent services are conservative by nature, and this trait is found in an exaggerated form in a country politically so circumstanced as India is, but I believe I do it no injustice when I say that none is so possessed by the narrow trade union spirit as is the I. M. S. The feeling of dissatisfaction among Indian doctors has been so accentuated by the Government's persistent failure to do justice that about a couple of months ago the Medical Associations of Lucknow and Allahabad resolved to boycott the I. M. S. officers in private practice.

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Any reorganization of the medical services to be satisfactory from the Indian point of view must proceed on the lines of the proposals of our Council and the Allahabad Medical Association. There should be a military and a civil medical service independent of each other, both recruited in India as well as England, and both equally open to Indians and Englishmen. Members of the military service should not as a rule be appointed to civil posts. Either the distinction between the Indian and provincial services should be done away with, or a definite proportion of the posts in the Indian service should be open to officers of the provincial service. To meet military exigencies in time of war every member of the civil medical service should be liable to undergo military training at stated intervals and for fixed periods and to undertake field service when required. This effectually removes the objection that is frequently raised to the constitution of an independent civil medical service. Medical posts in the sanitation department should only be given to men specially qualified, while professorships of medical colleges should be filled by the very best men obtainable anywhere on the recommendation of selection committees constituted as the Islington Commission recommended.

If the British Government could make up its mind to act with justice and liberality in the matter of the public services, as we were repeatedly promised on the highest authority that it would do, much unpleasantness would be avoided and it would

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stand higher in the estimation of the people of India. Even on the ground of expediency, if from no higher consideration, I suggest that it is eminently worth its while at least to try this as an experiment.

EDUCATION.

It may be temerity on my part to plead for extended facilities for the education of the people in days when adored popular leaders are enlarging upon the patriotic necessity of destroying schools and colleges. But fortunately the country has given an unmistakable reply to the unholy war upon educational institutions, while we of the Liberal party never have had and never can have a doubt about the paramount necessity of more and better education for the people if the country is to have a future. Establish by every means in your power as many institutions as you possibly can, independent of state aid or recognition, and impart the kind of education in which you believe. Every sensible well-wisher of the country will pray for your success. But do not speak or act as if existing schools and colleges were a curse, as if the products of the present system were the worse for the education they have received. Mahadeo Govind Ranade and Gooroo Das Banerjee, Krishnaswami Iyer and Bishan Narayan Dar, among those, alas! now no more; Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and Sir Jagadish Bose, Sir Sivaswami Aiyer and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya among our living worthies, were and are the ornaments of their race and the pride of their country, not in spite but on account of English education. Mr. Gandhi himself has borrowed his ideas of non-co-operation from western sources. (Hear, Hear). We do want, gentlemen, and want before and more than anything else, 'education in widest commonalty spread'. And we trust that one of the certain fruits of the reformed governments constituted in provinces will be the expansion and reform of education, of all grades and in all its branches. They ought not to shrink even from the unpleasant necessity of new taxation if it be a *sine qua non* of progress in this direction. The education of women and of the backward classes, and agricultural and industrial education should receive special attention.

The subject of University Reform is now very much to the fore, thanks to the monumental report of Sir Michael Sadler's Commission. Their recommendations, it is true, are not all of equal importance, nor need all of them be regarded as if they were proved propositions. It is possible that exaggerated praise has been given to the report owing to the unique position of its distinguished president in the educational world. In any event, it has to be admitted that the opinions of such a competent body of educational experts cannot be set aside by any responsible government without grave reason for such a

course. They have to be considered carefully, and action should be taken cautiously and with a due regard for the varying conditions of different provinces. Educational opinion as well as general public opinion should be consulted and respected. No provincial government or legislature and no university senate would be justified in ignoring the report, but it is incumbent upon them to bear seriously in mind the present state of educational advancement and the material condition of the people, the capacity of provincial finances and the various demands upon them of greater or less urgency, the logic of accomplished facts and the views and wishes of the intelligent public. Holding as I do the view that the standard has to be raised, I still would not, in my zeal for reform, do two things. I would not trench upon the fund available for the extension of elementary education, and I would not place university education beyond the reach of the lower middle-class, from which, speaking in general terms, the brightest intellects of the community generally come. Never was it more important than it is now, that every government in India should keep prominently before its mind's eye the cardinal fact emphasized by Mr. Asquith, who is at present the chairman of a Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in two passages which I take leave to place before you.

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The mediæval Universities were always in theory, and almost always in practice, cosmopolitan. There were no barriers of birth or class or fortune. The door was open to all.—*Rectorial Address on 'Ancient Universities and the Modern World' delivered before the University of Glasgow on January 11, 1907.*

The mediæval University was never intended to be, and was not in fact, an aristocratic or exclusive institution, which opened its doors and offered its teaching only to the children of the well-to-do.....the typical University of the Middle Ages, whether at Paris, or Bologna, or Oxford, was cosmopolitan in composition; to some extent at any rate—as this institution of the Rectorship proves—democratic in government, and recruited by students drawn from all ranks and classes, but for the most part sons of low-born or needy parents. University education was then—except, of course, for the few who pursue learning for learning's sake, and who are, at all times, in every home of learning, a minority of a minority—the most accredited qualification for admission to, and for the practice of certain indispensable and much frequented professions—in particular, the Law, and the higher branches of Medicine, and the Church.—*Rectorial Address on 'Culture and Character' delivered before the University of Aberdeen on October 25, 1910.*

AN APPEAL TO GOVERNMENT.

I would make an appeal to the Government and put forward a few suggestions for your consideration regarding work in the immediate future.

To the Government I would say :

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Make an honest and earnest attempt, by the aid of sympathetic imagination, to understand correctly the present temper of the country. Remember what Gladstone said :

It is one of the uniform and unfailing rules that guide human judgment, if not of the moment yet of history, that when a long relation has existed between a nation of superior strength and one of inferior strength, and when that relation has gone wrong the responsibility and the guilt rests in the main upon the strong rather than upon the weak—*Speech on the Government of Ireland Bill in the House of Commons on April 13, 1886.*

Be candid to yourselves and own that yours is the responsibility for the political distemper of India. The authors of revolution in the ultimate resort are the reactionaries and obscurantists who oppose reasonable reform. The tragedy of Russia is certainly a warning to our extremists against 'catastrophic changes.' But still more is it a warning to the Government. For Bolshevik Russia is the child of Tzarist Russia. It is not yet too late. Act on the principle that trust is wisdom, that generosity is wisdom. Lord Rosebery has defined statesmanship as the foresight of commonsense, and patriotism as the self-respect of a people. Let your statesmanship assert itself and prevent the latter from being irretrievably hurt. For then will be bad days both for you and us. A brilliant pro-consul, who however was a failure and went away discredited, boasted that there was no problem that could not be solved by statesmanship. It was Lord Morley's view that British statesmanship had never broken down anywhere. But it has, in Ireland. Profit by the examples of Canada and South Africa, as well as by the warning of Ireland. Win the confidence of the people of India. Avail yourselves of the developments in Greece and revise the treaty with Turkey. Then will the Musalmans of India be your friends again. Soothe the heart of the Punjab. Treat our countrymen in other parts of the Empire as human beings and British citizens. Do let the people derive the fullest advantage from the reforms ; give no cause for suspicion that you are the unwilling instrument of a power you are compelled to obey. Do justice to my countrymen in all the public services. Let me say again that your military policy will be the test of your sincerity. Accept the advice of the *Pioneer*, which has been officially recognized as being on the whole a correct exponent of British opinion in India, and repeal whatever laws act as a restraint on the freedom of expression, for parliamentary government, of which we are about to witness the first small beginnings, is government by discussion. In all financial transactions, never forget that your country is incomparably richer than ours, that you have laid upon you the honourable obligation of trustees until we shall have become masters in our own household, that you ought not to perpetrate what Fawcett would have stigmatized as acts of 'melancholy meanness.' Some one in your own land has summed up the English character in the phrase, 'Always

the 'purse, often the brain, seldom the heart.' (Laughter). As one who feels a genuine admiration for many qualities of your race and for much of your great work in and for my country, I beseech you, for your sake as much as ours, so to act in the future as to enable us to forget whatever of the past and the present is not to your credit.

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OUR TASK.

I would next place before you, fellow-Liberals, a few suggestions for such consideration as you may deem them to deserve. If we are to do any effective work, we must make up our minds to follow the method recommended by Mr. Asquith to the Liberal party of Great Britain, the method of 'selection and concentration.' We labour under many disabilities, we have many grievances, there are many reforms that we have to urge. But if the field is wide and long, the workers are few. And if they seek to cover too much surface, they will fail to make an impression. Intensive work will prove more effectual. Remember that even the Liberal party in England came to grief over the Newcastle Programme, which was too various and too ambitious to appeal to the Englishman who is conservative and practical by nature. I know three eminent men in our country who have pronounced a ban on the word 'practical.' They are 'idealoguees' who have no use for it. I cannot agree with them. It is very necessary that we should be practical. It is glorious to see visions and dream dreams. But we cannot achieve results unless we can distinguish between the attainable and the unrealizable or only remotely realizable. Politics is not an abstract science but the art of methods and results. It was said of Thales, who fell into the water while looking up at the stars, that if he had looked into the water he might have seen the stars, too, but by looking at the stars he could not see the water. Gladstone was not a soulless politician who lived from day to day, but it was he who taught that not all questions were for all times. We want complete self-government as much as Mr. Gandhi, but we should, and we do recognize that it is futile to ask for an immediate amendment of the Government of India Act passed only twelve months ago. We would rather work the Act for all it is worth and achieve the double purpose of promoting the public good as well as proving to the Government, Parliament and people of Great Britain our capacity for the exercise of full responsible government (Hear Hear.) Outside the provincial councils we should, in my humble judgment, focus the activity of the country, to the extent that we can influence it, first and foremost upon the military question. There is no subject with regard to which we feel a more burning sense of injustice than our humiliating position in the defensive organization of the country. The recommendations of the

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Esher Committee are of the nature of an impending calamity. If we cannot defeat them, if they are put into force, our last state will be worse than the first. But if we succeed there, we shall still be in no better position than now. It is our duty to do everything that we can do according to the law and constitution of the land, to bring about the reforms in the Army to which your attention has been drawn. Next in importance come the two questions of the position of our countrymen settled in the dominions and colonies, and the separation of judicial from executive functions. I would further ask you to give you attention to the removal of all racial distinctions in the criminal law. Concentrate on these questions educate public opinion not only here but in England, bend the whole strength of our organization to the achievement of substantial results in these directions, and see if we shall attain at least partial success or wholly fail. The difficulties are great, but we must resolutely decline to be discouraged, we must persist until the task is completed. A pregnant definition of success that I have come across is that we have to do battle, and whenever the occasion may call for it, let us follow the life-giving example of great Frenchman who, having saved his country by heroic exertions at his great age, is now in our midst on a richly earned holiday. M. Clemenceau thus spoke of himself the other day at Allahabad:—'My policy—it is 'victory. Home politics? I wage war. Foreign politics? I wage 'war. Russia betrays us? I continue to wage war. We will 'fight before Paris; we will fight behind Paris; we will fight 'if necessary to the Pyrenees. I will continue till the very last 'quarter of an hour, because the last quarter of an hour will 'be ours.'

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

I will not detain longer, gentlemen, except to take stock of the position and prospect of our party and its place in Indian politics. Its position is identical with that which the Congress occupied until recently. It is the real Centre Party in the country—the party of reform as distinguished from reactionaries and extremist alike. It is not satisfied with things as they are, but does not believe in breaking with the past. It is all for reform, but is content with steady though not slow progress. It does not spell its evolution with an initial R. Complete self-Government in India's internal affairs and absolute equality with the dominions in inter-imperial and international relations, is the ideal for which the Liberal party stands. The means it employs to attain this ideal are threefold. It will utilize in full the opportunities given to us from time to time; it will agitate constitutionally for reform wherever needed; it will exert itself to build up the strength of the nation and

promote unity among its component parts by means of education, social reform and economic development. The necessity of such a party is obvious when, on the one side, privilege has still to be successfully attacked and on the other, movements calculated to land society in chaos have to be resisted. Congressmen as we are, as that term has been understood hitherto, regret as we keenly do that we are unable conscientiously to be members of the old Organization in view of its change of policy, we need not apologize for our Federation, we may and ought to go forward with a serene confidence in the wisdom and righteousness of our cause. In his 'Case for a Liberal Party' in England, Mr. Masterman wrote some weeks ago :

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∴ Nothing but some party organization, appealing to a past tradition and a future ideal can lift the minds of the people toward any impersonal end. The vague diffusion of ideas through newspapers appears a despairing enterprise. The ideal must descend from the beautiful and ineffectual realm of Cloudland, and find embodiment in an organization of persons who believe in it and are willing to work for its attainment. I can find no better embodiment than that at present represented by the organized Liberal Party. I do not believe that this party is destined to be crushed by the organized party of privilege on the one hand or, on the other, the fury of the dispossessed for universal upheaval. This great body of opinion, set on an ideal and possessed by a belief in its realization which is as strong as a religious faith, will win to it again those fluctuating masses who have no fixed creed, and flutter into politics from day to day, now this way, now that, like feathers in the wind.....surely you cannot be wrong if you set yourself to stimulate and encourage all those faithful spirits...who believe that the breaking up of society would be fatal to progress but who are determined to devote their lives to the liberation of the body of man from remediable suffering, and the spirit of man from the prison in which it is still confined. Liberalism stands for such emancipation. It is determined to substitute for national hatred, never more than at this moment tormenting mankind, the spirit of brotherhood and common effort towards reform.

In these felicitous and thoughtful words, is there not much that applies to us and much that we may take to heart? The extremist party has over-reached itself. The recent activities of its more extreme members have produced a visible reaction against them, while Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation programme has proved a veritable apple of discord in their ranks. With no clear perception of whither they are marching, without counting the cost, in disregard of consequences to society, without respect for the traditions or the policy of the Congress and the teachings of its elder statesmen, untaught by lesson and unheeding the warning of daily experience, they have already lost something of the undoubted hold they acquired over the popular mind and are fast losing more. While our party, founded amid opposition from without and hesitancy within, has distinctly gained ground in the country and increasing numbers are, to my own knowledge, either joining us or are in a fair way to do so. Absorbed in the pursuit of a Will O' the Wisp the Congress has almost abdicated its function of criticism,

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and rendered it the more necessary that we should strengthen and expand our Organization which has to take the place of the Congress that we knew. (Hear Hear.) The new constitution in the provinces points to the same necessity. Who knows but a day may come when the people will have to exclaim, 'Thank God, there is a Liberal Federation to which we can betake ourselves, where to serve the country wisely 'and well.' My earnest exhortation to all Liberals in the country is : Remember Mill's saying that one man with a conviction is equal to ninety-nine without one. Do not apologize, do not doubt, do not hesitate. Go forward with the strength of conviction and with the determination that conquers obstacles. Preach the doctrines of the Liberal party, explain to the people that we are the inheritors of the old Congress whose objects we are faithfully carrying out, establish Liberal leagues wherever they are not, and bring more of the faithful into the fold. Be sure, in building up our party we but serve the country, we have no other motive. In this national work the revered founders of the Congress, who are not with us in mortal form, will be with us in spirit. And the faith in me tells me that, howsoever we may be misunderstood to-day by a section of our countrymen whose commendable patriotic zeal for immediate political salvation prevents them from correctly appreciating our standpoint, the day will come when the passions and prejudices of the moment will have subsided and persuasive reason will again hold up the guiding lamp, and when our motives as well as our wisdom will be vindicated. Whether it may come sooner or later, and even if it may not come, makes no difference. We will not be deflected from what we are convinced is our duty to our Motherland. As Bhartrihari said,

निन्दन्तु नोतिनिपुणा यदि वा स्तुवन्तु
लक्ष्मीः समाविशन्तु गच्छन्तु वा यथेष्टम् ।

अद्यैव वा मरणमस्तु युगान्तरे वा
न्याय्यात्पथः प्रविचलन्ति पदं न धीराः ॥

The President:—Ladies and gentlemen, the conference will adjourn in a few minutes and reassemble tomorrow at 11-30 A.M. I request you now to hand over to Mr. G.A. Natesan the members whom you elect in your respective provinces to serve on the Subjects Committee. Those who are members of the Council of the Federation during the present year will be ex-officio members of the Subjects Committee, here again following the constitution of the National Congress in which members of the All-India Congress Committee are ex-officio members of the Subjects Committees. I believe the secretaries in the various provinces know the names. Excluding these names, I would ask you to elect from every province not exceeding 15 as your representatives on the Subjects Committee.

The President.

THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

At the conclusion of the Presidential Address, the Conference adjourned. The following are the Members of the Subjects Committee which discussed and settled the Resolutions to be moved before the open Session.

Subjects Committee Members

EX-OFFICIO.

Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Calcutta, /
 The Rev. B.A. Nag, Calcutta.
 Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Madras.
 Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer.
 „ „ M. Ramachandra Rao.
 Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.
 Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Madras.
 Rao Bahadur S. R. M. Annamalai Chettiar.
 Mr. G. A. Natesan, Madras.
 Hon'ble. Mr. B. Venkatapathi Razu, Vizag.
 Rao Bahadur C. S. Subrahmaniam.
 Mr. M. C. Mukundaraja Iyengar.
 Hon'ble Mr. B. S. Kamat, Poona.
 Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Bombay.
 „ D. K. Gadgil, Bar.-at-Law, Poona.
 „ D. G. Dalvi, Bombay.
 „ N. M. Joshi, Bombay.
 Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Allahabad.
 Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana, Allahabad.
 Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Allahabad.
 Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Yeotmal.

MADRAS.

Mrs. Annie Besant.
 Mr. A. Srinivasa Pai, Mangalore
 „ Manjeri S. Ramaiyar, Malabar.
 Rao Bahadur T. S. Balakrishnaiyar, Coimbatore.

**Subjects Com-
mittee Members**

- Mr. A. Rangasami Aiyar, Madura.
 „ K. Ramaswami Aiyer, Tinnevelly.
 „ A. S. Krishna Row, Nellore.
 „ C. Duraswami Aiyangar, Madras.
 „ Dewan Bahadur Narasimbachariar, Kurnool.
 „ V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Madras.
 „ K. Ramaswami.
 „ M. S. Venkatasubrama Iyer, Sattur.
 Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, Madras.
 Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Madras.
 Mr. K. A. Viraraghavachari, Madras.
 „ M. Kulandaivelu Mudaliar, Madras.
 „ C. R. Parthasarathy Aiyangar, Chittoor.
 „ H. Shiva Rao, Bellary.
 „ A. Ranganatham Mudaliar, Madras.
 Rao Bahadur C. V. Subrahmanyam, Tenali.
 Mr. T. R. Srinivasa Mudaliar, Tanjore.
 „ Bomaiya, Madras.
 „ M. Arunachalam, Pleader, Arni.
 „ P. V. Narayanaswami Iyer.
 „ P. V. S. Sundaramurti, Madras.

BOMBAY.

- Hon'ble Prof V. G. Kale.
 Prof. Kanitkar.
 Mr. V. R. Kothari.
 Prof Joag
 Mr. M. D. Altekhar.
 Rao. Bahadur Ramanbhai Nilkanth.
 Dr. P. D. Gune.
 Mr. A. V. Chitre.
 „ A. V. Thakkur.
 „ S. G. Vaze.
 „ K. G. Limaye.
 „ D. S. Oka.
 „ Chunilal Mehta.
 „ A. V. Patwardhan.

BERAR.

- Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas.
 „ Kanji Dwarkadas.
 „ Trilokikar.
 „ P. K. Joshi.
 „ Ratanji Dharmasi.
 „ Mavji Govindji.
 „ Vasamji Premji Dalal.
 „ W. T. Deshpande.
 „ H. K. Patwardhan.
 „ G. N. Paranjpye.

SIND.**Subjects Com-
mittee Members**

Mr. Hirdaram.
 „ Khemchand.
 „ P. M. Advani.
 „ Dharamdas.
 „ Chularam.
 „ Bulchand.
 „ Jethmal Parsram.

THE U. P.

Mr. N. G. Paranjpye.
 Mrs. Ramabhai N. Paranjpye.
 Mr. Ramachandra Shukla.
 „ M. B. Koletkar.
 „ H. K. Mehta.

BIHAR and ORISSA.

Lakshminarayan Sahu.
 Rajendra Mohan Chattejee.

BENGAL.

R. D. Mehta Esq. Calcutta.
 Sailendranath Basu, Esq., Calcutta.
 Jogendra Chandra Sinha, Esq., Howrah.
 Biswesvar Mukherjea, Esq., Bengal.
 Dwijadas Choudhuri, Esq., Calcutta.
 Nandakumar Bhaduri, Zemindar, Majdia, Nadia.
 Raimohon Chakravarty, Esq., Calcutta.
 Subodh Chandra Ray, Esq., Calcutta.
 Romesh Chandra Parkayasta, Esq., Calcutta.

NOMINATED BY THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu.
 „ P. A. Subramania Aiyar.
 „ Akella Suryanarayana Rau.
 „ G. Venkataranga Rau.
 „ G. V. Job.

Office-Bearers of the Reception Committee.**Office Bearers.****CHAIRMAN.**

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer.

SECRETARIES.

Mr. G. A. Natesan
 Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.
 Mr. C. Narayandas Girdardas, M.L.A.

TREASURER.

Mr. M. Kolandavelu Mudaliar.

Second day, Forenoon.**Mr. G. A. Natesan.**

The Conference re-assembled on the 30th December at 12-30 in the Gokhale Hall, Mr. Chintamani presiding. There were a number of new delegates and visitors.

Mr. G. A. Natesan read further letters and telegrams of sympathy with the Conference from the following gentlemen.

Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. N. M. Samarth, (Bombay), Mr. Madan Mohan Varma (Allahabad), Mr. Balchandra, (Yeotmal), Mr. Ranjit Singh (Delhi), Dewan Bahadur Seshagiri Rao (Coconada), Rai Bahdur Pandit Badrinat, Joshi, (Naini Tal.) Rai Gangaprasad Bahadur (U. P.), Mr. Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri, of Rajshahi, Mr. Pramatha Nath Mulji (Calcutta), and Mr. R. G. Pradhan, B.A, LL.B of Nasik.

RESOLUTIONS.**WELCOME TO THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT.****Resolution I.****Welcome to The Duke**

The President:—The first resolution on the agenda has to be placed before you by me. Its reads thus :—

The National Liberal Federation of India desires to accord a loyal and most hearty welcome to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught on the occasion of his visit to India on behalf of His Majesty the King-Emperor to inaugurate the constitutional reforms.

No words are needed to commend this resolution to your acceptance. I would ask you to signify your pleasure in the usual manner and pass this resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

LORD SINHA'S APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR.**Resolution II.****Lord Sinha's Appointment as Governor.**

The President:—The next resolution has also to be placed before you by me. It runs thus :—

This Federation records its satisfaction at the appointment of His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Sinha of Raipur as Governor of the Province of Bihar and Orissa and tenders its hearty congratulations of his distinguished services to this country and offers its best wishes for the success of his administration.

While every Indian should be proud of Lord Sinha and the unprecedented position to which he has attained by dint of sheer merit, we, members of the Liberal party of India, have particular reason to congratulate ourselves upon his selection to that office, as he is one of the most respected, one of the most distinguished leaders of our party. (Hear, hear). I am sure it will be your wish that this resolution after it is adopted should be conveyed to Lord Sinha in your name and with your good

wishes for the success of his administration in the province of Bihar. (Hear, hear and applause). I would now ask you to carry this resolution with acclamation.

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Sir P.S.S. Aiyar.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

INDIAN MILITARY POLICY.

Resolution III.

Sir P. S. Aiyar—Ladies and gentlemen. The resolution which I have been asked to move relates to Indian Military Policy and arises out of the recommendations of the Report of the Army in India Committee. Of the many subjects which are to be placed before this conference there is none, in my opinion, really more important than this one about which I have been asked to move this resolution. The importance of the subject would have attracted much greater attention than it has in this country but for the fact the public mind has been distracted by various causes which it is unnecessary for me to refer to now. As a matter of fact, it has attracted far more attention in the English press than it has in the Indian press in this country. (Hear, hear). It is also a matter of gratification to us that the point of view from which it has been criticised by the best qualified persons and the best journalists in England is very largely coincident with our own point of view. We are glad to have the support of the *London Times* and of distinguished persons in England in condemnation of the recommendations of this board. One would have expected that a committee which had been appointed to examine the question of army organization and which had been specially requested to keep in view the approach of India towards the Dominion status, would have dealt with the numerous questions connected with the reorganization of the army in a far more liberal spirit and one more calculated to advance the objects which they were directed to keep in view. On the other hand, any one going through this report will be struck with amazement at the manner in which questions of greatest importance to our country and to our future have been dealt with by this committee. Some of you might have noticed the comment of the *Morning Post*, one of the most reactionary journals in England, that the committee have succeeded in raising a prominent barrier for a generation against ballendom. That is a sufficient indication of the retrograde character of the recommendations which have been made by this committee. The proposition which has been drafted in Subjects Committee is a long one and I am afraid it is a formidably long one. Before I proceed to read the various clauses of this resolution, I would like to refer to the various matters which we have in view in framing this resolution. There is nothing connected with this reform which is not open to the severest condemnation from beginning to end, at any

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rate, in so far as it concerns the Indian forces of His Majesty. The first point of criticism against this reform is directed against the composition of this committee. It contained, originally no Indian members. But subsequently, on the representation of the members of the deputations which went up from here, the Government reluctantly agreed to add one or two members. They added Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta, and they also added by way of counter-weight Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan; but the Committee was not contented to wait till even these Indians joined. They began their labours before they came to this country and before the one Indian member who had been appointed could join and before the other Indian Member was appointed at all. The first part of this proposition refers to the composition; and another noteworthy feature about this composition is that it contained a reactionary ex-Governor like Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Michael O'Dwyer's administration in this country had been condemned so strongly and he had left this country amidst the execration of the people and it was impossible to expect in the nature of things that a man like Sir Michael O'Dwyer would be really actuated by any sincere regard for the welfare of this country or any sympathy with the aspirations of Indians. The first clause of this resolution is this:

- I. (a) This Federation protests against the recommendations of the Army in India Committee, the composition of which was alike inadequate and unsatisfactory in that it included pronounced reactionaries like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Malik Sir Umar Hyat Khan Tiwana and left Indian interests to be represented practically by only one member.

Our next criticism of the report is in regard to the procedure followed by the committee. They decided to dispose of certain important questions of policy before they came to this country and before they had any communication with the Government of India, and before they can even consult them; and they also decided to examine no witness. All these are matters which are admitted by the committee themselves in their report. In fact, none of our criticisms have been to go outside this report. Clause (b) is to this effect:

- (b) The Federation expresses strong condemnation of the procedure followed by the Committee (1) in deciding upon the principles governing the future military policy of India before they left England and before the Indian members were appointed or could join them and before they could consult the Government or the people of India; (2) in deciding to examine no witnesses; and (3) in conducting the proceedings *in camera*.

The third clause refers to the very important question of policy and practice which seems to have been coming into vogue of late to a very considerable extent, and that is the practice of the Government of India or His Majesty appointing

commissions or committees on important matters, receiving reports of these committees and then sleeping on them for a long time without publishing and coming to a decision upon the recommendations of the commissions or the committees before the publication, and without giving an opportunity to the public who are most concerned, or to the legislature which represent the public. This practice has been followed in a number of recent cases. We are aware of the way in which the Hunter Committee had been dealt with. The report of the Hunter Committee was sent up; it was considered by the Cabinet, the Cabinet came to its decision and it was published along with the discussion of the Cabinet. The public in India and the Legislature in India had no opportunity of pronouncing an opinion upon the recommendations. So also in regard to the Exchange Committee, the recommendations of the committee were published along with the decision of His Majesty's Government; and so here also with regard to the recommendations of the Army in India Committee, we find that some of the main principles and recommendations of the committee have received the approval in a general way of the Secretary of State. There may be some doubt as to how far the recommendations have received the approval of the Secretary of State and how far he has committed His Majesty's Government to the acceptance of their recommendations so as to preclude them from reconsidering those recommendations. In answer to a question in the House of Lords, Mr. Montagu stated that he had only given a sort of general approval to the policy but that he did not feel that the Government were precluded from examining the whole question when the full report came. Whatever may be the case with regard to the exact nature of the approval accorded by the Secretary of State or Home Government to the recommendations in Part I of this Report, we desire to express our entire disapproval of this new policy of approving of recommendations of committees and commissions by the Secretary of State. This is Clause (c).

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- (c) The Federation desires to record its protest against His Majesty's Government giving effect to, or otherwise disposing of, the recommendations made by Commissions or Committees on matters of vital importance to the people of India, without affording any opportunity for the expression of their views to the Indian legislature and Indian public, and the Federation urges that none of the recommendations of the Esher Committee should in any way be acted upon until the Indian public and Indian Legislature have expressed their views and before the actual cost of the scheme is worked out and made known to the public. The Conference notes with alarm, that the Government is even now carrying into effect some portions of the recommendations without consulting Indian public opinion and considers that such action will only deepen the distrust of British Military policy already widely prevalent in this country.

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As a matter of fact, the recommendations in certain parts of the report relating to the improvement of the pay and other conditions of the British military service have been accepted by the Government.

We next go on to consider and criticise the point of view from which the members of the committee had approached the problems they had to investigate. We say they approached the question not from the point of view of India or India's requirements, but rather from the view of Imperial requirements. They consider that the centre of gravity in military matters has now shifted from Europe to the East and think that the Army in India has an important part to play in the settlement of those questions which are likely to arise in the near future in the Middle East and they desire the army to be maintained at a level of efficiency which would be needed not only to meet Indian requirements but the requirements of the British Empire as a whole. It is that point of view that we object to as a wrong point of view for the committee to place before themselves. On the other hand, the committee should have had in view the approach of India towards the dominion status and the aspirations of her people to take part in the defence of their country. They should also have taken into account the capacity of the country to bear all these military burdens. It is a peculiar feature of the report that additions are contemplated, but nowhere has the cost of the whole scheme been worked out; and before the cost of the scheme has been worked out and before it has been published, the Imperial Government have undertaken to carry out all those portions of the recommendations which relate to the amelioration of the conditions of the British army in India. I am not here now pronouncing any opinion upon the desirability or otherwise of improving the pay or prospects of any section of the army, but what we do object to very strongly is, that any attempt should be made to involve the country in additional expenditure before giving an opportunity to the public to pronounce their opinion and before giving an opportunity to the legislature to express their opinion. This is clause (d) :—

- (d) The Federation is further of opinion that the problems considered by the Esher Committee have been approached exclusively from the standpoint of Imperial policy and requirements, and hardly, if at all, from the point of view of the requirements of India, whether with reference to her internal needs or her position as a partner entitled to equality of status with the Self-Governing Dominions, or to the natural rights and aspirations of the people of India to take an honourable part in the defence of their country, or her capacity to bear the financial burdens entailed by the scheme

The next clause relates to the assumption which I told you underlay the report, namely, that conditions of grave unrest in the Near and Middle East are matters which must be provided against. The clause is :—

- (e) The Federation regrets the fundamental assumption in the report that conditions of grave unrest in the Near and Middle East, which have been created by complications of European diplomacy and politics, and for which India is in no way responsible are matters which must be provided against by saddling India with burdens necessitated by Imperial Military policy.

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The next clause relates to a very important question of policy and that is as regards the influence to be permitted to be exercised upon military policy in this country by the Imperial General Staff in England. It may be said that the committee have endeavoured to avoid anything like that contingency, that they have endeavoured to maintain the supremacy of the control of the Government of India. They do make statements which suggest that they have in view the necessity for maintaining the control by the Government of India but, though they start with that statement of the objects which they had in view, the actual recommendations which they have made seem very considerably to depart from those excellent objects. In one part of their recommendations they say: "We consider that we shall be laying the foundations of a sound imperial military system, if the plans we propose are consistent—(i) with the control by the Government of India of Indian military affairs; (ii) with giving to the Government of India a voice in questions of Imperial defence, and (iii) with allowing the Imperial General Staff through its chief to exercise its considered influence on the military policy of the Government of India." What we complain now is that, while recognising these objects at the outset of their report, their recommendations are not calculated to achieve these objects. Our contention is that, while it may be desirable to have a unity of Imperial policy in certain matters, the military authorities in India should not be allowed to go behind the civil authorities and communicate direct with the Imperial General Staff and that the Imperial General Staff should not be allowed to exercise any influence on the military policy of India except through the medium of the civil authorities. We wish to maintain first and foremost the supremacy of the civil power and the civil authorities in this country as far as possible consistently with whatever statutes there may be for the time being regulating the relations between the Government of India and the Secretary of State. In another part they say: "We recommend in section 3 that the Commander-in-Chief in India shall be appointed with the concurrence of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and that the Commander-in-Chief shall be the sole military adviser of the Government of India. If this system can be established, the chain of military responsibility for the questions of an imperial character will be complete." So they want to establish a complete chain of responsibility from the Commander-in-Chief to the Imperial General Staff. They say in the next sentence: "On

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the one hand, the Commander-in-Chief will look to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff for supreme direction in all questions of Imperial military policy in which India is concerned; and on the other hand, the Governor-General will look to the Commander-in-Chief for military advice upon questions in which India only is concerned, and also upon questions of a wider military character with confidence, that the Commander-in-Chief will be in a position to express upon the latter the considered views of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff." So long as we remain a part of the British Empire it is certainly necessary that there should be co-ordination in matters of Imperial policy, but that has to be achieved not by subordinating the civil power to the military or by assigning the civil power a secondary place or by enabling the military authorities to take their instructions direct from the Imperial General Staff in England. What we desire in clause (f) of this resolution is that the Commander-in-Chief should not be released from the constitutional supremacy of the supreme power and that the Government of India should have complete control over Indian military affairs and Indian military policy. The clause runs thus :

- (f) The Federation records its emphatic protest against the recommendations of the Committee (1) to allow the Imperial General Staff in England to exercise what the Committee call a considered influence on the military policy of the Government of India, which, if carried out must have the effect of reducing the military administration of India to a position of dependence upon the War Office in England, and depriving the Government of India of their control over Indian Military affairs, and (2) to virtually release the Commander-in-Chief in India from the constitutional supremacy of the civil power.

In the next clause (g) we point out what are the reforms that are needed in the administration of the army more than anything else. Our recommendations in this respect relate to a number of matters in regard to the control of the army and military policy in regard to the position of the Commander-in-Chief, in regard to the employment of Indian troops outside the limits of India and in regard to the eligibility of Indians, for admission to the various ranks of the army. Now the first position that we lay down is "that the army in India should be independent of the British army and under the control of the Government of India and not of the war office." We then say that the Commander-in-Chief should only be the executive head of the army and not a member of the Governor-General's Council. That is a very important part of this clause and it raises a very big question of policy—whether the responsibility for military policy should vest with the civil members of the Government or with the military authorities. Our suggestion in this respect is that the administration of the army here should be modelled on the same line as that of the Empire in England. In England according to

the present arrangements, the responsibility for military policy is vested in His Majesty's Secretary of State for war, who is assisted by an army council. It is exactly the same arrangement that we wish to see followed in this country. The primary responsibility in all matters of policy and of expenditure should rest with a civilian member of the Governor-General's Council corresponding to the Secretary of State for war. But as he would not be possessed of the necessary knowledge it is desirable that he should be assisted by a council of experts which includes the higher military authorities. This council would correspond to the army council in England. The committee in their report refer to the constitution of the High Commission in England, but they observe that the conditions in England and in India are very different and that this country is not suited for the application of the same principles that have been applied in England. What they say in regard to this matter is this: "We have endeavoured to super-impose upon the existing fabric of Indian army administration the general staff idea. In other words, while leaving the control of the army in India to the Governor General in Council, we have tried to knit closer the relations between the High Commission in India and the High Commission as it now exists at the centre of the Empire. We have considered and rejected the proposal to establish in India a civilian member of the Executive Council responsible for the army, and an army council with collective responsibilities, as unsuited to Indian requirements at the present time." We fail to see why it is unsuited. They go on: "Among the numerous recommendations that have been made in former years for the re-constitution of the war department, we have adopted that of Lord Lytton, that the Commander-in-Chief should be himself the only military member of the Viceroy's Council, and we have not thought it conducive to good administration that, upon the Executive Council the Commander-in-Chief should have any military colleague or competitor entitled to deal with the administration of army affairs." They seem to consider that an arrangement which has been adopted as the result of numerous experiments and long experience in England is not suited to this country. English statesmen are very often disposed to imagine that arrangements and institutions which have been adopted in their country are necessarily unsuited to other countries. I do not say that they are necessarily suited to other countries, but it does not follow that they are necessarily unsuited. You remember Lord Morley's illustration of the "arctic fur coat" being inapplicable to the Provinces. There is a similar feeling which leads many an Englishman to think that there is something peculiar in his own institutions which necessarily renders it inapplicable for transplantation to other countries. Now this proposal for an army council to assist a civilian mem-

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ber of the Governor-General's council is one which, we think, ought to have been taken up in earnest and examined, and upon which the committee would have done well to have followed the example of England rather than the recommendations which they have actually made.

The next point to which I desire to draw your attention is this: Indian troops should not as a rule be employed for service outside the external frontiers of India except for defensive purposes or in grave emergencies and with the free consent of the Governor-General in Council. So far as the expenditure of Indian revenues is concerned, they cannot be employed upon any exploitations outside India, except with the consent of Parliament. That is a safeguard provided by the Parliamentary Statute, but it is quite open to the Imperial Government to say "we shall not require you to pay the expenditure, but we shall ask the Government of India to spare us an expeditionary force. We are prepared to meet the cost." The contention is that, under no circumstances, except in grave emergency or except for purposes of repelling foreign invasion, Indian troops should be employed outside the external frontiers of India except with the free consent of the Governor-General in Council. We lay stress upon the "free" consent of the Governor-General in Council because we feel that the Governor-General in Council being constitutionally subordinate to the Secretary of State and to the Government in England, consent may be obtained which might not really deserve to be called "free consent." The next recommendation is that the King's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all armies of His Majesty's forces in India including the territorial army. At present we are aware that Indians are not admitted to all ranks of the army. They are not admitted to the artillery or to the engineering, they are admitted only to the infantry. We want that they should be eligible for all branches of the army, whether regular or auxiliary, just in the same way as British subjects and we ask that a certain percentage of commissions should be thrown open to Indians starting by 25 per cent. and rising by annual increment of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 50. Then we ask for facilities for training Indians as officers in all branches of the army. Then again, there is the proposal to which I attach the very greatest importance and in which I am sure I would be supported by every one in the country. It is this: that the system of having two sets of commissions in the army, one proceeding from the King and the other from the Viceroy, should be abolished. It is pernicious, invidious and should be avoided. An Indian, however long and distinguished his services may be, can never rise to anything above a subhedar. He may, under certain circumstances, be appointed as honorary lieutenant or captain, or colonel, but he cannot possibly be appointed to the same commissioned rank as an

English lieutenant can rise to. In no other country in the world would you find this double set of commissioned officers, one for the natives of the soil and another for the members of the ruling class. Take the case of Japan. It may be said that there is no parallel because there is no ruling class and there is no subject class. But I do not believe that there is any other country in the world in which this system of double commissions, one bearing the stamp of inferiority and conferred upon the natives of the country and the other to which no native of the country is eligible. So long as this distinction is maintained, no Indian with any sense of self-respect would care to enter the army. A man may have seen the most distinguished service in the field, he may have put in 30 years of service, and still he would be obliged to acknowledge as his superior the latest imported second lieutenant from England. Unless these invidious distinctions are abolished, it would be impossible to make the army in India attractive to all. We go further and say that all invidious distinctions based upon racial considerations should be abolished in the army. The whole clause is in these terms:

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- (g) In the opinion of the Federation the reforms urgently needed in the organisation and administration of the Army in India should, *inter alia*, include the following: (1) The position that the Army in India should be independent of the British Army and under the control of the Government of India and not of the War Office should be recognised. (2) The Commander-in-Chief should only be the executive head of the army and not a member of the Governor-General's Council and the portfolio of defence should be entrusted to a civilian member of the Governor-General's Council. (3) Indian troops should not, as a rule, be employed for service outside the external frontiers of India except for defensive purposes or in very grave emergencies and with the free consent of the Governor-General in Council. (4) The King's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of His Majesty's Forces in India, including the Territorial Army. Not less than 25 per cent of the King's Commissions should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects to start with and the proportion raised in ten years to 50 per cent by annual increment of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (5) Adequate facilities should be provided in India for training Indians as officers in all branches of the army by their admission into the existing institutions, as well as by the establishment of new institutions, and in all other possible ways. (6) The system of having two sets of Commissions in the army, one proceeding from the King and the other from the Viceroy, should be abolished. All differences of designation between the British and Indian officers of various ranks should likewise be abolished. (7) All invidious distinctions, based upon racial considerations, should be abolished in the army.

The next clause states :

- (h) So long as the Army in India is maintained partly to meet Imperial needs and controlled by the British War Office, a fair and adequate share of India's military expenditure, determined by the relative interests and capacity of the two countries should be paid by the British.

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If the army in India is cut down to our own requirements and controlled solely by the Government of India, we shall not be justified in asking England to bear a portion of the expenditure, but so long as the army is in excess of our own requirements and so long as the control of the policy is in the hands of the British war office, it is only just and proper that a portion of this military expenditure should be borne by the British Government as well.

These are the various recommendations and criticisms which arise out of the report of this Army in India Committee and I commend them to you for your acceptance. (Loud applause).

Dr. Deva
Prasad
Sarvadhikari.

Dr. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari (Bengal):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, if you have studied the report of the Esher committee with any attention, you will probably have found it laid down, as one of the aphorisms, that the Commander-in-Chief should not take the field. I find, on this occasion, the Commander-in-Chief who has placed this resolution before you under the protection of the chief civil power has judiciously refrained from taking the field and has decided to have his second-in-command cross the barrier, go for the war and go to the front. Ladies and gentlemen, it is an honourable place and as it happens, I am in company that cannot be comparable to the trans-frontier tribes that have often to be met with and dealt with when one crosses the barrier. But I cannot conceal from myself that these wild tribes, though they may be for the moment absent from this hall, are plentiful outside the hall, and the old old story of the cobbler being prepared to stick to the last will be flung to the face of a very civil conference, civil in more respects than one, that is presuming to trench upon ground hitherto held holy and sacred in Simla and Delhi. The dread of trying to tackle the military question has not always been wholesome. It had, however, a very sobering influence,—I do not know whether it was always the “considered influence” which the Esher committee advocates that the Imperial General Staff should have over the military authorities here. At all events, both as a dry-as-dust subject and as a subject somewhat replete with dangers, the military question has been left alone. It is not till recent times that we, in our popular assemblies and legislative assemblies, have been able to take our courage in both our hands and try to see what impression can be made upon the authorities. Last year some of you were with us in Calcutta in much larger numbers and in a more influentially representative character than, I am sorry to say, Calcutta has been able, under stress of circumstances, to do this year. You will remember that it was with some difficulty and almost with the special grace of the president, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, that a belated consideration of this very important subject was allowed on the last

day of the conference when everybody was anxious to get away. You see how the angle of vision changes even amongst ourselves. That which we had the greatest difficulty in getting a hearing about even in our own Moderate Conference last year occupies a place of honour in this morning's agenda after the formal business. I think there is a fitness of things in that. I draw attention to that by way of illustrating and emphasising that, inexperts as we may be, and as we must be in the nature of things, we are not attempting to approach the subject in a captious, capricious, or fitful mood or spirit. It is as a matter of race consideration of the deepest concern that we are giving this place of honour to this question. In order to show that there is continuity in our deliberations, I would, for one brief moment, ask your indulgence when I place before you the resolution passed last year in the conference. You have in your hands a somewhat long resolution that we propose for your acceptance this morning. You will see we were trying to feel the ground to take every step in as cautious and measured a manner as possible last year. The Esher Committee had been just appointed, our representative Sir K. G. Gupta had just joined and we were all full of pious hopes and wishes. In that state of things this was the resolution that was placed before the conference and was adopted by it :

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“This conference is of opinion that as a necessary
“preparation for the goal of responsible Government in recogni-
“tion of the just claims of Indians to bear arms in the defence
“of their country and in fulfilment of the pledge of increasing
“association of Indians in every branch of the administration,
“it is essential to take early steps to place the defensive
“organisation of the country on a national basis.”

... ..

(c) “By taking steps for the organisation of the territorial
“army which will serve as an auxiliary force to the Indian army
“and will bear at least the same proportion thereto as the
“proposed European auxiliary force will bear to the British
“army in India.”

I ask you to note the way in which things were put there. Now, if, in the language of my own profession, and it is a profession from which both the mover and the seconder of this resolution come, I may characterise this resolution. of the Calcutta conference, it was a preamble ; and now Ladies and Gentlemen, you are going to have placed before you the operative portion of the Act, various provisions and clauses not general, vague or indefinite, but worked out with some degree of care giving details and filling in all that will be thought to be of substantive constructive contribution of the leaders of the country towards this important subject. It is the first article of creed in

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every civilised country, it has been so even before civilisation dawned on the world, that the duty, the responsibility and the privilege of defending one's hearth and home should be one's own. It is only as a matter of extreme emergency or when the people had dwindled to slothful, luxurious and vicious habits that the mercenary from the neighbouring strong province was thought of. That was the history in Europe, in ancient Rome and Greece and that was the history, I am afraid, in India, when the first steps in degradation began. That has been the ruin, the misfortune and the disaster of all waning civilisations. The order of things was changed in this country when the British partner whom we chose out of many European contending rivals, rivals for the favours of Indian leaders. When British advent took place, how was it that they went to us? There was no question of distinction of the kind that grew up later on. It was with the active help more than the co-ordination of Indians that the first steps for the establishment of British power in this country took place and standing on the soil of Madras; can we forget the sepoy who went with Lord Clive and who, later on, gave the rice to his white companion and satisfied himself with the rice-water, fought shoulder to shoulder, side by side with the chosen companions in order that the reign of order may efface the reign of disorder that had preceded it? That was how the British army in India, not the British Indian army as it has come to be later, began. Into that long and desultory history one need not now go. Unfortunately the fact remains that, as the power grew, the comradeship of the Indian in the martial field grew less and less. The racial proportion of 2 to 1 was the consequence of unfortunate circumstances, and it tells its own tale. There we have it but it was not the numerical ratio but the differentiation in various other things that took place gradually that incapacitated the Indian for initiative in military affairs and gradually also led to the increase of cost and the increase of burden on the tax-payer. I do not think that the place that we are anxious to give this question in our programme would have been so high and honorable but for the financial and economic aspect of the question which, in all Government matters, must claim the first place. Now, what are the facts which justify us in asking you to draw these conclusions? We have it on the strength of this report that the military cost to-day is double the pre-war cost. The pre-war costs were respectable enough, were crushing enough, and leaders of public opinion who could not make their influence felt were never silent although they were very largely powerless. One should have thought that, at the end of the war, there would be a change and we would go back at least to the pre-war rates, crushing as they were. We have done nothing of the kind. We have doubled the pre-war rates and it is going to be more. But that itself does not carry its own tale. I would ask you to bear with me

for a few moments when I give you, not out of my own heated imagination or fancy, ideas but, sober facts admitted by the report itself. We have it in this report that the administration of the army will be one of the chief responsibilities, if not the most important responsibility which will remain to the Government of India under the reform scheme ; and mark you here, ladies and gentlemen, its cost at present absorbs nearly half the revenues reserved for imperial as opposed to provincial purposes. (Hear, hear). Fancy a householder who after making other provisions for what are called the provinces and I come from a province in the unfortunate position of getting ready its schedule of insolvency, for it cannot make its both ends meet, your province is a little more fortunately situated—after providing for the provinces,—the provision may be good, bad or indifferent as the case may be,—one half the Imperial revenues is already absorbed by the military expenditure. Is it not a perfectly, I would not say, appalling or astonishing but, perfectly disheartening state of things? And even if the recommendations of the Esher Committee are not accepted and given effect to as a whole, a tremendous inroad is going to be made into the remaining half of the Imperial revenues. What is it? Somewhere in the report a pious unctious wish is expressed that, after the budget is framed, the military should adhere to it rigidly except of course in emergency. If time permits, I shall ask you to go through the procedure as to how it should be framed, but to begin with we have the two facts standing out, I am afraid, in prominent degree of fearsomeness, that our military charges are double the pre-war rates and they absorb even at present more than one-half the Imperial revenues. A question of such financial aspect and with so great possibilities for the worst, naturally claims the first attention of any deliberative assembly. I do not shut my eyes to the fact—no sane man would—that the defence of a country from outside enemies and the preservation of internal tranquility must be the first charge on all revenues, but there are limitations. What is the burden of song throughout the report? It is not the rank necessity, it is the fetish of efficiency, of contentment in the army as it is frankly put. The army is all right. It gave a very good account of itself, even starved as it was, according to the report. I have not the least doubt that it would give an equally good or a better account of itself if it was faced with dangers—again of that kind. But it is not the rank needs of the situation but the plea for efficiency that has been the watch-word of our administrators wherever we have to be put at arm's length. It is not merely that plea. There is a sort of covered threat. The report in its concluding portion says: "Many changes are needed, and they should not be postponed. The army in India is not immune from the general unrest prevailing throughout the world." What is it, ladies and gentlemen ; is it a white mutiny or a black

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mutiny or a black and white mutiny that is apprehended if the recommendations of the Esher Committee are not to be given effect to? Is that the idea intended to be conveyed? I say, if that is so, it is a serious slur on the Government of the country, it is a serious slur on the army, both British and Indian, and they shall be the first to resent such a suggestion gratuitously put forward on their behalf,—may be by some of their leaders,—and if you are bringing to the forefront the question of the general unrest throughout the world, what about the Indian world outside the military zone? How can you expect it to be immune from the general unrest and all that is incident to it and all that follows it. Therefore for goodness's sake, keep that aspect of the question in the background. Indication has been very fully given in Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar's speech, in the resolution itself, in the address of the President yesterday, to show the sort of things that we want to combat in connection with the Esher Committee's report. While public opinion is waiting to express itself, effect is being given to some of the recommendations. There may be good reason for doing so, and apart from and independent of those recommendations, the Government having information on the subject, may think that it is desirable to take some steps that will avoid—I shall not say the catastrophe but the contingencies that are undesirable. While the bigger issues, the larger questions that were indicated in our last year's resolution which was or, at least, ought to have been before the Esher Committee, are neglected, they do not hesitate to go into the question of baths and buckets and quarters for married men and various other things that find place in their report to the detriment of the larger issues that we pointedly raised in this conference last year and which our representative attempted to do very ineffectively—not feebly we are glad and proud to be able to say—but very ineffectively and how are all these questions dealt within the terms of reference? What are the terms of reference? They are :

“ (i) To enquire into and report, with special reference “ to *post bellum* conditions, upon the administration, and, where “ necessary, an organization of the army in India including its “ relations with the war office and the India Office and the rela- “ tions of the two offices to one another.”

“ (ii) To consider the position of the Commander-in- “ Chief in his dual capacity as head of the army and member of “ the Executive Council and to make recommendations.”

“ (iii) To consider and to report upon any other matters “ which they may decide are relevant to the enquiry.”

These minor details have been considered to be relevant to the enquiry, but the bigger questions raised were purposely put on the one side. In the speeches supporting that resolution last

year, pointed attention was called to the unsatisfactory nature of the terms of reference themselves as well as to the composition. Nothing was done to remedy that state of things. Therefore it is our primary duty, however we may fail, to try to bring home to the authorities that you cannot deal with the question in the way that it has foreshadowed it shall be dealt with. The field is a very vast one. I do not propose to trouble you with regard to all the points that must be raised in connection with this but one thing is made very clear in the report itself. The report, you will remember, has come piecemeal, a sort of scissorian operation, the impatient mother trying to send out part of what she was ready with. The language of the first part of the report is very significant. It is a very short report. It is a report made before they left England and before our representatives, good, bad and indifferent had arrived, before a single witness had been examined even formally. What do they say in the report, although the terms of reference are large enough for that purpose? They say this: "So convinced are we of the desirability of obtaining a decision of His Majesty's Government on the principles laid down in Part I before proceeding to the laborious examination of the numerous questions covered by our reference, that we have thought it imperative to place Part I of our report in your hands before the committee proceeds to India." It is very frank—the military can be frank if they want to be. But it is not business as we are accustomed to regard it. And then that is not all. They want to export a sort of approval before they begin their laborious duty, the laborious duty that kept the President all the time at home and sent a very objectionable and indifferent substitute to India. They say: "It would facilitate the work of the committee and would render their complete report of greater value to His Majesty's Government and to the Government of India, if we could obtain from you, at an early date, an indication of the advice you are likely to tender to His Majesty's Government upon the principal questions covered by Part I of our report." You have heard from Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar what Mr. Montagu's answer in regard to that was. Whatever that might have been, in the second part of the report, these members take upon themselves to say, again without Sir K. G. Gupta, "The proposals in Part I having been in the main approved by you." Either Mr. Montagu is not right or this report is not right. Anyway the rest of the report proceeds on the basis that the fundamental points in Part I of the report have been approved. Later on, we have Sir K. G. Gupta intervening; and in his dissenting note he makes out a great many grievances, one of which is that the report has proceeded upon the basis that it shall not be inconsistent with the future development of the reform scheme to bring the military question in line with what obtains in the dominions. He emphasised that the report should have been on that basis. Not only is the report inconsis-

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tent but the report should have been so framed as to expedite the bringing into line of the military affairs of this country with what obtains in the colonies and the dominions; because, that, after all, is the objective towards which the Government are admittedly working and towards which the people should work. Now, in a very lofty, detached sort of way and somewhat in a spirit of snubbing Sir K. G. Gupta, this is the way that we have the matter dealt with by the committee. They say that they had notice of a note of their colleague—I am not quoting the exact words of the report—that they remembered it all, and did all they could, but what they say is 'you may spare yourself the pains that you take.' They say that what is possible with parliamentary democratic institutions is not to be thought of in regard to the Indian reform scheme however courageous and generous it may be. That can be answered and can be answered in one and one way only. They themselves admit that the whole scheme is tentative, that in view of the consideration awaiting the question of the High Commission and schemes with regard to the forming of the Imperial Staff and the Imperial Foreign Office and various other Imperial institutions, this scheme must be tentative, and if it is admittedly a tentative scheme, if it is full of shortcomings like those that have been brought out in the speeches and in the resolution, I do not know whether the Government are entitled to take any but the most necessary action in respect of the report. It is not always that they do take action unless it suits their purpose. I shall now proceed to call your attention to one of the things that came out of the report and with regard to which I am afraid very insufficient action has been taken so far. That is with regard to the formation of the territorial force. I draw your attention to the framing of last year's resolution where we said that steps should be taken for the organization of the territorial army which will serve as an auxiliary force to the Indian army and which will bear some proportion thereto as the proposed European auxiliary force. Since the report of the territorial committee has come or is coming—I do not know which would be the correct way of putting it—we shall see what it is. The auxiliary force, which is for the benefit of our European friends, has already come. They have to be coaxed and cajoled and even in their case a sort of citizen-soldier spirit has to be nursed. The Territorial Bill was passed. I do not see my honourable friend Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri here because I have got to make a confession and undergo a sort of penance. I am very sorry that we did not see eye to eye with him when we wanted to have the Territorial Bill thrown out altogether or to have it brought in a line with the Auxiliary Forces Bill. That is not covered by the resolution because one of the recommendations here is embodied in clause (g). [I see the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri from his elevated seat as member of the Council of State and he is listening]. The

territorial army is there or will be there, but the thing which we really want not in supersession of the territorials but by way of supplementing them, is what the auxiliary force in the case of Europeans happens to be. Now a little question of detail has to be gone into because it affects our civic life as a people aspiring for martial career. Now there are three ways of joining the military ; as a regular, which is so far confined to what are called the military races. One of the points in the resolution is that it shall not be confined to the military races because it is unduly taxing the resources of a province like Madras and unjustly leaving to the background territories like Bengal and Orissa. We have to nurse the military spirit in all parts of the dominion, so that all may take their share in the country's advance. However, that is another matter. There is the regular army with regard to which we do not propose to say anything at present, and then there is the territorial forces in the making, and the auxiliary. The auxiliary is for the benefit of those who do not propose to give their whole time to military training but who will, during such odd hours of leisure, put in what is called intensive drill and qualify themselves in a short time and raise themselves to the status of what the territorial would have to do by prolonged training. Now the territorials is quite alright as a second line of defence. It will be cheaper. It will certainly instil the martial instincts into our people, into such of our people as can afford the necessary time and have the necessary leisure and, I may add, have the necessary means, but who do not propose to join the regular forces. But there is a large outstanding body of people, the ordinary citizen, the tradesman, the merchant, the lawyer, the professor, the doctor, the engineer, the man of leisure, who cannot and who will not join the territorial forces, but who, if facilities were given, would join what used to be the volunteer forces of old and what we now, in the case of European and Anglo-Indian and all-and-sundry that may be covered by that epithet, have as the auxiliary force. That is the kind of military training that we were anxious to secure for our men who would not be able to join the regular forces or have the time even for the territorial. Now the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri urged and urged with great force, and we were shortsighted enough in not supporting him because we wanted something, and that hankering after something has been the bane of many a good advance. His point of view was,—and there was a compromise—‘have the territorials by all means, but have the auxiliary also.’ If we think that we cannot be admitted to the same corps as European for reasons perfectly intelligible, why not have a force corresponding to the European auxiliary force and make it possible for that balance of people who are anxious for military training and who would serve the country when time needed? He was good enough to fall in with our point of view. We decided upon a compromise which has turned out to be illusory. I warned the

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authorities without any hesitation that, unless the situation was immediately improved, it was not possible to have any response to the appeal for territorials. Everything was left to the rules. We passed the Act some months ago and the rules have not yet come. I shall not go into that which is private or semi-private. But we have the fact that although the Territorial Forces Act was passed some months ago, to my knowledge many of the members of the Select committee agreed to that compromise, but nothing has been done to put the rules on a proper basis, so that we might go to our young men and ask them to join the territorials even at some sacrifice. They have been good enough to say that, in the case of university students and professors, they would make exceptional arrangements with regard to the question of discipline, dress and various other matters that intervene and sometimes stand in the way of effective co-operation. They have been agreeable to that all. All honour to the late Commander-in-Chief Mr. Munro, but that is where the matter stands now. The rules good, bad or indifferent, have not yet come and those who want to join the ranks of the territorial forces are still waiting. They are not going to look at the question if the rules are not favourable. You know Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, that untiring benefactor of all good purposes, was good enough to authorise me to state to the council that one lakh of rupees would be available for the Hindu University corps if the rules were suitable. The rules are not there and Dr. Ghose's one lakh yet remains unclaimed. You have heard of Mr. Bannerjee providing another lakh towards the same object by another means. All this spirit is there. You cannot say that the people are lagging behind, that opportunities and facilities are given to them and they have failed to avail themselves of them. That they did avail themselves is admitted in the report and I think with all the depression round—it may be some satisfaction to our friends interested in the cause—that the movement already initiated has not altogether failed. I would like to draw the veil over the so-called failure of the Bengal corps. There are things connected with that question on which an authoritative pronouncement is made in this report, but I do not propose to go far beyond that veil; but I do complain that all that might have been brought to their favour was not allowed to be brought because no evidence was taken. Certain persons who were prepared to give informal evidence were bluntly told that they were no longer wanted, and the Committee could come to their own decision without any assistance from them. With regard to the Calcutta University corps in which I took some pride, this is what the Esher committee said: "Another experiment which so far promises better results has been made since 1917 when sanction was given to the formation of the six University corps varying in strength from 1125 in Calcutta to 125 in Patna, in the areas

“served by the universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore and Patna. The total sanctioned strength is 2625. There were 2916 applicants up to 15th June 1919 and 1823 enrolments *viz.* Calcutta 533, Bombay 485, Allahabad 309, Lahore 496. A total of 980 men has been trained.”

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“The Calcutta University corps is the strongest in numbers and most forward in training. It appears that even with an insufficiency of officers and instructors (now being made good) the corps has made healthy progress; the men have improved much in physique under the training, are quick to learn from European instructors (whom they prefer to Indian non-commissioned officers), are steadily overcoming the caste difficulties which stand in the way of training, are becoming more amenable to discipline and turn out smartly on parade. We have not had information as to the progress of other universities corps but having regard to the failure of the university corps in Bengal and the very meagre success of the Bengali Battation, we consider the success attained by the Calcutta University corps a hopeful indication that these corps are likely to furnish the best material as well as the surest foundations on which to build.”

That is the testimony in regard to a very unmartial people. You have heard that the report came out in parts. You have not heard that it was these parts that were guarded like valued treasures and kept secret. Even when members of council were demanding publication of the report it was under the seal of secrecy and edited editions were made over to members of the select committee, so that they may shape the Territorial Forces Bill. However, even under these disadvantages the Territorial Forces Bill was framed and we accepted what we thought would be a gain. If the auxiliary force principle was accepted, if that was done, co-operation or non-co-operation, I answer for 6,000 men wanted in Calcutta. On the day, in Wellington Square, when non-co-operation was preached, our parade ground contained more men and these men could not be taken away. Here was the right spirit of military discipline. They were crying for interference on proper lines, but we have failed there. That is one thing which I would like to bring home to the authorities that, if they want to instil the martial spirit in the people, they have got to give facilities. Civil authorities are the ultimate guide of these things, not the military and if a certain failure within a few weeks is to damn the whole, there is an end of the whole question. I am afraid, ladies and gentleman, the chairman's indulgence has been already abused. But there is one other matter with regard to which I think I must say a few words and that is with regard to the Commander-in-Chief ceasing to be a member of the Executive Council. I do not want to adduce any argument of my own. The report contains abundant material

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with regard to that. If we turn to page 7 this is what we have in the first part of the report. You will remember Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar told you that they recommended that the Commander-in-Chief should be the sole military adviser to the Government of India. The objection is not to his being the sole adviser, but we claim that he should be an adviser and nothing more than an adviser. That is the position taken up in the resolution and that is the position which this report itself contains. Great grievances were made of the Commander-in-Chief being obliged to take part in other than military affairs, in being obliged to sign, etc. and his time being unnecessarily taken up. If that is the position of affairs which the report admits, why should the poor Commander-in-Chief be burdened with the duty of being an Executive Councillor? The report wants him to be the sole military adviser. Let him be, so far as India is concerned. Let him place it before his civilian colleagues of the council who must be the higher authority. They say. "We are impressed by the necessity of maintaining this instrument, placed as it always must and should be in the hands of the civil power, in the highest state of efficiency." Let the civil power control the situation. That is what happens in England. Even lawyers have been Secretaries of State there and a lawyer here may be a Secretary of State for War and the Commander-in-Chief will give his advice, postulate his requirements and make things generally known to the Viceroy. There is a sort of apprehension that round the lunch table of the Commander-in-Chief things would take place and they should not. Everything should be placed before the Council and the Council should judge. While, on the one hand, the powers of the Viceroy are sought to be augmented in this report, you will find it is attempted very sedulously to be taken away from the Secretary of State. He is to have no advice on the Council but is to look to the chief of the staff here for all the light and guidance needed and there is no correspondence needed between the civil authorities and the chief of the staff direct. Everything should go through the channel of the Commander-in-Chief. In that state of things it is apprehended that the cost which is already ruinous is likely to go up by leaps and bounds. They themselves see the reasonableness of the situation and say that a programme should be made out and step by step taken up. Therefore, reading through the report, one cannot honestly say that the recommendations there are of an emergency nature and that they will not brook public criticism and will not admit of delay. All that the resolution pleads for is a deliberate consideration of the recommendations in all their aspects, a due appreciation of facts, framing the budget and seeing the ultimate cost, etc. When furthermore the outlying reasons of the reform scheme have been complied with, then and then alone should these recom-

mendations be seriously dealt with as part of practical politics. That being the state of things, gentlemen, I do not think you will have any hesitation to give your hearty support to the resolution. (Cheers).

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Mr. B. S. Kamath (Bombay.)—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—, My immediate predecessor, Dr. Sarvadhikari, has, in his characteristic style at the beginning of his remarks, referred to the fact that, in the Esher Committee Report, we have sent forward to our front two of our bigger guns. I appear to fill up the rank and file. I trust you will please bear with me for a few minutes especially in view of the fact that already the two bigger guns have expended a good deal of powder and shot, leaving very little for me. I shall endeavour to cover not the very same ground but shall very briefly dwell on one or two other points. Our friend Sir Sivaswami Aiyar has already told you about the control of the Commander-in-Chief and the recommendation of the Esher Committee with reference to the position which the Viceroy should hold in the new regime. According to the Statute, I believe, according to the Act of 1857, the Viceroy is theoretically the head of the Indian army and although he derives his advice from the Commander-in-Chief he is supposed to be the responsible man for the Indian army. The Esher Committee entirely turns a new leaf and now wants to transfer the whole responsibility from the Viceroy to the Chief of the Imperial Staff, that is to say, the Viceroy will no longer be the man to shape the military policy of India, but he will look to England, to Whitehall, for the military policy of India and this policy, according to the recommendations of the Esher Committee, is to be shaped not in the interests of the Indian people, not in the interests of the British soldier in India, but with a view to Imperial interests, with a view to the chain of responsibility and the unity of responsibility for Imperial purposes. In other words, the whole plan has been concocted in Whitehall. The dog will be there and the Viceroy will wag his tail here. That will be the policy. The Esher Committee made no secret whatever regarding the motives of the change. At page 7 they distinctly say that all this is 'intended for Imperial necessity. Of course they pretend.—I use the word 'pretend' advisedly—that one of their motives is to have better efficiency, better equipment, better organization for the Indian army. Perfectly true; but all that has to be done and the military resources of India are to be worked up with the ulterior object that India should serve Imperial purposes. For purposes of serving the Imperial policy of the British people and the British Cabinet in other parts of the Empire, Indian armies should be used. Regarding the responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief he is to look to the staff in England for his instructions, and the Viceroy

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is to look to the Commander-in-Chief for his advice and the Viceroy will be a figure-head or a non entity. Under the present arrangements, under the Army Department, there was an officer called the Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department. Now the Committee recognise that, in future, the Army Department and the other departments should be combined together. This Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department, was, as it were, a connecting link and had every access to the Viceroy and was the means of communication; this office is to be abolished and the Viceroy is not allowed in future any access to what is going on in the Army Department of the Government of India. That will be his position in future. Therefore the attempt of the Esher Committee is to serve the purpose of the Imperial policy of England rather than the policy of the attainment by the people of India of full responsible government. As Sir K. G. Gupta rightly pointed out in his dissenting minute, we have been gradually developing political reforms in India and we have in sight the first instalment as it were of responsible government. We claim for the people of India that our ultimate goal is full responsible government and full responsible government can never be attained unless and until we have not only a share in the management of the country on the military side; that is, not until we have a full share over our military and naval policy. So far as military control is concerned, the Esher Committee say in effect that they have transferred it from the Viceroy to the High Command in England. How do they provide for our participation in military training? So long we have been hoping that the Esher Committee will make some recommendation for the training of Indian officers. I am disappointed to find that although they expressed some pious hopes at the present moment, they content themselves with the recommendation that the Kitchener College which is intended to give an inferior training is enough at the present stage for the military training in India and later on they say that even their Indian colleagues agreed that the stage had not arrived when there should be provision for training in India. I am rather surprised how the Indian colleagues on the Esher Committee consented. For I contend once again that, if we are to keep the goal that India should have full responsible government, we must agitate for complete military training, the same as there is in England. That has not been provided for by the Esher Committee. That is one of its serious drawbacks. I think this conference should condemn it, if for nothing else, at least for this. Now as regards finance, my friend Dr. Sarvadhikari went into that subject. I wish to point out one instance how the Esher Committee has been regardless of our case with regard to the increase of pay. We have been contending that the military expenditure has been enormous, far beyond the

capacity of the Indian nation to bear. But it goes further and says that the present pay of the British officer is inadequate and, owing to circumstances and economic conditions after the war, a further advance and a further increase, if not in the pay at least in the allowance, is necessary for the British officer. What are the reasons by which it justifies the case? They are, to my mind, exceedingly grotesque. If you permit, I will just read a few lines in the original as to how it justifies this increase in the salaries of the British officer. The committee says: "We wish in conclusion to point out that the outlook of the present day soldiers upon life is widely different from that of their predecessors of the old army. They have neither their deep-seated discipline, nor their long-suffering patience. They and their wives look for a higher standard of comfort and a somewhat different class of recreation. Their reasonable aspirations must be met and their idiosyncracies must be sympathetically studied, if they are to be a contented army while serving in India." Now here the members of the Esher Committee, almost in a brazen-faced manner, go out of their way to tell us that even their idiosyncracies should be studied and met out of the pockets of the Indian tax-payer. That is the justification for the advance in military expenditure. I shall now refer to one part of the resolution as to whether Indian soldiers should be utilised outside British India. Some of us have been hoping that a day may come when, in the process of evolution, the Indian people or some of our people may be trained to the navy. Here again the report of the Esher Committee is exceedingly disappointing. No doubt the Esher Committee recommends that a new department, the Department of Munitions and Royal Marine, should be started with all the paraphernalia of controllers, deputy controllers and so forth. Here again with what purpose? I shall read to you the objects which the Esher Committee has in expanding the Royal Marine of India. It says: "We think it desirable that the policing of the Persian Gulf should be taken over by the Royal Indian Marine. The climate is enervating and the nature of the duties is such as can be performed by Indians, thus setting free British sailors. The Indian, trained and led by British officers, will be a match for any enemy that he is likely to encounter there." That is the reason they assign why the Royal Indian Marine should be sent out of India and that is exceedingly exasperating, if nothing else. It might interest you to learn further what the views are of this Committee regarding the formation of the Marine. The Committee says: "We have seen the scheme prepared by Lord Jellicoe, as a result of his recent visit to India, in which he advocates the expansion of the present Royal Indian Marine into an Indian navy. This proposal is, we understand, under the consideration of the Government of India and is, in any

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"case, outside our terms of reference. We have been informed, however, that the Government of India, while unable at present to accept the scheme for an Indian navy as put forward by Lord Jellicoe, recognised that the Royal Indian Marine should be expanded so as to enable it to undertake certain fresh responsibilities, the most important of which is the policing of the Persian Gulf." We have been contending that the British Cabinet has no business to utilise Indian troops outside British India. Here is the recommendation of the Committee regardless of public opinion in India. The reason they assign is this: we think it is desirable that the policing of the Persian Gulf should be taken over by the Royal Indian Marine because the climate is enervating and the nature of the duty is such as can be performed only by Indians. The Indian soldier is to be utilised in the Persian Gulf simply because the climate is such that the Indian soldier can bear it and the Indian tax-payer should pay for it. "The Indian, trained and led by British officers, will be a match for any enemy that he is likely to encounter there." That is, they are going to exploit the Indian soldier and the Indian sailor and take advantage of his qualities simply because they want to set free the British soldier. I think the reasons I have given are exceedingly good enough to condemn the whole report from the Indian standpoint. There is only one more remark that I wish to make and that is a reference which I feel constrained to make to the dissenting minute which has been added to the report by Sir Umar Hayat Khan. I believe this conference must feel it one of its duties not to allow this dissenting minute of our countryman to go unchallenged. The reasons which Sir Umar Hayat Khan has given to controvert the arguments of Sir K. G. Gupta that there should be the introduction of more Indian element in the Indian army, the arguments that he has used, are to my mind such as will compel every Indian to hang down his head in shame to see that one of his own countrymen who was on the Committee should feel it consistent with his dignity to add a dissenting minute of this nature. In answer to Sir K. G. Gupta's dissenting minute he says: "The necessity for this (the British element), I have seen myself in various campaigns especially in the last war. There have been occasions when it was only the presence of British units which kept the Indian troops staunch." Do you for a moment really believe that that was the condition of things? In answer to Sir Umar Hayat, let me give an answer from here that "the war was won by the British Indian officers and it was their presence and their training which ultimately led to the keeping of the Indian soldiers staunch and loyal to the ground." That was the testimony given by the Esher Committee itself. I believe the statement of Sir Umar Hayat that the British people are necessary in the Indian army is nothing but an invention of his rotten imagination. With these

words, I very strongly support the resolution placed before you. (Loud applause).

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Mr. B. Venkatapati Raju (Madras):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—, For the last two hours we have been considering about the military policy of the Government of India. In doing so, our eminent leaders, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar and Dr. Sarvadhikari, have dealt with the subject so thoroughly that it is unnecessary for me to say much on it; but I want to impress upon you that the military policy of the Government of India which is now embodied in this Esher report which is partly admitted by the British Government—perhaps they may omit it hereafter—is only a policy which they have adopted during the last 120 years. This Government adopted this disastrous policy not even now but from the time when the Marquis of Wellesley came over to India. In the year 1803 he himself suggested what was stated in this report to-day that we have to maintain an army in India for Imperial purposes for the defence of the Empire and he suggested that there were only 80,000 at that time, both European and Indian, and they wanted to increase it to 1,42,000 and a modest sum of increase of about 75 lakhs per annum. That is a small sum when we see further; but at that time, fortunately for our purposes so far as this point is concerned, the traders were in charge of the rule. The East India Company stated “we have already a public debt of 20 crores. How are we to meet it by expending another 75 lakhs every year. “The Indian people are very poor. How could they afford to “pay after meeting several costs, for this extra expenditure? “Therefore be satisfied with a small increase.” That was what was stated by the Court of Directors in those days. Since then the Government of India have always maintained the army, not in order to train you, to befit you as citizens to defend your country but to see that their domination is maintained and perpetuated; and during all these years with that object they always kept, prior to the mutiny of 1857, about one-fifth European army and four-fifths Indian army costing not much as it is now but only 12½ crores; but after the mutiny they thought it best to increase it from 40,000 British troops to 75,000 and reduced 215,000 Indian troops to 148,000. But even then the cost was not much. It had only ranged between 14½ to 15 crores, but the worst part of it, as pointed out by our President, came in when they brought the Amalgamation scheme in the year 1859. That was the thin end of the wedge. By that, they said, we want to pay you as we pay in England. They are rich people, they pay more and they say “whatever we pay in England you have to pay here” and they said “we will also train them” because prior to that date Europeans were trained in India. They said “we will train them at your expense. You will pay them and

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that increase goes to another crore.' At that time when it was costing only about 15 crores, British statesmen in England stated "how do you expect that India will bear such a crushing burden as 15 crores every year for the maintenance of such an army?" If it is not scandalous, they said, it was very extravagant. But when you find that you have to spend at a normal figure 60 crores, would any of you hesitate to call it scandalous which they did hesitate to call it in those years? During the war we have done our little best, we have done more than all the other dominions have done. When they have contributed 12 per cent. of the army all of them combined, we have contributed 13 per cent. alone. We have given our money fully. During the period of the war we have spent more than 300 crores on military expenditure and after having done all that, is this the reward which we receive? The reward is: "hereafter we are not satisfied with spending 60 crores,—that is, one half of our net income",—but the whole amount has to be handed over to them and they would spend it. They want to take one-half of our revenues for them to spend as they please not in the interests of India but in the interests of the British Empire. Would you tolerate it? Would you allow that your money should be spent according to the dictates of Whitehall? If you think that you cannot spend that amount, you ought to say so and that too in most emphatic terms. The other points which our friends have already brought to your notice are: how they have neglected our interests, how they did not care to train, how they did not care that our people should be given commissions equally with them—all these points were eloquently stated by them. I do not now mean to add any words more except to say that the military policy as embodied in the Esher report is a dangerous pest to the financial condition of our country and also to our constitution. What is the use of saying that they are conferring self-government on us when they say 'you are not entitled to dictate how far your troops have to go'? It is for us to dictate, it is for us to lead. Even the President has pointed out that they want the Arms Act to be practically abrogated in favour of Europeans. Our friends were satisfied with the Arms Act. Even that they have not given to us. We find that our national debt has been increased during the war to the extent of 200 crores and they have doubled our expenditure on military charges, whereas no other civilised country is spending even one half of what we are doing, because the expenditure of Japan both on the army and on the navy comes far below what we spend—it is only 12 crores,—we spend about 20 and now 40 crores after the war. Therefore I have no hesitation in expecting that you would enthusiastically carry this resolution with acclamation. (Cheers).

Mr. Mehta (Bombay):—Ladies and gentlemen, after hearing the speeches of the two noble friends here, I do not think I can sound a note of discord, but I do maintain there is one thing in your resolution to which I conscientiously demur. It is this: I agree to everything that has been advanced by every speaker on this point, but to No. 2 in your clause (g) which says that the Commander-in-Chief should only be the Executive head of the army and not a member of the Governor-General's Council, I object. I maintain that, without the Commander-in-Chief being a member of the Council, I do not think we will be in a position to guide the military line so well as we would be with him in our Council. There may be civilian members who will go against him and one may have the benefit of this opposition in such a way as to modify or to bring him round. I sincerely think that this matter may be considered. I do not wish to move any amendment. I do not wish to move any opposition. It is always unpopular to move an opposition to a resolution so well proposed that I feel diffident to move any; but I think I cannot go against my conscience in accepting the proposition as it is worded.

Indian Military Policy.

Mr. Mehta.

The President:—Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Mehta dissents from one of the recommendations embodied in the resolution. I may mention that Mr. Mehta urged his reasons in the Subjects Committee yesterday and with all respect to the point of view from which he looked at the question, the Committee arrived at the conclusion, and I believe you will arrive at the conclusion, that the recommendation embodied in the resolution may be accepted. Mr. Mehta agrees with the rest of the resolution. May I now put the resolution to vote?

The President.

Dr. Sarvadhikari:—May I make a suggestion that they may be put separately?

Dr. D. P. Sarvadhikari.

The President:—But he does not move an amendment.

The President.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously, except that Mr. Mehta dissented from one of the recommendations embodied in it.

THE NAVAL DEFENCE OF INDIA.

Resolution IV.

The Naval Defence of India.

The President:—The resolution that I wish to put to you is in these terms:

The President.

The National Liberal Federation of India requests the Secretary of State to publish immediately in India the report of Lord Jellicoe regarding the naval defence of India, and urges that no conclusions should be reached on the recommendations contained therein until the Indian Legislature and the people of India have had opportunities of expressing their opinions on the same. Any fresh burdens imposed upon India without reference to her needs and requirements and to her existing burdens, will produce great dissatisfaction. No scheme of naval defence which does not provide for the free and unrestricted admission of Indians to all ranks of the navy will be acceptable to the country.

The resolution was put and carried.

Procedure Re :
Commissions &
Committees.

PROCEDURE RE : COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES.

Resolution V.

The President.

The President :— As regards the necessity of this resolution some of the observations made by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar in moving the resolution on the Esher Committee report would have satisfied you that it is desirable to make this recommendation. I therefore put this resolution to you :

The Federation urges that rules be framed to ensure that no action, administrative or legislative, shall be taken on the reports of any Commission or Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India or the Government of India until an opportunity shall have been given to the Indian Legislature to express its opinion thereon and, in regard to matters specially affecting any province, until such an opportunity shall have been given to the Legislature of that province. It further urges that, in regard to Commissions and Committees appointed by Local Governments, similar rules be framed ensuring that an adequate opportunity shall be afforded to the Local Legislature concerned for the consideration of the reports of such Commissions and Committees.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The Conference then adjourned for a short interval during which time, after lunch, the Subjects Committee also met.

The Conference re-assembled at 3-30 after lunch.

The President.

The President :—Ladies and gentlemen, I have been asked to announce that to-morrow afternoon Diwan Bahadur Chathurbujadoss Govindoss requests you to be his guests at lunch at this very place.

I would now ask Mrs. Besant to move the resolution on Non-Co-operation as finally settled by the Subjects Committee.

Non-Co-operation.

Mrs. Besant—

Mrs. Besant.

Mrs. Annie Besant, who was greeted with an ovation, moved the following resolution :

“ The Federation expresses its emphatic disapproval of the policy of Non-Co-operation as calculated to destroy individual liberty of speech and action, to incite social discord and retard the progress of the country towards Responsible Government, but the Federation feels that the best way of successfully combating the Non-Co-operation movement is for the Government to redress the wrongs that have led to its adoption.”

In doing so she said : Mr. President and brother delegates ; You will see that the resolution as moved is slightly different in wording from what you find in the resolution in your hands. Slight changes were made in the Subjects Committee, so that it might be agreeable to all members.

In placing this resolution before you, there are two points of view from which we are asking you to regard it ;—The movement itself regarded in its effect upon the country and then the duty of the Government and the responsibility which lies on the Government for the present condition of the movement. On both of these there may very well be, among thoughtful people, a considerable difference of opinion as regards details. We are trying to touch the points on which all may reasonably be agreed, who disapprove of the movement for whatever reason. We also feel that the whole of the blame for it, if you regard it as mischievous, should not be thrown on those who are taking part in it, but that the Government has a large share in the responsibility for the movement, that it has done nothing to help us who have been working against the movement and that the Government is rather in some ways playing into the hands of those who look upon Co-operation as useless. Both these points, I think, we shall practically be agreed upon. In putting the subject to you, the speakers naturally will put their own point of view, the resolution being that which binds us all. One very favourite way of treating the subject by a very considerable portion of politicians in the country has been to separate principle and practice and say that they approve of the principle of Non-Cooperation but, where practice comes in, then a very large difference arises. I submit that, to begin with, it is not desirable to formulate an opinion on an abstract principle without knowing how the people who are asserting it are going to carry that principle out. None of us probably who are well acquainted with modern history, none of us who have watched the struggles of western nations to reach freedom, need say that, in principle, removed from all circumstances of practice, we disapprove of revolution. I am using the word *revolution* deliberately in order that you may see why some of us decline to say that we approve of the principle of Non-Co-operation. Non-Co-operation, as it is now admitted by its advocates, is a direct attack on the Government. It does not follow that an attack as such is necessarily unjustifiable. There may be conditions of intolerable wrong where the only hope of a miserable people is to revolt against its Government. I was brought up in those traditions among the Liberals of England and no one would dream of saying that revolution *per se* was necessarily blamable. No Liberal can say so, because in doing so, he would deny in every country that has achieved freedom so far the right of a nation to take up arms in defence against intolerable wrongs. But there must be, in the case of revolution, the power to carry it out. Mr. Gandhi acknowledged that there was no power to carry out revolution. Non-Co-operation is, I think, another way of revolt, in principle the same as revolution opposed to reform which is the gradual

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improvement of the condition of things, by catastrophe, and upset of the power and starting again on a new line. I cannot deny that inherent right of a people. I remember Garibaldi acclaimed both by the Government and people in England. I recall the work of Mazzini admired and loved by the great mass of English people. One that recalls the names that shine out in history as liberators of their country cannot therefore deny that right, but I shall not go about saying that I affirm the principle. Why should I make a statement of that sort to disturb the minds of people unless I were prepared to carry it out in practice? You cannot separate principle and practice when you are dealing with political affairs. Your principle is empty and in the air, unless you suggest some practical means of carrying it out. To say that you approve of the principle of Non-Co-operation and to deprecate practice is to play with the ignorance of the masses who are not ready to carry out those words into practice and that involves danger to their lives. We have taken up the line that we object to this practice and we will not emptily say that we approve of or admit the principle. We come then to look at the practice. I will remind you of the remarkable changes through which this so-called programme has passed. When it began about last April in an indefinite form, Mr. Gandhi published his four steps of progressive Non-Co-operation. Those steps were giving up titles, including honorary offices under Government, next, paid offices were to be resigned, the third was the inducing of the police and the soldiers to leave their duties and the fourth was the non-payment of taxes. Those were put frankly, straightly, and very precisely so that every one could understand them. In his first speech here as President of the Khilafat Conference in Madras, Mr. Shaukat Ali said definitely that the fifth stage was revolution. At that time Mr. Gandhi forbade his followers to add anything to the Khilafat grievance. Non-Co-operation was only to remedy the Khilafat wrong as a protest against the breaking of the promise that the Turkish Holy Land would be left to Turkey. That was the special cause of complaint together with a general attack on the Turkish rule in Europe. Mr. Muhammad Ali, when he was in England with a deputation, put it as a grievance, but that has not been very largely accepted, as far as I have seen, by many people in this country. Only the other day I was indignantly told by a Musselman that they never asked for the restoration to Turkey of the *status quo ante bellum*. On that Mr. Gandhi spoke very, very strongly. In the Conference held in Allahabad at the beginning of June or rather in the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Benares, the day before, it was said that it would not be possible for the country as a whole to move merely on the Khilafat question and

it was suggested that the Punjab tragedy should be part of the cause for Non-Co-operation. Also at that meeting the Reform Act was discussed and the Hunter Report was also brought in so that we went out then with three things against which Non-Co-operation was to be used as a weapon, namely, the Khilafat, the Punjab Tragedy and the Hunter Committee Report. Those were intended to bring in all the Congress people who, by themselves, might not be sufficiently moved by the wrongs to the Musalmans. There it stayed for a considerable time. At Allahabad several of us spoke strongly against Non-Co-operation and other suggestions were made at the time. That became the definite policy of the Non-Co-operation movement and at the Khilafat Committee a proposal was made by Mr. Gandhi and assented to by the Central Committee that there should be a strong committee stationed in Bombay with himself as one of the members and six or seven other members were to guide and to give orders to the movement. Nothing was to be done without their consent and that which they published was to be faithfully obeyed. Mr. Gandhi said quite frankly that where you are entering on a period of conflict you must have a disciplined army and a war council when you are going to war. A war council was established at Bombay. From that time onwards, definite orders have come forward. The first was the fixing of the date—1st August—for taking the first step and people were told that they should not begin sooner, and the first of the four steps was then to be taken up. The response as you know was comparatively small and even the sacrifice of titles and honorary offices was not included in the practice though many approved of the principle. When the Special Congress met, the first part of the programme was confined to a large number of definite suggestions and a Sub-Committee was appointed to place those suggestions before the country and then we entered on a phase of the movement which has been growing so rapidly since then. A large number of things are placed and many of those people who said that the mandate of the Congress must be obeyed took the liberty of picking and choosing which part of the mandate they would themselves obey. No one apparently was prepared to obey the whole of it. Unkind people outside said that every member wanted other people to sacrifice what they had and encouraged them to do it while he himself was not prepared to sacrifice anything. Lawyers took one view. People with posts took other views, and it was a scramble not to make sacrifices but to purify the nation by sacrifices of others. No one should go into the council, that was Mr. Gandhi's plan which was carried. Mr. Das's plan was that people should go into the council and obstruct everything. On the whole, Mr. Das's plan would have been more effective but that

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is now out of court. The councils are filled and members are getting ready for their work. For the next three years this part of the programme cannot come again to the front. It has led to one bad result: it has made our electorates smaller than they ought to be, especially where Mussalmans are concerned. Some people who would have been very useful have been shut out. On that one point we may all regret some people of very extreme views did not get into the council. It is always useful to have in the council one party that is entirely unpractical. The Government strikes that one party and it makes others see that the reforms are more reasonable. The Liberal party has suffered from the absence of the extreme party and we should have got more reforms if they had been there to ask for impossible things and the Government would see what these people want, and fall in with the people who want reasonable things. Mr. Gandhi rebukes violence wherever it appears. I did not quite understand the whole of his position in certain of the expressions that he used in attacking the Government; he has called it 'satanic.' Those words sound ugly when they are levelled against one Government. It is only fair when I attack his programme that I should point out that, in his book 'The Indian Home Rule', we find that this is not a special attack, launched on this particular Government but his is a general theory of anarchism which attacks Government as an evil *per se*. It does make some difference in Mr. Gandhi's own position. In criticising him we are bound to remember that this language was used by him against a large number of things, almost everything by which we indicate modern civilisation. He says that all western civilisation is abomination. If you look at it from that standpoint I do not disagree with him the less but it makes some small difference. He looks on every Government as bad in itself and that we ought to get rid of it altogether. That is a perfectly good theory when a man has reached a point when the whole of his lower nature is absolutely in subjection to his spirit and where, as the Upanishads say the Inner Ruler Immortal has made the compulsion of law unnecessary. That is not the case with our society. We have to deal with the society as it is. Mr. Gandhi has said that, until the Punjab troubles, he did not realise the amount of evil that there was in human nature. I only wish that he had come to realise the mistake that he has made. Looking at the point he suggests "let us remember that the whole of them in the early form were simply intended to paralyse the Government, nothing else." The main point was to paralyse the Government and to make it impossible. Is the programme that is being carried out in any way adequate for the paralysis of the Government? Is there one point in it which has any effect on the Government except to make it stronger on the wrong side? I submit that the whole of his programme as

put into detail by the Calcutta Congress paralyses the people and does not paralyse the Government. (Hear, hear). On the contrary, it helps the Government if it wants to do wrong. The Government can get on without a single person in the Council, it had done it before. When we were a crown colony with no council, the Government was absolutely autocratic. After the Minto-Morley Reforms were introduced, the Government was criticised and we were a little better off. Now we have some responsibility making us stronger in the council, but if you diminish it and stay out of the council and do not exercise the power given you, you are merely throwing away the power of helping your own people and placing in the hands of the Government autocratic power to do exactly what it chooses to do, and there is nothing more mad that we can imagine in the present condition of affairs. Then we are asked to withdraw children from schools. Is it fair to go to young men and, taking advantage of their immaturity in thought, stimulate their patriotism and all that is noblest in the emotions of boys, and to use that by telling them that they are at war against the Government for bringing liberty for the Motherland? One of the letters sent to be published in newspapers was that a boy in the middle school declared that he was going to join the army to liberate the Motherland. It is so natural to youth, and when that is stimulated by the feeling of patriotism which is strong in the youth of our day, they plunge into any danger. They do not mind sacrificing themselves: they spring forward with splendid enthusiasm and destroy themselves—that is all their doing. Why was it that Aligarh and Benares were chosen with the Sikh College as institutions “to be destroyed at all costs.” I am using Mr. Gandhi’s words. Those are under the control of Indians, managed by Indians and administered by Indian guardians. They have their own curricula of studies. They stimulate patriotism as much as they can. They are training a generation of young men to be citizens of a free India of the future. Why should they be chosen to be ruined before the Government schools are attacked? At first Aligarh was told that they would have a crore of rupees for palatial buildings. When they got as far as Benares and could not get palatial buildings, they said that those buildings were built out of the money of the poor and that no patriotic students should live there. It was not the poor people that contributed to the buildings of the Benares University. Princes and merchants of Bombay and other rich people contributed the money. The last thing they were told was that they must stand on their own legs. Mr. Gandhi’s advice to the Calcutta youths was that they must go and break stones in the street, do scavenging work and clean stables. I hope that boys will see that this is not an advice that they should take. Is it unfair to say that no Government has ever asked anybody to go

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to war without making some provision for their training, their maintenance, their housing and clothing ; those gentlemen have used a simile that these students of the universities and public schools in England threw themselves out of their education at the call of their country ; but those boys were not called into the streets practically to do nothing. They were taken to camps, they were drilled, clothed and fed and they gave their lives when their country gave them everything else and taught them how to fight. For months those boys laboured, and once, when some young men were digging trenches, their commander said that they should have stopped in the Salvation Army and done nothing else, and they were told what they ought to have done if they had been in a real battle. The only way in which boys can prepare themselves is for the real war against ignorance, war against tyranny, and war against all the evils, and that preparation is education. It is education that is their drill, their training in the real war against the evils of the country. Certainly, taking boys away from schools will do nothing to paralyse Government ; it will help it because the ignorant people are the people that are most easily tyrannised ; it is not the uneducated masses that can shout--it is educated men who have had that 'satanic' education which has helped you to love and win liberty. It is you who are winning liberty for India and not the uneducated over whom the Government can tyrannise. Only by education will they learn to maintain, preserve and guard the liberty that your fathers and guardians have got. Schools do not build themselves as these people seem to imagine. It would facilitate the work of the Government if schools spring up all over the country as they are going to spring up by the magic wand of the Non-Co-operator. If they do so the Government's work of education will be very much facilitated. I have had something to do with education and I know how costly it is and how I had to go about begging, begging and begging. To say that schools spring forward is all the talk of a dreamer and not of one who understands the real facts of education. Government is spending 8 crores on education. If you are going to have an entirely non-Government system, you have to pay the education taxes out of the poverty of the people. Then we come to the boycott of foreign goods. Let us give Mr. Gandhi credit that he did not want it in Calcutta. But Mr. Vijayaraghavachari insisted on it. It is not only foolish but impossible. Have you thought of the implication of giving up all foreign goods? One third of your manufactured piece-goods are made in this country and two-thirds come from abroad. People in Bengal committed suicide because they could not get a single cloth to cover their nakedness, and you propose to take away two-thirds of what you have and clothe the people with the remaining one-third. You cannot do it.

You were asked not to import machinery from abroad and it will take a long time to supply 41 millions out of hand-loom. I know that the Doctor and the Lawyer have to give up their profession and come and work at a hand-loom. Women are to spin and men are to weave and it is a slow process. I suggested to Mr. Gandhi the weaving of better cloths and he said that his taste had deteriorated. Indian goods were the marvel of the world for centuries in the past. It was the exquisite skill of workers and the artistic products of this country which brought all European merchants here, in order that they may take them away. The ladies of the Roman Court clothed themselves in your silks. Why should you throw away all that made your civilization, splendid and beautiful in the past, and go and live as peasants have lived, which is Mr. Gandhi's view of the higher life? Then you cannot have any printing presses, you cannot have any books, any newspapers and you will be isolated from the rest of the world. Is that the India that we dreamt of as a great and mighty leader in the world, with no communication with any other country, with no power to educate, no books, no newspapers, no tables, no letters, no telegrams? Is this the kind of reform which would make India redeem herself and make her a nation in the eyes of the world whom it is her destiny to lead to greater heights of civilization? At any rate, it is not Indian. It is not what your ancestors made for India. They had a civilization so splendid that you can revive it and then lead it on higher and further, and you will have done for the world what no other nation can do, you will have shown them that a spiritual nation may be mighty in intellect, great in art, splendid in culture, and, at the same time, may know that the spirit must dominate and permeate every power in the body and soul. That is India's lesson to the world and this is destruction of all that we hope for (cheers). You are asked to give up Law Courts. You may give up Civil Courts; you will not do it, I know. Are you going to give up Criminal Courts? I heard Mr. Gandhi say that, if a man steals something in his house, he will let him come a second time, a third time. I think he would have cleared the whole thing away from the house, before the thief came a third time. Are you prepared to do that? Are you prepared to have your houses looted by these delightful people whom Mr Gandhi certainly dose not want to encourage, commit thefts? It may be right for an ascetic but it is not right for a statesman of the nation who has to guide the nation to righteousness as well as into paths of happiness. The same thing was taught in the great Scriptures—the Sermon on the Mount. The Bishop of Peterborough said in a sermon that, if any nation practised the Sermon on the Mount, it would not last for a week. It is not Indian teaching, but Western teaching though Christ was an Eastern teacher. It was the teaching for a particular set of people who devote themselves

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wholly to spiritual life. Supposing Mr. Gandhi goes successfully through his quest, it would be a very good land for thieves and all mischievous people, to thrive on, but how far the country will be livable in by peaceful people, it is very difficult to say. Why is this movement so popular? I think the reason is suggested in the latter part of the Resolution. The Government began the whole of the mischief with the Rowlatt Act which every elected member in the old Imperial Council protested against, warned the Government of what would happen if they struck the liberties of the people and pointed out that there is no freedom where liberty is at the mercy of the executive order instead of His Majesty's Courts of Justice. That fundamental wrong of the Rowlatt Act was committed. Mr. Gandhi said that he would break other laws to show how much disgusted he was with this particular law. It is a bad lesson to teach. Then came the horrors of the Punjab, those wicked acts which have not been redressed. When we went to England on deputations there were no people who worked harder to bring about an abolition of the Rowlatt Act and to bring about redress than Mr. Bannerjee and the deputation that he led (Cheers). They worked continually and did not go about shouting on platforms. They went to places where redress could have been granted, and would have been granted, if Mr. Montagu had been left to himself and if the Government of India had not opposed redress. There are the wrongs there, and they ought to be redressed.

Some expression of sympathy or sorrow should at least have come from the Government and far more should have been done. All I want to say as the explanation of the popularity of the movement of Non-Co-operation is that people felt helpless and desperate. They felt that they had been insulted, humiliated and wronged in their manhood and injured in every sense of self-respect. That anger was a fair and righteous anger, and you cannot blame any man who felt insults of that horrible kind and resented them the more bitterly, because he felt that he could not redress it. The result was great anger against the Government, against the British nation, and Mr. Gandhi has given a channel for that anger. That is why the movement is strong. The movement says to the Government, to the English, 'I am disgusted with you, I hate you, I do not want to have anything to do with you, get away from me.' It is the expression of a natural anger and a natural helplessness for a disarmed nation whose voice cannot make itself heard and whose right hand is empty of weapon. In that moment of despair, in that feeling of helplessness, with the sense of wrong which they could not redress, Non-Co-operation is before the people and people are rushing through it because it is the expression of the anger they feel and the desire to defend their Mother-land against such

wrongs in the future ; and so this resolution blames the Government as we have a right to blame it, and we have a right to ask it to do something in order to make our task more possible before the masses of the people and we say to the Government : " Do your share, we are doing ours. We are doing it at the risk of obloquy, of insult, and of injury of every kind. Will you help us and not hinder us by continuing the wrong ? " (Cheers).

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Mr. B. S. Kamath (Bombay) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen ; after the very stirring speech from Mrs. Besant and in view of the fact that the agenda is overloaded with a large number of speakers, I think I would not be wise in inflicting a speech on you at the present moment especially because, in my own humble way, I have been grappling with this movement—the Anti-Non-Co-operation movement campaign in the Deccan ; moving from village to village and explaining its evils to the masses. It seems to me that the country is in the midst of two great evils and is suffering at the hands of two persons. The two central figures are Mr. Gandhi and his Non-Co-operation movement on the one side and, if you would permit me to say so, Lord Chelmsford on the other. Our resolution consists of two parts, the first deals with the Non-Co-operation movement and its evil effects and the second makes an appeal to Lord Chelmsford's Government to redress certain wrongs. I shall briefly refer to both aspects of the question. As I said, in my Anti-Non-Co-operation campaign I have often spoken regarding the evil effects of Non-Co-operation in the four-fold programme of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi has now proved to the country that, so far as the boycott of councils is concerned, he has brought incalculable mischief upon the political reforms in India and has wrecked the Reform Scheme. So far as the movement about boycott of schools and colleges is concerned, as Mrs. Besant has so eloquently pointed out, Mr. Gandhi has done there also indescribable mischief. In fact, he has shaken the very foundations of society, has divided family, father against son and brother against brother, and he has tried to demolish the whole educational institutions without trying to bring into existence new ones. About lawyers and law courts he is simply talking in the most romantic manner about arbitration courts in India—a fact which is perhaps two centuries behind the times so far as the tendency of the people and the procedure is concerned, and lastly regarding the boycott of foreign goods, there he is treading upon the most chimerical and impractical ground. That is so far as Mr. Gandhi's position is concerned. Mr. Gandhi is running amock ; but not only is Mr. Gandhi running amock but he is carrying the Congress with him, and the Congress is also running amock. There we agree. Now I turn to the other aspect of the question. If Mr. Gandhi is responsible for all this mischief to the country, we cannot exculpate

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the Government of India with Lord Chelmsford at its head, Lord Chelmsford who is responsible for all the peace and order of the country, its good administration, from every blame for this mischief. We cannot absolve him from responsibility. He has been silently looking on this movement of Non-Co-operation without giving a moment's thought to the question whether, as the head of the administration in India, as the representative in this country of the King, it is his duty or it is not his duty to intervene. Probably he believes that the Punjab tragedy and the report thereon and the whole of that affair is a 'settled fact' to quote Lord Morley's expression. We, Indians, whether we are moderates or extremists, do not believe that the last word has been said so far as the Punjab is concerned. It is not a settled fact. If at all he has the welfare of this country at heart, I do think that it is still within his power to make amends. So far as we moderates here are concerned, he has added insult, added wrong to the moderates, inasmuch as he has shut out the motion which the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, a sober-thinking wise man among the moderates, wanted to bring in the Imperial Council. Recently, too, we had from the Government of India a communique in which reference was made to the sobering influence of the moderates and probably the interference which the Government of India expect at their hands. Here was an attempt made by Mr. Sastri to intervene according to the best of his lights, but what happened? So well-known a moderate with all his good intentions was brushed aside by the Government of India under the name of prestige. It is just conceivable that, in the new regime, either in the Council of State or in the Imperial Legislative Assembly, a fresh opportunity may be given if the Government of India care to reconsider the position. Is Lord Chelmsford, in the name of harmony and peace of this country, prepared to reconsider the position if notice of a similar resolution is given by any of us? Probably if he is in a mood of repentance, if the Government of India want to show to the people that the whole question can be reconsidered, then a fresh opportunity would be given to reopen the question and to punish the evil-doers in the Punjab affair and attempt may be made to make amends in that way. It is still open to Lord Chelmsford, if he has the peace of this country at heart, to allow that to be re-opened through the new channel and say that he is repentant for all that has been done. (Applause).

The Rev. Mr. Nag.

The Rev. Mr. Nag :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen ; I am not given to public speaking on political platforms. But in order that it might not be thought that I was carrying on the principle of Non-Co-operation to practice in reference to the resolution placed before this Conference, I agreed to speak. I agreed to speak not on the mischief done by the Non-Co-operation movement for—with those evils you must, by this time, be perfectly

well acquainted—but I agreed to speak in order to associate myself with the protest against the policy of Non-Co-operation. It is said that the “man who knoweth how to do good and doth it not, stands self-codemned.” I believe it. It has also been said that the man who sees the impending danger and does not warn his fellow-men is equally to be condemned. And therefore, friends, I stand before you to place before you in my humble way the impending danger arising out of this policy of Non-Co-operation. It has been said that the promulgator of this policy based it upon the Sermon on the Mount. I owe it to myself, I owe it to the preacher of that great sermon, to tell you that never was a greater libel uttered. The preacher of that sermon believed in that soul-force in which Mr. Gandhi wants his remedy for evil, and so he was prepared for deeper co-operation and more earnest co-operation. (Cheers.) For, did he not say that ‘if a man will compel you to go one mile with him, go with him two, so that the soul-force might win him over.’ That is the principle to which the preacher of the Sermon on the Mount gave utterance. You have heard that some people have taken the resolution of the National Congress as a mandate from the country. I have utterly failed to understand that point of view, because it is an open secret that Bengal, at least, as a body was opposed to the Non-Co-operation movement or the resolution as placed before the country. They wanted to vote against it and a majority, though not a majority, at least many people, wanted to vote against it and if the votes are to be weighed and not merely numbered, the majority vote is against that resolution? Is there no responsibility in voting for and against the resolution. If the Bengal people as well as the other people in other places made up their minds to vote against that resolution, it was because, at that time, in any case they believed that that resolution, if passed, would do the greatest disservice to the country, but if the Congress has passed that resolution, does that disservice convert itself into service to country? Absurd. Therefore I believe, friends, that the men who, in the name of a mandate of the Congress, are spreading this policy of Non-Co-operation are doing the greatest disservice to the country at this time. There is a certain amount of nervousness amongst the people as to whether we should speak out our mind, as to how we feel about this policy of Non-Co-operation, whether we should not try and say such things that the people who are now given to the spreading of that policy might be finally won over. Gentlemen, I do not belong to that camp. I know that Government is to blame very greatly for the treatment of the Punjab criminals such as Dyer and O’Dwyer, but my love of the country is such that I would not like to permit myself to be disturbed from the service of my country even because of such unjust treatment by the Government. I will say, if the Government will be guilty of

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things, I cannot help the Government, but I will continue to serve my country; and the way to serve the country is not by Non-Co-operation but co-operation. (Cheers.) In Bengal there are professors, lawyers, learned and honourable men they are, but we placed the policy of Non-Co-operation before the people and the result has been most amusing to me. One man said, in an audience in which I was, that the moderates were committed to the policy of Non-Co-operation because the moderates had said that they would oppose the Government whenever necessary and, in his judgment, opposition was synonymous with Non-Co-operation. Absurd. Opposition is something active. Non-Co-operation is inaction, and therefore opposition and Non-Co-operation cannot be classed together. Non-Co-operation with whom? If there was any support for a policy of Non-Co-operation, it might have been there five, ten, fifteen or twenty years ago. But to-day if you preach the policy of Non-Co-operation what is it, Non-Co-operation with whom? Is it with the Government? Well, we are the Government. (Cheers). Do you mean to say that you are going to non-co-operate with yourselves? Does not that very fact show that you do not realise what benefits have been conferred upon the people of India by these reforms that have been passed and are going to be acted upon? I am glad to be able to say in reply to one remark here yesterday that the policy of Non-Co-operation—I would not like to call it a principle—has failed even in the matter of election in Bengal, because the creed of Non-Co-operation has been earnestly preached to the educated Bengalis by very many people, by Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Mr. Das, Mr. Pal, Mr. J. Bannerjee and many others. But yet the fact remains that out of a constituency of 6,000 voters connected with the University of Calcutta, 4,000 recorded their votes. (Cheers). I was still more delighted when I heard that one of my friends Mr. Neogi who stood for a seat on the Indian Assembly secured 28,000 votes while altogether 30,000 were recorded. Does that show that Non-Co-operation has made election a fallacy? Not at all. But what has it done? I am sorry to feel that it has created, and it is likely to further create a sort of intellectual dishonesty amongst the young of the land. (Hear, hear). I am particularly interested in the young men and one man who was placed under my influence by his father before he graduated—and recently he told me that he had accepted, on the strength of what Mr. Pal had told him, this policy of Non-Co-operation. I said 'what do you mean.' His father has been yearning to send him to England to try for the I. C. S. competitive examination and I asked him, 'have you given up the idea?'. He said 'Oh, no. Why should that touch this question at all'. Oh friends, that is the intellectual dishonesty that is getting hold of men and women in the name of Non-Co-operation. This movement, if not arrested, will produce disastrous results to the country. I am glad that this occasion

has been given to me when I could associate myself with this resolution. There is another fact. If we who have had the privilege of education, let us say English education, in Universities started on English principles, failed to do that, if even we with all our earnestness are not able to contribute our very best to the service of our Motherland, how much less these boys and these college students who are being withdrawn—or an attempt is being made to withdraw them—how much less will those boys be able to serve their Motherland? There is another element in the policy of Non-Co-operation in Bengal. I do not know how much that is practised in other provinces, but in Bengal and in certain provinces they put a cobbler or a Charmakar against another educated man as a candidate for election, and I am glad to say, I am proud to say, that that cobbler or that Charmakar, whoever it was, has been elected. Papers like the 'Amrita Bazaar Patrika' or others of the same type are ridiculing the fact that a cobbler will go to the new council. To me that will be the proudest day in India when the cobblers in India will take their rightful place in the council of nations. (Cheers). Indeed if that vice of Non-Co-operation can be accepted, why, the whole social fabric will come down to ruins and the great work of men like W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. Bose, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Mr. Gokhale and others who gave the very best part of their lives to the service of the country will tumble into nothing, and therefore, I feel that our protest against Non-Co-operation ought to be as strong as possible. But one word more. Is it sufficient simply to give a warning to the Government that it has not done its duty? I know it has not done its duty but does not the knowledge of the possible evil resulting from the policy of Non-Co-operation put upon us a deep obligation to our country. Does it not mean that we should also go from district to district, from village to village, making recruits for co-operation, deeper co-operation and better work for the Motherland? That is the only way that I know how private people can work against the policy of Non-Co-operation. With these words, I beg very heartily to support the resolution which has been so ably placed before you by Mrs. Besant. (Cheers.)

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Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao (Madras) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen ; with your kind permission, I shall make but a few observations in support of this resolution. This resolution consists of two parts, the first of which deals with an expression of our condemnation of the Non-Co-operation movement, the second contains an appeal to the Government, as the duty lies upon it to redress the wrongs which have led to this movement. I do not think that I need detain you long by referring to the various items of the programme of Non-Co-operation to satisfy you that it is undesirable in the highest degree, that it is thoroughly impractical and that it is futile. We are all convinc-

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ed, and I am sure there is no one here to dissent from that view that the Non-Co-operation movement which has been set on foot and which has, in varying degrees, made progress in different parts of the country, has produced evil, to an unmitigated degree. We are all aware of the circumstances which have led to this Non-Co-operation movement. I do not wish this house to consider the constitutional or the unconstitutional nature of the scheme of non-violent Non-Co-operation. I do not wish this house to consider the question of the policy or the principle or any other side issues underlying it. If there is one thing more than any other upon which we in this house are united, are agreed, it is that we deplore and strongly condemn the Non-Co-operation movement in all its aspects. The most important point which should engage our attention now is : what is the best method of combating the evil? How shall we proceed to secure steady reform? How shall we act before we eradicate its evil effects? How shall we guide ourselves before we can kill this Non-Co-operation movement? It is only to a consideration of this question that I wish this house to confine its attention. In considering this question, there are various remedies which can possibly be suggested, but in the forefront of the remedies to be suggested, I would draw the attention of this Federation to part II of this resolution. The first and foremost duty lies upon the Government to examine the various causes which have led to this state of things and to remove those causes as far as they lie within their power. Those of us who have been pledged to a policy of co-operation, those of us who have been pledged to a policy of working against Non-Co-operation can only be expected to render reasonable assistance, provided that the Government realises their duty and start with such measures as are necessary for that purpose. If the Government without taking any course of that sort are satisfied with merely expressing their pious intentions, if they simply call upon the moderates to take steps, I have not the slightest doubt that they cannot meet with any response from any moderate in this country. It is only if they lay the proper foundations for the eradication of these evils that they can reasonably expect us to co-operate with them and put an end to this Non-Co-operation movement. Till then they cannot, they ought not, and they dare not expect assistance from us. It is only this aspect of this question which I have thought fit to place before this conference. The other aspects have been placed before you very ably by others, and therefore I need not detain you longer. (Cheers).

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Kale.

Prof. Y. G. Kale (Poona) :—Ladies and gentlemen, after the speeches that you have listened to on the double-barrelled resolution which has been placed before you, I do not propose to take up much of your time, but, while I was listening to the speeches, it occurred to me that we stood in a position which is

very largely similar to that in which Edmund Burke found himself when he was face to face with the French Revolution, and also when he had to face the situation which arose on the eve of the War of American Independence. What is the point of similarity? We in this Federation are taking up a stand which, to my mind, Burke had to take. On the one side, so far as America was concerned, there was the British Government which was obstinate in the face of counsels of wisdom and moderation. The British Government went headlong into a war which proved disastrous to England and, in the case of the French Revolution, Burke had similarly to counsel steady reform and moderation. What was the position in France? We in this country are fighting at the present moment against Non-Co-operation and the cries that are raised here are just like the cries which were raised at the time of the French revolution. There is the cry of the rights of men. There is the cry of starting a republic in India. There are several cries with regard to political, social, and economic revolution. The work which was done by the philosophers and economists in France is being imitated in this country at the present moment. What was the answer of Burke to all this? He said theorists, philosophers, speculators cannot improve the condition of France. You want political reform now. Why did you destroy the thing that existed in France? You must readjust, you can reconstruct after the readjustment has taken place. We are, at the present moment, being advised to give up what we have got, to destroy the work which has been done during the past two generations. Even the swaraj which has been promised to us is nebulous in its character. People are hesitating even to define that 'swaraj.' We are not going to be carried away by this high-sounding promise and by these day-dreams. We want to write not upon a clean slate, we want to take the situation as it is and make the most of it for the progress of the country. In this connection, very false and misleading analogies are placed before us. We are told "is not the example of Egypt before us? Have not other countries emancipated themselves by Non-Co-operation?" A little reflection will show that these analogies betray a depth of ignorance on the part of those who indulge in it. It is very easy to frame a constitution. At the present moment it has become a fashion to frame a constitution for India. I can give you any number. (Laughter). You can pick up something from the French constitution, something from the American constitution, piece those things together and palm it off upon an innocent country as if it was something new and something desirable. It is not difficult, as I have said, to formulate a constitution for a country, but the difficulty is to make these constitutions work, to bring these constitutions into existence. The advocates of Non-Co-operation meet us with this remark: "Wherever you disapprove of Non-Co-operation, "what is your remedy?" Our

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reply is: "Non-Co-operation is not a remedy in the first instance" and the remedy that we suggest is that we have to work with the weapons placed in our hands. Prepare the people and train the people, when the training is complete nobody can dare go against what we want. After all, how are Governments forced to concede political reforms? In what country have political reforms been conceded to the people without asking, without working, without agitation? England understands agitation. So we must agitate and we must work. If you are fond of analogies, why not take the analogy of England herself? How many years did it take England to build up her constitution? We shall not require as many years. Why are the Government unwilling to give you more reforms; because the Executive Government, the bureaucracy knows that the country is unprepared, that the masses are unprepared. Prepare the masses, educate them politically. Voters in this country are hopelessly ignorant; some examples have already been given of the tactics of those who have advocated Non-Co-operation. I am not going to give you more stories, but I want to emphasise the point that the so-called success of the Non-Co-operation movement is no success at all. Do you rejoice in ignorant masses of the people not having availed themselves of the opportunity which the Reform Act gave to them? Is it something to be proud of? The ignorant masses who have had no occasion, no opportunity to vote, who do not understand what it is to vote, they are being told "do not go to the polls and do not vote." The poor people do not go and do not vote. Is it something which they have done intelligently? Is it something of which we can be proud? I cannot call it success at all even though they have succeeded in taking away a large number of people from the polls. They have done injury to themselves. You have only postponed the success of your political agitation. If a larger number of people had gone to the polls, if they had received political education, if we had the masses at our back, we would have been able to force from the hands of the Government Swaraj earlier than they might have intended. This is what they have done in other countries. They have forced political rights. How? By making it impossible for the Government to deny those rights. Have you that power at the present moment in your hands? You say you are spreading a Non-Co-operation movement. Has that movement, has the tactics employed by you, given strength enough? Speaking of the part of the country from which I come, I may say that the heart of the masses is sound. The masses are prepared to go with us. They have now come to understand that the advocates of Non-Co-operation are robbing them of the opportunities of education. They want education, they say. The Government have not given them education for a long time and now that the opportunity is given, you are dashing the cup of education from their lips. They are prepared to follow you and if any have non-co-operated, they

might have done so by wiles and tactics which are not very creditable to those who employ them, and in that way they have been prevented from going to the polls. I want to refer to some other points, namely, that this Non-Co-operation instead of purifying is perhaps putrifying. They say it is a spiritual process. Has it anything spiritual about it? Is there anything spiritual about it? When you are deceiving yourself and others, is that a purification? I dare say now there is more hypocrisy in the country than before. (Cheers). In the Deccan from which I come, there is a large measure of this hypocrisy. People who are in the front ranks of this Non-Co-operation movement are the first to do nothing; because they accept the principle of Non-Co-operation but not the programme. If they are pitted with the remark that they are the opponents of Mr. Gandhi, they dare not call themselves opponents of Mr. Gandhi. They have not got the courage to say that Mr. Gandhi is going wrong and that they cannot follow him, for if they say that, all their popularity is gone. They say that there is only a slight difference and it is this: that they do not want to do what he wants. With regard, therefore, to the lawyers, with regard to the parents and with regard to others who are asked to non-co-operate, Non-Co-operation is conspicuous by its absence in the Deccan. I have had many opportunities of discussing this question with the students. What is their view? They believe that something ought to be done, that education ought to be given and they must do something in the service of the Motherland. They are not aware of the utility and the practicability of the programme before them and they have now come to lose confidence in the so-called leaders. They ask very awkward questions. When they were told to leave their colleges, they went to the leaders and said, "what are we to do afterwards?" and the leaders in the Deccan had to tell them, "we cannot guarantee you anything. We are going to start a college which can accommodate at best 100 students in Poona." The college which can accommodate 100 students is to be provided for 3,000 students in the engineering, agricultural, arts and other colleges combined. Students are not satisfied with this programme and though, at one time, they were inclined to do something they are not sure as to what that something should be, and therefore they are holding their souls in patience. Even the leaders have waited and waited, have gone from one opportunity to another, waiting till the Special Congress. The Special Congress came and then they said "let us wait till the Nagpur Congress comes." The Nagpur Congress has come and gone. Now let us see what the new rule is to be. It is certain that people in the Deccan are not going to follow Mr. Gandhi. Whatever they may do in theory to the principle of Mr. Gandhi, in practice they will do very little. I read in the papers that the leading nationalists in Poona tried to make the work of Mr. Gandhi difficult by suggesting to him a

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programme which he would not accept. They said "you are touching our courts, you are touching our schools, but you are not doing anything for the merchants who support you. What about the boycott? What are you going to do now? Accept this principle and immediately foreign goods should be boycotted." I am told that Mr. Gandhi is inclined to accept the addition that is made by the leaders so that if they are told by the merchants "You lawyers and others, you have done nothing" they will say "you merchants have also done nothing." That is the game they are going to play. But after all, is it a matter which can be treated so light-heartedly, to play the game against one another in this work of national regeneration? Is this the process of purification? Certainly not. Therefore, when it is said that the movement of Non-Co-operation is a movement of emancipation, that it is going to give us Swaraj in nine months, that it is going to purify us, to bring a new earth and a new heaven, we must guard ourselves against such dreams. It will be an intellectual, social and political revolution which will be necessary for bringing about what Mr. Gandhi and his followers are trying to bring about. The dangers are too many. The other day when we moved in the country we found in the Deccan a sort of Non-Co-operation already practised; but what kind of Non-Co-operation is it? Not non-co-operation against the Government, but non-co-operation against one another. The Government are strong enough to take care of themselves but it is certain classes in the community that suffer from Non-Co-operation. These very leaders of the Non-Co-operation movement are complaining that the masses are non-co-operating. You are teaching them the lesson. You are sowing the wind and you will have to reap the whirl-wind. This is the warning that we have given to the advocates of Non-Co-operation and at the same time a serious responsibility lies on us of the liberal party, namely to carry on the campaign continually of educating the masses. We have to explain the position to the masses, we have to explain to them the advantages of the reforms and I am quite certain that the Non-Co-operation movement will be dead—as it is half-dead, I suspect, by this time—in no time. I hope that we of this conference will take to heart this duty of ours and will carry on our work with great vigour and persistence so that, in a few months time, we will see the fruits of our labours. With these words, I support the resolution. (Cheers)

Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana.

Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana (United Provinces):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, after the very eloquent speeches that have been just delivered and after the analysis of the philosophy of Non-Co-operation and its methods, I think it is simply to say on behalf of the United Provinces that I unite my voice to the voice of others that I have been called to the platform. However, I have to give you surely some account of

the Non-Co-operation movement and its working in our provinces. So far as I know, the policy of Non-Co-operation is dead in the United Provinces and it has died with the late elections. The leaders of the province like Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya have condemned it not only by their words, but by their actions. Pundit Malaviya has saved the Hindu University. (Hear, hear). Other leaders like Pundit Gokarnath Misra and last, if not the least, the nationalist Muhammadan leader, Raza Ali Khan—they have all condemned it by action, by standing for the council and winning seats. So, Non-Co-operation has failed among Muhammadans at Aligarh and Hindu students at Allahabad and Benares and therefore I am quite justified in saying that, so far as my Province is concerned, Non-Co-operation has proved a total failure. But there is no doubt that the current remains, the current in the general people remains, and that we have to look to. And I hope that a united voice will go from this hall, to the whole of India to take the path of wisdom and practise it. Also at the same time, words will go to the Government that, instead of preaching sermons to the moderates to subdue moderation, they should themselves set the example in co-operation by redressing the wrongs that have been done. Gentlemen, so far it has been claimed for Non-Co-operation that it should be accompanied by non-violent methods. My experience has been just the other way. Where there has been Non-Co-operation there has been violence. To take the case of Agra and Cawnpore, only, even in elections, I have found that certain voters who went to the elections were shoe-beaten and some motor cars were smashed. Is that Non-Co-operation non-violent? Is that the Non-Co-operation which is preached by Mr. Gandhi, and is that the Non-Co-operation which will give the millenium that we are asked to accept? My contention would be that, so far as Non-Co-operation is concerned, it can never be non-violent. If Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji, our revered leader, was the inventor of the word "swaraj" in his famous address at Calcutta, he also pleaded in that very address how we should get that swaraj. He said 'agitate, agitate, agitate.' He did not say 'non-co-operate.' Of course the meaning of the word 'agitation' was constitutional agitation. Therefore the policy of the whole country should be to win swaraj or to win responsible government by constitutional agitation. With these few words, I support the resolution. (Cheers).

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Seth Jethmal (Sindh) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen; I confess to a feeling of pain while speaking on this resolution. I wish Mr. Gandhi has not compelled us to bring this resolution in this conference, especially the part which relates to the protest of the ways of that movement. I think Mr. Gandhi ought to be able to see that the feeling in this matter, the feeling against the wrongs, the intolerable wrongs, which we are suffering from is such that it is not less significant than that of the extremists

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themselves. As an example of that, I will ask you to compare the two presidential addresses, the address of the President of the Congress and the address of the President of this Liberal Federation, and I am sure you will be able to say that the address of the President of this Conference is more scathing in its criticism of the wrongs that this country suffers from than the address of the President of the National Congress. (Hear, hear and cheers.) I am quite sure you will find in the papers that the Non-Co-operators are crying hoarse at the address of Mr. Vijiaraghava Chariar and the address of our President will give them some consolation at least. My point is that, if Mr. Gandhi or if our non-co-operating friends were to suggest a way by which we can effectively serve the country, we will be ready enough to join hands with them. But Mr. Gandhi says that his movement is intended to paralyse the Government. Gentlemen, I understand the function of Government is twofold,—one, the protection of the country and the other, the discipline from inside, regulating the collective business of the nation. But unfortunately in our own land there is a third element and that is the interested, the profiteering element of the bureaucrat. Now if Mr. Gandhi were to suggest a way by which we can destroy this third element, I would be ever most ready enough to join with him, but if you look and study the programme that he has placed before us, you will find that the whole programme is made for destroying these things; leave the police and you will destroy the protection of the country; give up the services and you will destroy the collective business of the nation, but nothing is seen as regards the one thing that we want in order to strangle the bureaucrat. On the contrary, that little thing which was in our hands, to get into the councils, that, he has taken out of our hands; and I therefore say that this programme is meant more to paralyse yourselves and very little, in fact, nothing to paralyse the bureaucrat. My other protest against this movement is that it is bringing again into existence two rotten things which have destroyed the civilisation of India. If you look to the civilisation of India it is all right to say that we were a mighty nation in the past, but how is it that we are a degraded nation at present? No doubt the foreigner is responsible to some extent, but is it not a fact that there is enough social fanaticism and religious tyranny and it is these two things that have contributed to destroy the fabric of our society. If you look into our own disastrous social life, you will find its social tyranny in the depressed classes, in the early marriages, and in the large number of child-widows—all that sort of thing is due to social tyranny and religious fanaticism. Now what does Mr. Gandhi do? He brings the same thing into existence and if I give instances that occur in our own land, you will be surprised. I come from a province which is the frontier province—Sindh. It is surrounded by ignorant tribes all round. Only a few miles

distant from our homes are tribes which gave trouble during the time of the war. I refer to the Broghis and the Baluchis. Mr. Gandhi asked the police and military to give up their services. What would happen? Dozens and dozens of policemen began to give up the police and we were in a state of danger. That was the result. When Mr. Gandhi came to Sindh he found very few Muhammadans responded to the call and I may tell you that, as a matter of fact, Mr. Shaukat Ali had to take the help of the Moulvis who gave a fatwah that Non-Co-operation is a form of Jihad. As long as they did not give this judgment, Muhammadans could not respond. One Moulvi gave this judgment and the Muhammadans responded. What do you find there? On account of this ruling the lives of the people in Sindh—the majority of them are Muhammadans, 26 lakhs—the lives of those who did not fall into the nets of the Moulvis were made miserable. Men like the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurghiree and others who were pioneer politicians, what do you think of the life that these people had to lead when you find on every side that they were surrounded by people who cannot understand the rights of individual liberty? I am glad in one way that the movement had a serious blow from Mahabub Shah, and the result was that the movement got a check. You will see how impossible it is for people to live in that state of things. I do not blame in any way the teaching of the great prophet, but I want to tell you what things are being done. When the Moulvi was in prison, his brother was a big peer and people went to him and wanted him not to do anything in order to release his own brother and the priest said "What can I do, I want to release my brother but show me whether it is written in any part of our religion that people should go to jail." The people could not understand these things. There was one man who was sent to prison. He came after 17 days and he said first that he was not given bail but then he was given bail and he said that to go to prison was a happy thing. Another Moulvi very recently came out and said that after 16 days this is the judgment that he wanted to give: "Our teaching says 'do not suffer more than what you are able to suffer'." Brethren, I was there so many days and I came out. I want to show by these instances, when Gandhi and his friends leave us to remain in a place like that, how impossible it is to go on with our ordinary existence. All round our friends say that this movement is gathering force. I tell you from my own knowledge of the state of things that Non-Co-operation in the right sense of the word is not a success at all. Wherever it is a success it is due to the influence of some religious person or some social influence. The panchayat declared that he who goes and gives a vote will be fined Rs. 50. If these things have led to the success of the movement, I would be ashamed of calling it a success. Are you not bringing the very same tyranny which we

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are protesting against? And is it not a grief specially to hear of such instances in this land of *rishis* as that that occurred to the dead body in Delhi? Many English people—I give credit to them—men like Col. Wedgwood, say that they are ashamed to hear of the wrongs done by England. When I hear of these wrongs, I tell you for my own part that I am ashamed to hear of them. Mr. Gandhi says that we are in the field of battle but these non-co-operators go and sit at the house of a living person and create so much trouble. I want to ask you ‘if you allow a thing like this to go on, where shall we be.’ Friends, I wish to tell you that my heart is with my friends at Nagpur but at the same time I want to tell you what shall be our good if we receive this and lose our soul. This movement is based upon two things, social tyranny and religious fanaticism, and there is also a third and important thing and that is the death of intellect that it brings about. My point is this: it is a very important thing, that we should try and go forth in the country and tell the people and rouse them and show how this is doing harm. Another thing has to be done and that is most important. Let us not fear the persecution from our own brethren. Why should we fear it? If they trouble us, if they persecute us, let us hoist the engineer with his own petard. Let us show them that we can also bear the wrongs of our brethren as we can bear the wrongs of our bureaucracy. Lastly, I wish to say—I am glad it is embodied in this resolution itself—let us at the same time try to show to this bureaucratic Government that they are not doing right to this country, and I say two things we should do; first let us get into the councils as our friends had done and let us ask the council members to sit on the nose of John Bull, let us make them get into fury, let us make them miserable so that they may feel the pressure of work and I may suggest that some members like Mr. Chintamani can very well sit on them. Let us protest against our own brethren and at the same time let us tell this Government that if we do not have the rights of our own people safeguarded, if they do not redress our grievances, let us tell them “mind you, our hearts are full and if on a particular day Mr. Gandhi saw the unwisdom of some of his agents and turned them away,—we will be compelled,—if Gandhi would take away all these wrongs, we will be compelled, to join the Non-Co-operation movement.” If the Government want that such a catastrophe should not come, then let them give us the right which is ours by birth and if the British Government are not going to see and follow this suggestion and the advice given by their own best men, the day of reckoning is near and they will have to give way. (Cheers.)

Mr. Ganapathi Ram.

Mr. Ganapathi Ram (Ahmedabad):—Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have been asked to add my humble support to this resolution and I do so with all the earnestness that I can command. There is little that I can add

to what has been already said so very ably by the previous speakers but there is a special reason why I stand before you to speak on this subject ; and that is, that I come from the province of Gujarat, from the very city of Ahmedabad, where this great generator of this poison of Non-Co-operation is living. I can bear testimony to the fact that this dreadful movement is full of evil and evil consequences. The evil consequences are uniform everywhere but I want to assure you that we, in Gujarat, though we are near the root of the tree, are not free from the evil consequences. It is hardly necessary to say that the description of Non Co-operation as non-violent is a mere make-believe, a mere mockery. The injunction to refrain from hurt and from violence and from insult sits very lightly on the followers of this movement. It is quite natural that it should be so in a movement which induces the people to defy law and authority. The movement and its consequence were revealed in the recent elections in the attitude which the non-co-operators took up during the conduct of the elections and in spite of all injunctions of non-violence there were threats and there was open terrorism. I only give you one instance. A gentleman, who was elected from my district to the Bombay Council, has recently published an open letter to Mr. Gandhi in one of the Gujarati papers challenging him and offering to prove to him to the very hilt that, so far as he was concerned, he was threatened with every kind of violence if he did not withdraw, and he has offered to pay Rs. 10,000 to Mr. Gandhi's College if he failed to prove this. The challenge has not been yet accepted. I give another instance. The dreadful consequence of the so-called Satyagraha movement which preceded the present Non-Co-operation movement and resulted in the crimes of April 1919 are well-known. Even before that, Mr. Gandhi had started the Non-Co-operation movement in 1918 and advised cultivators not to pay the Government revenue because Government would not suspend the collection of revenue. One of the results of this movement was that it brought out dacoities and murders in Kaira—that district is full of the criminal classes. When so many educated people go about the district advising people not to pay tax, they conclude that the British Government had ceased to exercise authority and begin to perpetrate crimes. I will not dwell long on the disastrous consequences of this movement, but I will say one word, and that is that, when the leaders of this movement give injunctions to restrain from violence, that is taken by the great mass of the followers as a mere euphemism to which the leaders are bound in good manners to have resort. That is the line in which the great mass of the people take this injunction of non-violence. Without adducing any further instance, I will request you to accept this proposition. (Cheers).

Pundit Hirdyanath Kunzru (Allahabad):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, you are all acquainted with the origin of

Non-Co-operation.

Mr. Ganapathi Ram.

Pundit Hirdyanath Kunzru.

Non-Co-operation.

Pundit Hirdya-nath Kunzru.

the Non-Co-operation movement. Grave is the responsibility of Government for the violent upheaval of feeling that has taken place in the country and for the bitterness that prevails against it. When we read of the doings of the Government in the Punjab and when we read how our rights and our honour had been trampled upon, every one of us was compelled to say 'Is there no possible way by which an end could be put to such an intolerable state of things? Is it certain that our methods do not stand in need of drastic revolution?' and in that despair some came to the conclusion that the Government should be abandoned. They despaired of obtaining justice at the hands of the British Government and in despair they launched on the Non-Co-operation movement. They said it would be cowardice on our part to owe allegiance for a moment to a Government which has treated us in the way it has treated the Punjab. We must cut off all communication and as a means of waging that war, we put forth the Non-Co-operation movement, the main items of which are the boycott of British goods, the gradual suspension of practice by lawyers, the gradual withdrawal of children from schools and the renunciation of titles and honorary offices by those who held them. Now I will deal only with one item in this programme at some length and that is with the educational item. One would have thought that all the awakening that we see in the country at present as the result of English education, that howsoever bad it may be, it has produced men of the eminence of Dadabhoi Naoroji, the late Mr. Tilak, Mr. Gokhale, of Mr. Gandhi himself; but it was conceded that just as during war you do not take account of temporary advantages but seek simply to maintain your national life leaving everything else to be considered afterwards, similarly it was your duty at the present juncture not to think of the economic advantages or even of the mental and moral training but to fight for your very existence as a nation; and in pursuance of that programme the Moslem University and the Hindu University were attacked. Before I say anything about the attack on the Universities, I would like to say that, when you wage war, you take care to prepare yourself for it beforehand. You do not first proclaim war and then set about collecting men, arms and munitions. Where are the men who are going to be leaders in this struggle, where are the rank and file? You have been preaching this programme for a long time. How many men are there whom you have induced to give up practice? How many men have you found who are willing to devote their time entirely to the service of the country? Undeterred by the fact that so far your preachings have produced no impression in the country, you have attacked the great educational institutions in this country. I am acquainted with the Hindu University and I know something of what happened there. When it was found that the students

are not likely to leave the institution, the doctrine of unconditional surrender was preached. It meant that, while the boys can give up schools and colleges, we may simply stand and look on. An attack was made on the Court of the Hindu University and in the long speech which was made asking the Hindu University to give up the Government grant, good many deficiencies, real or imaginary, were pointed out in its administration, but not a single instance was given to show that the taking of the Government aid or the retention of some control by the Government interfered with its efficiency, interfered with its manhood, prevented the directors of the University in any way from giving a thoroughly national education. All honour to the members of the Court of the Hindu University who resisted that attack! Long may that University live, (hear, hear) to be a monument to all future generations of the grandeur of conception, of the self-sacrifice and the persistency of effort of a man who was brought up entirely on English education and in every fibre of whose moral and mental being was the poison of foreign education! It is not by preaching the doctrine of unconditional surrender that you can get students. Show that you can give them something and they will come to you. You will not be compelled to have resort to desperate arguments to draw them away. Undeterred by the failure of their programme, undeterred by the instances which prove to the followers of those who preach the doctrine of Non-Co-operation, their utter inability to follow the teaching of Mr. Gandhi, they are willing to go further. Gentlemen, it seems to me that it argues no little impotence of mind to proceed bravely on to more heroic measures when you know that even the comparatively modest scheme which was put before the country has met with complete failure. It may be I think either the result of timidity or good sense, I believe it is entirely the result of good sense that has made the country reject this programme. But howsoever it may be, when you know that Non-Co-operation has to resort to disgraceful devices in order to put down those who are opponents to it, when, in the name of individual liberty of opinion, they are trying to substitute for the tyranny of the majorities, it is surely time for you to pause and reflect. You ought not, in any light-hearted spirit, to go forward and ask the country to take further steps which may involve it in irretrievable ruin. Gentlemen, it is no misplaced tenderness for the Government that makes us thus oppose those who teach Non-Co-operation nor do we want that the present agitation in the country should be succeeded by absolute calm. We do want that the work of public agitation should be carried out, that the masses should be informed of their elementary duties and rights, but we differ fundamentally in regard to the measures that should be pursued to bring about such an end. We say these things require self-sacrifice and

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Pundit Hirdyanath Kunzru.

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Khan Bahadur Waljee Laljee Sait.

perseverance. It requires us to vow to devote our entire lives to the service of our country and these things, as Mr. Gandhi himself has pointed out, cannot be produced in a day. These are things that it takes us long to develop. Let us all work by all means, but let us take care that our energies flow into fruitful channels instead of losing themselves in the barren sands. (Applause).

Khan Bahadur Waljee Laljee Sait (Madras):—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been called upon to support this resolution. I have much pleasure in doing so. Others have supported it by speeches, but I shall support it by my silence. (Cheers).

The resolution was carried unanimously.
The Conference then rose for the day.

THIRD DAY.

FORENOON.

The Conference assembled at 12 noon in the Gokhale Hall, the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani presiding.

Mr. G. A. Natesan read further telegrams and letters received.

THE LATE MR. TILAK AND RAI BAHADUR D. C. GHOSE.

The late Mr. Tilak and Rai Bahadur D. C. Ghose,

The President.

The President:—I will now move this resolution under the instructions of the Subjects Committee :

The National Liberal Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss that the country has sustained in the death of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the eminent patriot who devoted his life to the political advancement of the Indian Nation.

The Federation also desires to place on record its sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Rai Bahadur Devendra Chandra Ghose who rendered distinguished services to the country.

The resolution was carried, the audience standing in silence.

The President.

The President:—Before calling upon Mr. Kunzru to move the next resolution which relates to the position of Indians in South Africa, I would remind the delegates that this is the last day of our business, that there are many resolutions to get through and therefore it would be necessary for the movers and the other speakers to be as brief as they can, consistently with the importance of the subjects. As a rule, the movers will have 10 minutes and the other speakers will have 5 minutes. I would now call upon Mr. Kunzru to move the resolution.

INDIANS ABROAD.

Indians Abroad.

Pandit Hirdyanath Kunzru.

Pandit Hirdyanath Kunzru:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to move the resolution relating to Indians abroad, which you have already in your hands and which runs thus :

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1. (a) Having regard to the historic and honourable connection of Indians with the East African territories which owe not merely their development but practically their very existence to Indian capital and labour and to Indian enterprise and initiative and to the part played by Indian soldiers in the conquest and pacification of the East African Protectorate (Kenya Colony), the National Liberal Federation of India strongly protests against the anti-Indian agitation of the European residents of the Protectorate and against the political and economic disabilities imposed upon Indians by the Government of the Protectorate.
 - (b) The Federation urges that there is absolutely no justification for the policy of racial discrimination against the Indian subjects of His Majesty in a part of the British Empire, the internal administration of which is under the control of His Majesty's Government, and that Indians should enjoy absolute equality with Europeans in the Protectorate (Kenya Colony). The Federation urges in particular that restrictions on the allotment of land for commercial and other purposes to Indians should be abolished and that a liberal political and municipal franchise and adequate representation on the legislative and municipal councils should be granted to them.
 2. (a) The Federation invites the urgent attention of the Government of India to the news received from Fiji that 30,000 Indians, despairing of obtaining justice, have been driven by gross oppression to decide to sell all their property and leave the colony in which they have settled and which owes its prosperity mainly to them.
 - (b) The Federation would urge strongly that the Government of India should press for an independent inquiry into the causes of the recent riots in Fiji, the methods employed in suppressing them with special reference to the treatment of women and the wages of labourers and the conditions under which Indians live, representatives of the Government and the people of India being associated with the enquiry.

This resolution relates to Indians who are settled in East Africa and Fiji, not that there are no Indians in other parts of the Empire, or that their lot is an enviable one, but their position in these two particular colonies has of late become very acute and it behoves us to devote special attention to their grievances. Let us take the Indians in East Africa first. In April last a memorandum was submitted to the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies by a deputation under the auspices of the Indian Overseas Association, the Secretary of which is Mr. Polak who has earned our enduring gratitude by his services. (Cheers.) In that memorandum which gave a full account of the position of Indians who are in East Africa—I learned from it that the connection of Indians with East Africa is very old. It is more than at least three centuries old. The East African territories owe their present prosperity entirely to Indian labour and Indian capital. It is very true to say that it is on account of Indian influence that Englishmen were able to build up their position there. If authorities were necessary, I

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could quote official witnesses on the point, but I think it is unnecessary to do so. It is only the Indian trader who really opened up the Colony and who made it possible for civilised men to live there. In his book "My African Journey", the Rt. Hon'ble Winston Churchill wrote: "It is the Indian trader, "who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places "to which no white man could go, or in which no white man "could earn a living, has, more than any one else, developed the "early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender "means of communication." His right, therefore, to equality of treatment with the white settlers on historical grounds cannot be questioned. Even if you take the present position, it is an extremely strong one. The total number of Europeans in British East Africa, which has recently been divided into two portions the Kenya colony and the Protectorate, is not more than 6,000 while the Indian population is not less than 25,000 and it is estimated at between 30,000 and 35,000. Then look at the trade and commerce of the colony. More than four-fifths of it is carried on by Indians. One would have thought that under these circumstances His Majesty's Government would protect Indian interests and would see that their rights are not to be encroached upon by people who settled there probably not more than 20 years ago and who are now enjoying the fruits of Indian labour and capital. But, as the irony of fate would have it, an acute agitation is going on against Indians there and it originated with certain Dutch settlers who migrated soon after the Boer war in East Africa by the anti-Indian prejudice which was prevalent in South Africa. They started an agitation against the Indians. They wished that the best lands should be reserved to them while Indians should be driven into the most unhealthy parts of the Protectorate and they so far succeeded that in 1908 Lord Elgin did nothing to protect our rights in South Africa and wondered why Indians objected to giving their thumb-impressions on permits by which Indians were prohibited from acquiring land in the uplands. The policy which began in 1908 has been pursued steadily during the last twelve years and we find to-day that Indians possess neither the political nor municipal franchise. Recently Lord Milner has ordered that they should be segregated for commercial and residential purposes and, as a corollary to this, he has ordered that certain restrictions should be placed on the acquisition of landed property by Indians. In July last there was a debate on the question in the House of Lords which was initiated by Lord Islington. In reply to the observations of Lord Islington, Lord Milner said: "It is perfectly true that Indians "are not represented in the Legislative Council but what does it "matter? The Legislative Council enjoys no real power. The "Europeans may be a majority, but what can they do?" As for segregation, he thought it was entirely a wrong name to apply to

the policy which His Majesty's Government were following there. It was true that certain places and quarters were reserved for European trade and commerce but he was perfectly willing to reserve certain portions for Indians and provided the places reserved were as good for Indians, he saw no room for complaint. As for the ownership of land, if it was granted that the two races should live apart for social reasons, it followed from it that some restrictions should be placed on their rights to acquire land. To the objections based on principle to such a policy, the best answer to the observations of Lord Milner is furnished by the despatch of the Government of India which is dated 21st October. It is published in the "New India" of the 28th December and I would ask every one of you to study it. It might appear from Lord Milner's statement that the grievances of Indians were unreal and that His Majesty's Government were perfectly willing to treat the Indians and Englishmen there on a footing of perfect equality. But nothing can be farther from the truth. In the most important towns the largest areas and the healthiest ones were reserved for Englishmen and in spite of the numerical preponderance of the Indians, areas set apart for them were much smaller than those given to Englishmen. Take the franchise. In one place there were 2,000 Europeans and 5,000 Indians, but the municipal council consists of one nominated official and 12 elected Europeans. There is not a single Indian. His Majesty's Government now propose to add three elected Indians. It has been objected to the Indian that he should not live in the same quarter with Europeans because he is socially and morally undesirable. The Government of India strongly protest against the aspersions cast upon Indians by interested parties without having brought a tittle of evidence in support of their assertions and they point out that when power is in the hands of one class, it is apt to use it for the benefit of its countrymen and that it is not surprising that most of the municipal income is spent on the European quarter. Then take the situation with regard to land for commercial, residential and other purposes. Lord Milner thought that, if Indians were allowed to settle in uplands, it will mean a virtual discrimination against the Europeans because the uplands were the only portions of the Protectorate where the Europeans could settle. The Government of India point out that one might think that the European settlement was confined to the uplands but we find that they are encroaching even on the lowlands and that while the Indians there hold only 32 square miles of territory, the Europeans occupy 11,859 square miles and of the 32 square miles of territory occupied by Indians they acquired only 11 from the Government. I could give you various other reasons in support of the Indian position and also detail other grievances.

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which the Indians there have brought to the notice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies ; but those that I have mentioned will suffice to show that they are labouring under great disabilities and that unless His Majesty's Government interfere, the tragic history in South Africa may be repeated in the Kenya Colony and Kenya Protectorate. There is the further danger. Uganda has so far been free from the anti-Indian prejudice which has characterised South Africa and the Kenya Colony. Mr. Andrews who went there recently told the Prime Minister of Uganda and the Chief Justice of Uganda and they both wrote to him that they wanted the Indians in their colonies because they thought that they would improve their country and that they were desirable morally. Besides, the Government of India state, on the authority of Sir Benjamin Robertson, that Indians in Uganda have lived on very friendly terms with the Europeans there, that the Development Commission recently appointed by the Uganda Government have pronounced against the principle of segregation. But in spite of these things in favour of Indians, they are beginning to suffer from the effects of the evil policy which is being pursued in the neighbouring territory known as the Kenya Colony. Therefore, whether you look at the magnitude of the evil in the Kenya Colony or whether you consider the evil effects of this policy which are bound sooner or later to make themselves manifest in the neighbouring colonies, it is incumbent upon you to make a representation to His Majesty's Government and to give all the support that you can to the Government of India in the urgent representations that they have made to the authorities in England to accord justice to Indians who are settled in the East African territories. They point out that whatever the position might have been in the self-governing dominions, there is absolutely no excuse for the anti-Indian policy which is being pursued in a colony which is not self-governing, the policy and administration of which are alike controlled by his Majesty's Government, and they go on to point out that Indians regard the position of their countrymen in East Africa as a test of the position of India in the Empire and it will be an evil day for the Empire when any portion of the Empire is relieved entirely from the responsibility of what happens to another. They ask that a commission should be appointed to enquire into the position of the various races settled there. We are not at all against such an enquiry because we believe that it will further strengthen the Indian case. But whether such a commission is appointed or not, we should make it absolutely clear to His Majesty's Government that we are not going to tolerate any racial distinction, any policy of discrimination either in point of legislation or administration against our countrymen who are settled in East Africa and to whom that colony owes its prosperity entirely. I will now ask you to turn your attention to Fiji. We all know that recently a riot broke out

there. The Government of Fiji have tried to make out that the riot originated in political causes, but all the information that we have received not merely from Indians but also from other reliable sources points to the conclusion that it was entirely economic in its origin. The Indian labourers there are miserably paid. They are trying to organise themselves and to secure better remuneration for their labour. The planters, finding themselves confronted with such a situation, practically brought about a state of things in which our countrymen were goaded into revolt and not content with the hardships which they had imposed upon them they went further and insulted the Indian women during the riots which broke out there. Apart from that, we learn that about 30,000 Indians had decided to sell their property and to come to India. This is a state of things which has filled us with alarm. It appears from it that the position there has become so desperate that the Indians have despaired completely of obtaining justice at the hands of the British Government. We, therefore, ask that the position of Indians in Fiji should be considered immediately by His Majesty's Government and that the Government of India should press upon the authorities in England that a committee should be appointed to enquire into the causes of the recent riots. Gentlemen, India is entering on the path of the Dominions. It is rousing itself from sleep like a lion after slumber. It is an original member of the League of Nations. Whatever might have been the position in the past, it is absolutely necessary for the safety of the Empire that the newly awakened conscience, the national conscience of India, should be respected. It is intolerable that our countrymen in other parts of the Empire should not enjoy the rights which they acquire in territories which are not subject to British rule or which they possess even in Colonies which are self-governing. There is already grave unrest in India. The news that we receive daily in regard to conditions prevailing in East Africa and Fiji, is adding material to the unrest and it is therefore not merely in the interests of India but also in the best interests of the Empire that we ask that the position of our countrymen in other colonies should be made such as would be consistent with our self-respect as citizens of the British Empire (Cheers.)

Mr. G. A. Natesan :—Ladies and gentlemen, the resolution is, as you are aware, a lengthy one and speaks for itself and the proposition has been spoken to by my friend, Mr. Kunzru, with a considerable amount of information and lucidity, which it is impossible for others to emulate. At any rate, I cannot do so. I propose, therefore, to content myself with seconding this proposition by making one or two observations. This subject naturally recalls to our mind the story of the indignities to which Indians in South Africa were subjected years ago and echoes of which we are still hearing. When not only in India but in England

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there was a cry of indignation about the impotency of British statesmen to put a stop to the cruelties and barbarities perpetrated in South Africa, the explanation was that it was a self-governing colony and that Great Britain and His Majesty's Cabinet had considerable difficulty in bringing those colonies to their senses and making them conform themselves even to ordinary acts of British justice. I do not think it can be pretended at the present moment that, in the case of East Africa and Fiji, such an explanation can be given. Therefore we must now ask the authorities not only in England but also in India not to plead this excuse because they themselves could not plead it, but even if they did, they must get over it and try to solve this problem. Let us remember that, in the British administration of India and also in British relations with Indians in the colonies, there have been created many sores, and, among the unhealed sores, this problem of the treatment of Indians in British colonies, self-governing or otherwise, is one, and so long as this question is not solved properly, it will add to the distress, the discontent and the indignation which is already prevailing in this country. To the army of non-co-operators, every Indian from a British colony who is distressed and who is turned out from there and who comes here with sorrows and tears, will be an addition and his tale of woe would be an addition to the trouble here, and the Government, which constantly appeal to the men of the moderate party and the men of the liberal party, must be told without reserve, without equivocation, that there is no use in appealing to the moderates or to anybody forgetting to discharge their own obligations. We must say: "Do not appeal to the moderates when everything has got out of their hands." It was exactly the answer which the late Mr. Gokhale, the most respected of moderate politicians, one loved by the people and respected by the Government, gave on an important occasion, when, having failed to follow his timely advice, the Government of India in troubled times—perhaps less troubled than now—appealed to him for help. I feel sure that we can ask the Government to take proper steps to remedy this great wrong and to prevent the indignities which are being heaped upon Indians in East Africa and Fiji and in doing so we are discharging a duty to ourselves and trying to strengthen the hands of the Empire whose connection we are anxious to preserve with justice to ourselves and credit to themselves. (Cheers).

The resolution was put and carried.

Racial Distinctions.

RACIAL DISTINCTIONS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Y. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

The Hon'ble Mr. Y. S. Srinivasa Sastri :—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I would first read the resolution which I am going to move :

That, in the opinion of the Federation, the inauguration of the new regime conferring a measure of self-government on the people of India, must be signalised by a comprehensive measure abolishing all distinctions in law based merely on the race of the individual and urges, in particular, that the provisions in the criminal law of India, conferring upon Europeans and Americans certain special privileges and rights must be repealed at an early date.

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The first part of the resolution urges a special consideration that, as we are to be declared masters in our own house in a few weeks' time, it is right and proper that everything in this country should be so ordered as if we were really masters in our own house and other people lived here only on terms of equality with us, not certainly on terms of any special privilege or right as compared with the masters entering their own houses. It is with that object that this resolution has been brought forward at this time. If we are going to have responsible Government in our country and the laws are to be made by us, it would be an absolute incongruity if all those laws were not at once removed from the Statute Book which declared expressly that, we the law-makers of this country, were to be inferiors to any body of people from outside. Last time when we were up at Simla, I gave notice of a similar resolution to be moved in the Imperial Legislative Council. You all knew at the time that it would be impossible for the Government merely upon notice of a resolution to bring in a law for the purpose of effecting our wish. We knew that, even if our resolution were at that time accepted, it would take perhaps six months or probably a year for that resolution to be fully carried out, that is to say, it could not have been carried into effect except in the new regime. Our object, however, in bringing forward this measure in the last days of the old bureaucratic Government was to give the bureaucracy an opportunity while yet they had unmitigated power to remedy this wrong. As an earnest of their desire to invest with reality the half-arrangements to be made for responsible government, we invited them to declare by acceptance of our resolution that they were really willing that the coming Reforms Act should be a real Act conferring self-government upon us, and to prove that, they could do nothing better than to say "we are quite willing at the earliest opportunity as soon as the new councils are on their feet, we are willing to shatter these fetters." That, however, was not to be. Some of you may think that the result was not made clear because the resolution was not moved. As a matter of fact, under certain circumstances which I need not bring here to your notice it was not moved, but we knew even at the time that even if the resolution had been moved, it would not have been accepted as I shall show in the sequel. What is the nature of our complaint? That is expressed in a few words in the second half of the resolution. The best illustration of the special immunities and privileges enjoyed by the European community,

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is to be found in the Criminal Procedure Code. There is a special chapter in it headed "Of Europeans and Americans." In that chapter special provisions are made to distinguish them from the subjects inhabiting this country and giving to them certain modes of trial and other advantages of which they have never been slow to take advantage. I will only mention these things under three heads, the details are too many. In the first place the nationality of the presiding judge is to be European; that is to say an European British subject cannot be tried and convicted by an Indian unless the Indian has risen so high that the presumption of his peculiar qualifications is accepted. An Indian had to be a District Magistrate or he had to be a High Court Judge in order to be able to try an European British subject. No other Magistrate, unless he is himself a European British subject and a Magistrate of the first class and besides a Justice of the Peace, can try a European British subject. Then in the mode of trial the European British subject enjoys a special advantage. He has the right to demand even in very ordinary cases which are called summons cases that he should only be tried by a jury; and not alone that, but by a jury composed in a special manner. He has the right to demand that when a jury is impanelled, at least one half of that jury shall consist of people of his own nationality, a right which we do not enjoy. You remember very well that, when the late Mr. Tilak was tried in the High Court of Bombay, the jury was composed of a majority of Europeans. Then that is not enough. With regard to the punishment awardable to European British subjects, courts in this country are tied down. The ordinary Magistrate, for example, cannot award more than three months' imprisonment. A District Magistrate cannot go beyond six months and even a Sessions Judge who can send you and me to the gallows can only give a European British subject one year's rigorous imprisonment. Of course these are things laid down in the law. You know how when Europeans are actually tried justice is defeated, nearly always by all manner of means. When he is tried by a jury of his own countrymen you know what happens as a matter of course. It is quite enough to bring to your recollection a story of the missionary, who in a fit of anger, inflicted punishment of his own accord on the Indian and when the Indian threatened him with proceedings, at once offered a sort of compromise and when the Indian showed a little hesitation he backed up his overtures by a threat that if the negotiations failed, he would claim his legal right to be tried by a jury of his own countrymen and then there would be complete acquittal and the prosecutor will get nothing. That sort of thing has gone on for so many years. The papers are full of cases of that kind. Hardly a month passes without some judicial scandal of this kind irritating

our feelings and reminding us of what we are in our own country. You will be struck with the extraordinary assurance and swagger of these European races when I tell you that it is not only in India which is a dependency of England at present that they ask for these special privileges and immunities, but they go much farther. In Japan and in other countries until quite recently the European residents enjoyed a privilege known as the consular jurisdiction, that is, whenever they committed any penal offences within those countries, no indigenous court could bring them to trial, they invariably appeared before courts presided over by people of their own nationality and each nation had its own special court. Often the presiding judges were not trained judicial officers but merchants, themselves and the consuls, with the result that scandalous offences were perpetrated by these Europeans against the people of the country but they were invariably treated with neglect. The whole thing came to a head in the early days of the Japanese revival when the humiliation of having European offenders let off every day proved intolerable to Japan; and after a long course of negotiation it was in the year 1899 that Japan secured what is known as her 'judicial autonomy' and the consular jurisdiction was abolished. There was however one justification for the way in which Europeans claimed to be exempt from Japanese tribunals in those days. That justification lay in the fact that the Japanese system of jurisprudence was somewhat crude and Japanese judges were not always known to be honest, that offenders never got their due in the Courts of Japan; but such a thing could not be pleaded in India. In India the system of jurisprudence is entirely English, so entirely English that we are often tempted to complain against it. The judges are all men trained in their system and they have now established a reputation beyond challenge for complete probity and impartiality. The Europeans cannot therefore pretend that they will not get justice in Indian Courts presided over by Indian Judges. This state of things became apparent so long ago as in the eighties of the last century and you are aware that, in the time of Lord Ripon a great deal of racial ill-feeling was aroused when what is known as the Ilbert Bill was brought before the Imperial Legislative Council. It sought to invest Indian Magistrates and Indian Judges, whatever their rank, with power to try Europeans nearly on the same footing as though they were Indian accused. The fact however turned out to be entirely against Indian expectations. I need not tell you the wild agitation that was started at the time by the European community of this country. Two features of it, however, are worth remembering. It was the agitation over the Ilbert Bill that is now generally recognised as having been the first important occasion on which Indians first realised the necessity of national organization. So menacing was the challenge thrown

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out by the Europeans at that time. The second feature, not so generally known perhaps, is a lesson in the art of constitutional agitation which the Europeans, generally supposed to be fully versed in that art, taught us for the first time, we have never learnt it though. You may remember, some of you, that it was on that occasion that, with the aid or connivance of the military at the time, the European community actually made complete arrangements for bringing the Viceroy, putting him on board a boat which lay on the Hoogly and transporting him across the seas to England. It is that community which now is supposed to be teaching us the art of patience under suffering and of hopeful constitutional agitation till the end of the chapter. I just now wish to point out to you that, when we brought in our resolution last session in the Imperial Legislative Council, it was generally demanded of us in Simla whether we desired to start afresh all this Ilbert Bill agitation. We did not wish certainly to start it but we were fully threatened with the revival of such agitation if we pressed the resolution up to the point of voting. A great deal of pressure was brought to bear on Mr. Sinha and myself to withdraw this resolution. In the event we withdrew it, but not for the reason that these people would have put forward. It is amusing to recall some of the special pleadings which I heard on the occasion. I had a visit from an European friend in those anxious days. He came literally on the high horse. Without sending in a card he merely jumped down and shouted my name. Duly I appeared before the noble visitor and took him inside my room. 'Look here,' he began, 'we are just now giving you a large measure of self-government. We are going to trust you. Is this the reward that we get that you want these racial distinctions to be instantly abolished?' Well, I gave him a suitable reply which I will not detail, but the result of it was that in a couple of minutes the gentleman settled quietly in a chair and began conversing with me in a somewhat chastened mood. The next thing I wish to tell you is a kind of argument that he advanced. I will just tell you two or three of them. You will be very interested to hear them. He said 'look here, you are imprudent to ask for this change. Nowadays Indian Judges are somewhat afraid of Europeans, you know, I need not tell you. Europeans are not so afraid of their own community so that when a real European offender appears before an European Judge, it is probable that that Judge will have the courage to convict him and award suitable punishment; whereas you know as a matter of fact that, if an Indian judge were there, he will not dare to convict him. So that as a mere matter of prudence you better let the present conditions continue.' How much truth there is in that I leave you to judge; but I do not believe that it is absolutely without truth. But then that is because of the present state of things. In the new regime things will be entirely different and it is not servility which will bring

promotion to a judge but absolute impartiality and courage in the conduct of criminal cases. Another thing that he told me was, "you see, we Europeans live in our own society with its own peculiar customs and manners, modes of dress and so on, so that an Indian will find it extremely difficult to appraise at their true value the conditions surrounding a case." I only reminded him, gently of course, that if that was the case with regard to the Indian trying to understand European ways, how much more difficult should it be in the case of the European who always tried Indian cases, but did not possess the advantage which the Indian possessed—an inestimable advantage because the Indian invariably knew his English well. He tried to understand honestly English customs, he read English history. He read a vast amount of English novel literature certainly and in that way he was equipped to understand European peculiarities ; whereas the European often showed his pride by professing a contempt for the Indian by saying even at the end of 30 years of life in India, 'I began to understand India somewhat.' He does not understand our lives. He certainly does not understand our manners. Nevertheless it did not appear to this visitor of mine at all strange that in nearly every case he should try an Indian accused while an European accused could never think of being tried by an Indian. But he turned on me with disrespect and said : " There is a good deal in what you say, but the facts are against you. The fact is that an Indian accused invariably prefers an European Judge to an Indian Judge. Time after time it is the experience of European Judges to be told by the Indian accused, " Sahib, it is before you, it is under you that I expect justice." Do not send me before an Indian to be tried." Again, that is a matter, the exact measure of the truth of which I must leave you to judge. But here again I must say that there is some truth. I do know that there are Indians who are proud of saying that the European generally is more impartial than the Indian, but I think there is one reason which will explain a great many of these cases, I will not say all and that is the Indian in a comfortable situation when he happens to have done wrong and fears justice, naturally shrinks from appearing before an Indian who can almost instinctively find out where the probabilities lie. The Indian is not so easily hood-winked when he is on the bench as the European is. Then, as if to crowd his argumentation, my visitor told me " Look here, you are very imprudent again to start this rule now. What you desire can be quietly obtained in the natural course of political evolution in this country. Do not try and create unnecessarily bad blood. Arrangements are being made under the wisdom of your friend Mr. Montagu to Indianise the services rapidly so that hereafter there will be only very few Europeans in the higher ranks and the European accused must naturally in such circumstances be placed under the jurisdiction

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of the Indian as otherwise sufficient European judges would not be available.' Now I must conclude. All these however are ingenious arguments as you can see, brought to support a weak case. The reality is that the European thinks that his prestige in this country upon which alone his Empire is based would suffer seriously if he lets himself be tried and convicted by an Indian. That is the secret of it and such an impartial judge as Lord Bryce has found out that that was at the bottom of British supremacy in this country. He says at one time he was perfectly astonished to find that barbarous tribes in this country, residents of hilly areas, were afraid to treat the European half as roughly as they generally treated the Indian sojourning in their midst. The reason he found out on enquiry was that whenever a European was injured, Government had taken extraordinary precautions in the way of punitive expeditions and so forth to maintain their prestige, while, in the case of an Indian, nothing was done at all. But we think, as I told you before, that the time has come when the European can trust us in the natural course of things to do him justice and need not rely on exceptional ways. (Cheers.)

Mr. Jogendra Mohan Sinhe.

Mr. Jogendra Mohan Sinhe (Bengal):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, our leader Mr. Sastri has referred in detail to the ingenious suggestions contained in Chapter 8 of the Criminal Procedure Code and so I need not take much of your valuable time. I shall only tell you that it is an extraordinary administration of justice that such a provision should exist in these criminal codes. Whereas in civil matters our judges can be trusted, there is no reason why in criminal matters also Indians cannot be trusted with dealing justice to Europeans. Even in summons cases, that is, petty offences these Indians cannot be trusted. It is a slur on our Indian nationality and in these days of reforms, when the reforms are about to be inaugurated, these ingenious distinctions should no longer find a place in the Statute Book of our country. With these remarks, I support the resolution. (Cheers).

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY.

Exchange and Currency.

The Hon'ble Mr. Y. G. Kale.

The Hon'ble Mr. Y. G. Kale (Bombay):—Ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I want to move is of a technical character dealing as it does with the stringent currency policy relating to India. I shall however try as far as I can to place before you very briefly what the present situation is and our demands are. Gentlemen, you are aware that our currency, namely, the rupee, has for a long time been linked with the English sovereign, 15 Rs. having been made equivalent to one gold sovereign. This rate of exchange continued in existence for nearly 20 years

and, with the exception of a few months in 1907-08, that ratio between the sovereign and the rupee continued. However, during the war there was serious difficulty, namely the value of the rupee at 16 *d.* could not be maintained. The price of silver went up but the favourable trade balance of India increased from month to month on account of the disbursement which India made on account of His Majesty's Government, on account of the contribution that India made to the successful prosecution of the war. There was a very large favourable balance of trade and at the same moment the price of silver was steadily rising. What was the result? The result was that the rate of exchange had to be put up bit by bit till at last from 16*d.* it was raised to 26*d.* at one time. The price of silver rose from 24*d.* per oz. to about 80*d.* per oz. The Government of India did not know whether the exchange would stabilise itself. It had gone up so much, it was so unsteady. How was stability to be restored to the exchange? That was the difficult question which the Government of India had to face and it was under these circumstances that a committee was appointed which is called the Babington Smith Committee. The main recommendation of that Committee was that the exchange value of the rupee should be fixed at 24*d.* instead of 16*d.* and that the rupee should be linked to gold rather than to sterling. The Secretary of State for India accepted this recommendation and answer was made that in future Government would discharge the obligation of maintaining the exchange at 24*d.* gold. However, the conditions of trade changed. The expectations of the Currency Committee did not come out true with the result that the Government of India found it extremely difficult to maintain the exchange at 24*d.* gold. What did they do? They sold drafts on the Secretary of State which are called 'reverse councils' and the sale of 'reverse councils' week after week entailed heavy loss on this country. Indian monies had been transferred to London at a particular rate, namely, at the rate of 16*d.* and the money was brought back through the machinery of these 'reverse councils' at a very high rate and the difference between the two rates constituted the loss to the country. This loss was inflicted upon India. Huge protests were made by the people that it was not necessary in the interests of the country to maintain the exchange at 24*d.* gold and 24*d.* in gold meant sometime 32*d.* or 34*d.* in sterling because the British pound had gone down in value. The British pound did not fetch in America what it used to fetch before, and therefore 24*d.* in gold meant 32*d.* in sterling. But these protests were of no avail and the bulk of the funds belonging to India located in London was exhausted. Government at last in sheer despair stopped the sale of 'reverse councils.' In the meanwhile there was a radical change in the volume of trade, the favourable balance of trade came to an end. With the cessation of hostilities and a bad monsoon, exports stopped and

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imports increased and they were in a state of alarm. Orders for foreign goods had been given in anticipation of new industrial ventures which had been set on foot, while on the one side imports were on the increase, with the result that exchange was reduced. If you look at the papers you will find exchange to-day stands at something like 16*d.* or between 16 and 17*d.*, namely the exchange stands at the rate at which it was before the war. The Government of India have been called to sustain exchange once more by the sale of 'reverse councils' but the Government are unable to do it and, in the explanation which Government of India recently gave, they warned that the mere sale of 'reverse councils' would be of no avail unless their efforts were seconded by a favourable turn in the balance of trade. But the balance of trade continues to be unfavourable. Exchange is low, reverse councils cannot be sold and therefore the policy advocated and recommended by the Babington Smith Committee can no longer hold good. When that Committee made its recommendations certain economic conditions prevailed all over the world. Silver was very dear and it was expected to remain at a very high price for a very long time to come. There was a favourable trade balance in India and that was expected to continue. All these conditions are non-existent at the present moment. The report of the Committee says that, if conditions changed, if what they anticipated is not to come true, a reconsideration of the whole problem would be called for and another enquiry would be necessary. That is the statement which has been made in the report of the Committee itself. We have now to consider whether the time has not come when such a reconsideration of the whole policy has become necessary. Our funds have been exhausted. No more reverse councils can be sold. Exchange cannot be artificially raised or even maintained. It has gone down to the pre-war level and the demand has been made that exchange instead of being fixed at 24*d.* as had been fixed by law, should be restored to the level of 16*d.* It is a controversial subject. Merchants and others having conflicting interests are asking for low exchange or high exchange. It is therefore imperatively necessary that the question should be reconsidered in the light of changed conditions and in the light of the changes which have come over the trade and exchanges of the whole world. Exchanges all the world over have been shattered by the war and even to-day exchange in England, exchange in France and in fact, exchange in every other country than the United States of America where gold is freely available, all exchanges have been shattered. India is no exception to the rule, but in India the question is whether we cannot construct our currency and exchange policy in such a manner that it may be self-regulated, that it may be automatic. So far, we have what is called a managed currency. I do not mean to say that the restrictions

which are imposed by Government during a time of war, the exceptional measures which were necessitated by war conditions, should not have been adopted. Such measures have been adopted in all countries and they are justified, but the question is 'what is going to be our permanent system'; and in order to know that, they ought to have a real gold standard instead of the old exchange standard, which was necessary under certain conceivable circumstances. The question is whether the time has not come when the kind of gold standard which was recommended by the Fowler Committee in 1899, whether that kind of system under which there will be no conflicting interests, no conflicting demands from exports on one side and imports on the other, where everything will be adjusted by the general force of trade and industry, the question is whether the time has not come for enquiry and adoption of that recommendation. That is what the resolution recommends. I would read out to you the resolution before asking you to accept it.

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In view of the admitted failure of the efforts of the Government of India to maintain the country's gold exchange at or near the basis recommended by the last Committee on Exchange and Currency and even at the sterling level fixed by themselves, and in view of the enormous losses caused to the Indian Exchequer mainly by the sale of reverse councils against which the public strongly protested, and the utter disorganisation and demoralisation of the export and the import trade of the country which have been accentuated by the said policy of the Government, the National Liberal Federation strongly urges a fresh and immediate inquiry into the whole exchange and currency problem, such a reconsideration of Government's policy having been recommended by the Babington Smith Committee itself. The Federation further urges that the suggested reconsideration should aim at placing the Indian system of exchange and currency on a self-adjusting basis so as to promote the best interests of the trade, manufactures, industries and finances of the country and to bring India in a line in this connection with the advanced nations of the world.

Perhaps it may be asked 'what is the use of calling for commissions? Have we not had enough of these committees and commissions? Are not their recommendations useless?' The reply is, whatever views we may have, there is at least one use. The recent committee did one thing, namely that it gave a quietus to the many allegations made against India, namely that India is the sink of the precious metals, that all the gold which is dug out is sunk in this country. The Babington-Smith Committee said that this charge was false and recommendation was made that India must be allowed to get whatever gold she demands. That is the outcome of the recommendations of that Committee. If for nothing else, at any rate for the purpose of throwing light on the whole economic and exchange and currency situation of the country, such a committee is absolutely essential. For these reasons I hope that this resolution would commend itself to your favour. (Cheers).

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Doraiswamy
Aiyangar.

Mr. C. Doraiswami Aiyangar (Madras):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Resolution which I am here to second has just been read over to you by the learned Professor who preceded me. As he told you, the subject-matter is a technical one. He has put it to you from the technical point of view. I should like to put it to you, if I may, from a business-man's point of view. The resolution asks for immediate enquiry into the Indian Exchange and Currency problem. Why should there be an immediate enquiry into the Exchange and Currency problem? If you go into the markets of any principal cities, take for instance this city, you will be confronted with an extraordinary situation. Go to the import market, the import merchants will tell you that they can no longer import goods under the present conditions, that, so far as their unfulfilled contracts are concerned, they are anxious to have them cancelled, and that they are not in a position to pay the bills which are due so far as their fulfilled contracts are concerned. Go to the export market, for instance to Periamet, in this city, where you have the hides and skins exporters; the merchants there will tell you that their trade is also entirely disorganised and for such things as they already sent out, there is no money forthcoming and in some cases even the monies that they have drawn in advance they are asked to refund. That is the extraordinary situation with which they are confronted. Go to the banks, or the money market, if I may call it so, there we find the rates of discount are very high; though the nominal rates, so far as the presidency and other important banks are concerned are between 6 and 7, the rates of discount are between 12 and 15, on substantial securities; and even on such terms it is difficult to find money. What is all this due to? The resolution says the export and import trade has become demoralised. It is a very mild way of putting it. It has become revolutionised. It is due to the extraordinary Currency and Exchange policy which the Government are pursuing. And what is this policy? About this time last year, the committee known as the Babington-Smith Committee made certain recommendations. The necessity for that Committee to come into existence and to make recommendations was that during the war the currency system got disorganised. Silver became very dear and it became impossible for the Government of India to manufacture rupees for gold at the rate at which they were manufacturing. So they appointed a committee and the committee made recommendations and then the Government of India put into practice the recommendations which the committee made; and one of these recommendations was that a gold sovereign would be worth Rs. 10 in future and that in the liquidation of your international obligations, for Rs. 10 of yours you shall be able to obtain a sovereign. That was one of the recommendations made, and then they began to put it into effect. The

result was that they found themselves quite unable to do it very soon, and for the measures which they adopted to support exchange and to carry out the undertaking which they gave to the people, they incurred a lot of expense, they put themselves to considerable loss at the tax-payers' expense. They tried other means. I shall not refer to the sale of reverse councils, to the sale of gold bullion that they made and the other measures that they adopted—but in the net result they found themselves unable to carry out the recommendations of that Committee. The result was, about the last week of September, they threw up their hands in despair and said they could not help this matter of exchange. That is a matter which should adjust itself naturally. Then there were interpellations in Parliament; the Secretary of State was asked; there were interpellations here; and the Government of India were asked; and the only answer that we could get from all these high authorities was that they were not in a position to do anything for us at this time and things must be left to the natural course of events. Immediately the consequence was that the whole trade became disorganised and now practically it is at a standstill. Unless conditions improve, unless we are going to have what is called a stable exchange, something steady to go upon, it looks as if it is impossible for business to go on. Just by way of illustration, if you go into the market with a rupee on one day, if you are told that it is worth 15 annas and another day 14 annas and another day 12 annas and again 15 annas, what will be your position? What is it that you can transact with that rupee in your hand? That is exactly the position so far as foreign trade is concerned. The whole thing is so changing from day to day that merchants and businessmen and even Government which has to depend upon them for the taxes, every one finds the situation hopeless. It is under these circumstances that we ask for a reconsideration of the recommendations made by that committee and also for a further undertaking by the Government of India if they mean to deal with this question of exchange. I do not mean to say that the ideal exchange can be secured by the Government. Government should be the last person to interfere in the matter of exchange. If we were a free people, if we had the right to do as we please in our own interests, and to our own best advantage, surely we must have an international currency of gold instead of silver. Having gold, we should, in a time like the war, have made immense fortunes. That was denied to us. After the war we should have been in a position to adjust our balances and to have our credits with international countries in the international currency. Even that is denied to us. So our goal is to get a suitable exchange and to get international currency. These two things should be got not by mere asking, but by getting expert opinions also and that can be by means of a committee and that

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is why we are asking for a committee in this resolution. In this connection, I will only just read to you one observation made at a recent international conference where all the enlightened countries of the world met and they discussed these questions of currency and allied matters. There is one observation with regard to exchange and that is this: "*Attempts to limit fluctuations in exchange by imposing artificial control on exchange operations are futile and mischievous.*"

That is an observation which the high authorities in this country who have been interfering with our exchange for years past should bear in mind and we hope they will give us in due course an exchange system which will work automatically and a currency system which will not land us in the miseries in which we are to-day. (Cheers).

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

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FISCAL POLICY OF INDIA.

Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar (Madras):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution with which I have been charged is this:—

In pursuance of the recommendation of the Committee appointed by the Governor-General in Council in February 1920 to advise as to the best method of considering the future fiscal policy of India, the National Liberal Federation of India urges the immediate appointment of a strong and representative Commission, with power to take evidence in various parts of the country from representatives of all interests concerned, such as those of importers, exporters, producers, manufacturers and consumers, to examine the whole question of the future fiscal policy of India.

The Federation further urges that the country should not be committed, in the meanwhile, to any policy of Imperial Preference until a Commission such as the one recommended above has collected evidence and made its report.

The resolution, as you will see, comprises two parts, the one dealing with the very large and comprehensive question of Imperial Preference, and the other dealing with what may be called the general features of the fiscal policy. I do not propose to deal with the latter part of it in detail as I shall leave that to be dealt with by one more competent than myself to speak with first-hand knowledge on such affairs, namely my friend Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakadas; but I believe it is necessary, especially in view to the many difficulties and complications of the problem, to sketch some of the troubles ahead of us if we too lightly adopt any scheme of Imperial Preference. I do not intend at this stage to take you in detail through the history of this controversy. Opinion for the last many years has been divided and acutely divided on the rights and wrongs of the age-long question of protection *versus* free trade. It would be futile were I to

enumerate the arguments of those who, with Prof. Sarkar, acknowledge the many patent arguments in favour of protection, but fearing reprisals yet finally make a bid for free trade as on the whole the best plan for the country. I do not also propose to take the house through the oft-reiterated arguments of those who with Gneist and with Mill say that, in the nascent industrial condition of a country, in view to develop its beginning industrial growth, it would be necessary to inaugurate some system of protective tariffs. The argument on behalf of the latter class of controversialists amounts to this in short: if we read history aright, if we read the history especially of England during the days when she built up her trade and commerce, what do we find? We find that England first of all started with rigid protective systems. She built up her navigation, built up her shipping, built up her great mercantile marine, built up her trade, by the aid of this protective system and then she adopted free trade when her trade needed no protection. That is the reading of history according to one class of historians and economists. A very fruitful commentary on that is furnished by the history of the Colonies who have almost without exception also adopted the same policy and the principle. Arguing from that, Indian economists say that, so long as we are face to face with a tremendously competitive and powerfully organised industrial civilisation, there is no possibility of expectation of building up your own industrial system unless some kind of protection is given to your infant industries; and from that they argue that not only from the point of view of revenue, but also from the point of view of this protection of nascent industries should a protective system be at once availed of. On the whole, there is no question; it cannot be gainsaid that public opinion in India is in favour of such a protective system, but since the year 1913 a variant of this theory has sought to gain favour. Led by Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis who opened a debate on Imperial Preference in the Imperial Legislative Council, a school of thought has arisen which plausibly argues that India being a part of the great British Empire ought, so to say, knit itself and other components of the British Empire into indissoluble bonds of economic union somewhat in the manner of the various principalities of Germany and that protective tariffs ought to gain force and ought to be adhered to only as against other countries. It is only on this aspect of the question that I desire to detain you for a few minutes.

Let us consider what the facts of our trade are. The necessity for considering this aspect is all the more important at the present moment in as much as the Joint Report has laid down two principles. In the first place, it has laid down—and that is one of its solid contributions to political progress and political thought—it has laid down that there should not be

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the least suspicion that the fiscal interests of India are dictated from Whitehall and they further laid down that in the same manner as New Zealand, as Canada, as Africa are able to regulate their own tariff and fiscal problems in their best interests, so should India be, and moreover it has strictly enjoined that the Secretary of State ought not to interfere if the Legislative Assembly and the Government of India are in unison on the tariff problem. They say that, if in the matter of tariff and fiscal policy the Executive Council of the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly are in agreement and they want a forward policy in any particular direction, the Secretary of State ought to hold his hands. Now, therefore, there arises the cogent, the imperative, necessity of educating public opinion on this matter, so that, in the first place, the Government of India might be alive to the aspects of this question and also the Imperial Legislative Assembly might be educated into the comprehension of the varied aspects of the same matter. Having said that, let us consider what the position of our trade is. We find now that the main articles of export from India represent 90 per cent. of the total and no preference is possible unless England is willing to raise the price of raw materials which are essential to industries or foodstuffs. From the nature of the conditions what have we got ?

In jute and in lac, India has a monopoly and therefore there are no competitors to defend India against, and as for tea India does not want protection. Therefore the rest of the articles are articles of food or materials for industry and preference can be given to India effectively, only if preference is given against the United Kingdom. Otherwise, there is no intelligible basis of preference. The only result of preference aiming at other things or proceeding differently would be a system of reprisals by foreign countries which, in the present condition of our trade, we cannot for a moment afford. Therefore in considering the whole of this question, let us not blind ourselves to this aspect, namely, that if we are going to avail ourselves of the benefits of this theory of preference, if we are converted to the idea that preference will enable our nascent industrial condition to advance, then preference must be as against all the world, preference must be just as it has been in Canada, in Australia, in South Africa, preference against the United Kingdom as much as against the rest of the world.

Therefore, by merely glibly talking of Imperial Preference, we are really erecting a tariff wall against us without reaping any benefits from the policy that we have in view, and therefore, so far as this resolution goes, it calls upon each one of us to consider this aspect of the question seriously, to deliberate whether any offer of Imperial Preference made by Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis such as was welcomed by economists like Sir Roper Lethbridge

is best suited to us or whether we should embark upon a system of protection and preference all around. To consider this question which is a thorny question, this resolution says that experts should be consulted and that a commission should find out both from the interests of the consumers and the trading interests alike, what would be in the best interests of India. The argument against all preference is ; it is all very well of you talk of trade, but you have no idea that by any policy of preference the prices would be on the increase and the consumer will have to pay more for the things he desires to purchase. We have to bear that in mind. One of the results of adopting a system of preference and not a cleverly devised system of preference, would be to increase the burden on the tax-payer. We have also to bear in mind whether Imperial preference would serve our needs or whether it should not be preference all round. It is to consider that this resolution is recommended to you for your acceptance. (Loud applause.)

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Mr. C. P.
Ramaswamy
Aiyar.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas (Bombay) :—Mr. President and fellow delegates, I rise to second the resolution so ably placed before you by my friend, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. In dealing with the resolution, he has particularly laid stress on the second portion of the resolution and has very ably dealt with the question of Imperial Preference and has exposed the fallacy of the arguments of those who believe in the policy of Imperial Preference. I shall deal more with the first portion of the resolution. In the first portion of the resolution we ask for the appointment of a representative commission which shall go into the question of the best method of considering the future fiscal policy of India. I want to remind you of the fact that we want a representative commission which shall not only hold its sittings in England but shall also go to all parts of this country and collect all the available evidence on this question of the future fiscal policy of India. I have to remind you of this because last year a very important commission on the question of exchange and currency was appointed and this commission held its sittings nowhere else except in England and on this commission there was not a single representative of the people of India with the exception of this fact that on the commission the Government appointed only one Indian. The majority of the commission were composed of Englishmen. There was only one Indian, and all the evidence that was recorded before this commission was in England and hardly more than two or three Indians were asked to go to England as witnesses. When you look at the findings of that particular commission you at once see that while the English majority come to certain conclusions, the one Indian member that was on that commission writes a dissenting minute and bases his arguments on the evidence given by the very few Indian witnesses that went to England ; and in spite of this

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fact the exchange and currency policy that the Government adopted was based on the recommendations made by the majority and it is found that this proved detrimental to the interests of India, whereas the findings that are recorded in the dissenting minute of Mr. Dalal who based his arguments on the evidence of these Indian gentlemen have proved absolutely correct ; so that, before I pass on to the subject, I want particularly to draw the attention of the authorities that it will not do to appoint a commission which is neither representative of the people nor which would hold its sittings in England, but that we want a commission which is really representative of the people and which will collect all available evidence on this all-important question in India itself. Now coming to the broad question of the future fiscal policy, I believe that it is very difficult for us at this stage to dogmatise on what the future policy should be. I do not think we are at this stage in a position to state as to whether we should have a policy of perfect protection protecting all our industries which are in a nascent condition and prohibiting the total export of all the articles that are consumed for manufacturing purposes in England and elsewhere. I do not think we are in a position to state that definitely at the present stage. But looking at the past results we are definitely in a position to state this and state it very clearly that the policy that has been adopted ever since the advent of British rule in India, the policy of foisting free trade on this country has by all means resulted in bringing about in this country a condition, the misery of which cannot be described in adequate words. There cannot be the slightest doubt in the mind of any one who has taken pains to consider this question that the present unsatisfactory economic situation of the country is mainly due to the policy of free trade selfishly foisted by Great Britain on this country. I admit that there are many people who, from the point of view of principle, would maintain that they would for ever remain free traders. I would in principle ever remain a free trader. I aim at free trade as my ultimate goal. But before all the countries come to an equal level so far as their respective industrial conditions are concerned, so long as you have not secured an equal position among all the countries of the world, so far as their respective industrial conditions are concerned, to talk of free trade for all countries is to make countries, the industries of which are in a growing condition, the victims of those countries which are already prospering as manufacturing countries. My friend, Mr. Ramaswami Aiyar, has already told you how England began as a protectionist country and it was only when she felt that she was on safe ground and that she could supply not only manufacturing articles for Great Britain but she could send out manufactured articles elsewhere—it was then only that England adopted a free trade policy and began to foist it on other countries. But look at what has recently happened in England. During the

war England, believing that the German dye industry was going to perish for ever, started a dye industry in Great Britain ; and as a result the British Dye Company, Ltd. was floated with a large capital in which Government invested a very large amount of money. As soon as the war was over, Germany again started sending dyes to Great Britain and as the quality of German dyes was superior to the quality of British dyes, naturally the manufacturers gave preference to German articles; but not only Germany sent dyes to England but America also which had built up its dye industry on a firmer and sounder basis during the war began to supply dyes to all parts of the British Empire. That threatened the existence of the dye industry in England and as a result it is only a few days ago that the Dye-Stuffs Bill was brought before the British Parliament, and in this Parliament of a free trade country this Dye-Stuffs Bill which was brought in for the purpose of giving protection to the British dye industry was carried without a single dissentient voice. If England, when it suits her interests, can introduce a policy of protection in her own land, how can she, I venture to submit, prevent us who are most in need of it from adopting a policy of protection? It is only when our country has sufficiently grown as an industrial country and can hold its own against all the industrial nations of the world that we shall adopt a free trade policy. Besides, I want you to remember that during the war England has found that this policy of free trade foisted on India has resulted to the detriment of her own interests. During the war, it was not possible for us to import British manufactured goods—I refer particularly to piece-goods. The result was that Japan which imported cotton freely from this country and which by importing cotton freely from this country killed, on the one hand our yarn market in China, began to send piece-goods from Japan to India, drove the English market away from India and began to compete with cloth that was manufactured in India from Indian cotton. Is that a condition which is in any way satisfactory in the interests of the British Empire? To those who would plead a policy of Imperial Preference, I would sincerely put this question. Is it not better in the interests of the British Empire that India, which is a part and parcel of the British Empire should, by improving its economic condition in the time of stress of the Empire, be a source of continual economic strength to the Empire, or is it because England would rather pursue a selfish policy of subordinating India's interests for the purpose of improving her own prospects with other countries, foreign countries should make India the dumping ground for their manufactured articles? I think England has learnt a lesson during the war at any rate that this policy of foisting free trade on India has weakened the resources of the Empire, and if another war—God forbid—were to come, then I am sure the

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resources of this country would be found so limited that if not for anything else, for want of manufactured articles England might have to yield. I therefore believe that it is in the interests of England herself that she should give up this policy of free trade so far as India is concerned and should allow India to frame her own fiscal policy which should be based on protection. When I say that there should be the policy of protection adopted in India, I do not want to appear to say that all industry and all articles should be protected. I think the commission would do well to select particular articles after taking evidence, particular manufactured articles for protection, and not only will it select particular manufactured articles but so far as the articles that are exported to foreign countries are concerned, it shall also take care that it selects only those articles of which export should either be totally prohibited or at least restricted so as to enable India to satisfy all its needs with regard to that particular article before she is allowed to export it outside. My friend, Mr. Ramaswami Aiyar, has enumerated a list of the important articles of export. I think he has omitted to mention one article that forms a very important item and that is cattle. I do not know whether, in this part of the country, you are aware of the amount of feeling that exists in all the other parts of India with regard to this export of cattle. It is not even sufficiently known what quantity of cattle is exported every year from India for military purposes. If it were known, I am sure, and I have no hesitation in saying, that the quantity would be found to be scandalous. While it is wrong from the point of view of religion and from the point of view of Indian sentiments that cattle should be freely exported for military purposes outside India, I maintain that from the economic point of view, it is detrimental to the interests of India that cattle should be allowed to be freely exported out of the country. I do not want to go into the details of this question, but I must refer to the speech made at one of the public meetings by a friend of mine in which he has conclusively proved that the economic welfare of this country largely depends upon the preservation of cattle in this country, and in this country alone. India is an agricultural country and the prosperity of its agriculture depends on the preservation of the cattle in this country. India is a vegetarian country and in order to make India's children strong and healthy, it is from well-preserved cattle that you want to provide the children of India with pure and unadulterated milk, butter and ghee. Now when you allow cattle to be freely exported out of this country you are not only preventing the agricultural growth of this country, you are not only hurting the religious feeling of the vast population of this country, but you are also preventing the children of India from building up their bodies so as to fulfil their obligations as future free citizens of this country. (Cheers).

Let me take another article. Take for instance cotton. What happens with regard to cotton? You have got here a number of mills which manufacture clothing. I admit that the cloth is not sufficient for the purposes of India, but I maintain that by increasing the number of your mills you can certainly make it possible for your country to supply all its wants; but what happens is this: that your cotton is, without any sort of restriction, allowed to be freely exported to other countries and I have already shown to you the dangers of allowing cotton to be exported freely without any restriction to Japan by showing that Japan has been able to kill our yarn market in China; by sending cloth manufactured out of our cotton, she been able to compete with us in this very country and driven the English market in India. There are various articles that, if I had time, I would have taken and would have conclusively proved that the policy of free trade at this particular stage of industrial development in India will not do and that the export of certain important articles must be, if not totally prohibited, at least greatly restricted. Let us come to grain. While our country is starving because of the inadequate supply of food, we see that the Government have the heart to export large quantities of wheat to foreign countries. In a matter like this, I should not only plead for a great amount of restriction, but if necessary I should advocate a policy of complete prohibition. Now it is said it is all right to talk of protecting our industries, it is all right to talk of prohibiting or restricting the export of our articles but if England retaliated by refusing to supply machinery or by levying heavy duties on the importation of machinery here, then where shall we be. How shall we increase the number of our mills and how shall we ever be in a position to supply the wants of our people? Well, I do not think that contingency is likely to arise. There is enough competition in the west either in England or in America or in Germany or in other countries of the West, there is sufficient competition in the West so far as the export of these articles is concerned, and we need never fear that we shall ever be in want of adequate machinery. But we do not want for ever to depend upon the supply of machinery from foreign countries. You are probably aware that the Tatas are already busy formulating a scheme for the manufacturing of machinery which shall be used for purposes here, and I do not think that to prevent the economic welfare of a country by the argument that that country will probably suffer because machinery will not be supplied to it is an adequate argument. There is another argument brought forward by others who are, I may say, strong enemies of the capitalists and they say 'if you adopt a policy of protection, it will only mean that the masses of the people of India will not be able to fill their pockets, but the pockets of the capitalists will be further filled.' That is a danger which it is necessary to avert,

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but it can be averted by legislation in this very country, by legislation in the popular Indian Legislature by which maximum profits can be fixed and a system of profit-sharing can be adopted and by those methods it will be possible for us to prevent money from going entirely into the pockets of the capitalists; but we may also be able to formulate systems by which money can go into the pockets of the poor who toil from day to day. I do not think that all these arguments have any weight, but it is said that if we adopt a policy of protection it is likely that you will have to give up the comradeship of British Labour. I do not think the comradeship of British Labour depends upon this fickle condition of making our country the victim to the schemes of Great Britain. If it does, then I submit, 'good-bye' to the comradeship of British Labour. But I have sufficient faith in British Labour to feel that British Labour will never put forward this argument. I do not think British Labour is capable of that. I have nothing more to say. I think a commission, if appointed, and if made representative, will be able to deal with this question and I am sure that the future fiscal policy of the country will be so framed as to enhance the economic welfare of this country and I am sure that if this country grows richer and its economic conditions are improved, it will not be to the detriment of the cause of Great Britain but this country will remain a source of continuous strength to Great Britain. Fellow-delegates, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. (Loud applause).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

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Dr. C. B. Rama
Rao.

Dr. C. B. Rama Rao (Madras):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am the latest recruit and the youngest member of this Federation unaccustomed to public speaking, and therefore naturally nervous of the duty assigned to me. I crave your indulgence. The subject which is entrusted to me is one with the facts of which I am perfectly conversant but my inability which I have alluded to will, I fear, not permit my placing it before you in the masterly way which it demands. It is to the medical service that I claim your attention. The service is one which is more important than any other service in the country, for the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar when he was Member of Council here once candidly confessed to me when I asked him to do something for our services, that he was able by persuasion or by logical argument to bring round his Civilian friends to his line of thinking in many a matter which he took up, but that he invariably failed when it was an I.M.S. officer that he had to deal with. What the secret of this was, he was not able to tell you, but I dare say you will be able to guess that just as I have been able to guess it. The result is that, while we have Executive Councils among us, while we have even an Indian Governor among us and in every other department of public service Indians

have risen to the highest rung of the official ladder, in medicine alone we see the unfortunate position that, when once a man begins his life as an assistant surgeon, he ends there and to aspire to anything higher is a sin. Not long ago one of the brightest graduates of the Medical College applied for a professorship after a long probation as assistant professor, which fell vacant in this college. The answer given by the principal of this college was that he should go home and think calmly of what he proposed to do and come back the next day and he was warned that his head was turned and a transfer to an obscure mufassal station soon followed on the heels. On another occasion, an assistant professor who dealt with the subject for ten long years had the courage to apply for the professorship when it fell vacant, and the principal told him 'you will next day aspire for my chair.' This is the way the idea is ruling the I.M.S. mind that Indians are not to be given higher posts; no matter how efficient they may be, what degrees they may have taken, they must always remain as assistants and play a subordinate role. The late Dr. Bahadurji in the year 1916, placed this question in a very powerful and emphatic way in England where, at the anniversary of the British Medical Association, he urged that the time had come when India should have a separate medical service and that it was no longer reasonable or justifiable or economical that the higher appointments in the medical, scientific and other branches of the service should be reserved for the military service. When he placed this proposition before the British audience, he had previously to prepare his ground by speaking to his own professors. He was an M.D. of the London University. He told them 'if you went to India and applied for a professorship in one of the Indian colleges you will be declared ineligible, because the only door through which you can gain admittance there is through the I.M.S.' The military service requires a certain degree of bodily standing and the least exacting of the standards is mental or intellectual standard; but that is their standard, and it is their men who come up. Then what was the result of this? They thought that when he placed it they knew it was their own student. They said it was surprising and almost scandalous that such a state of affairs should be allowed to go on in India. He assured them that that was the fact. Then when the question was taken up, our retired Anglo-Indian I.M.S. officers lifted up their fingers, cautioned the chairman that he would be incurring a very serious responsibility if he allowed the resolution to pass. When asked what he should do, they urged that what was good for England was not necessarily good for India and he would do well in such an important matter to refer the subject to the Indian branches of the British Medical Association and obtain their advice. When the matter came up here, the way in which the I.M.S. officers behaved was so ungentlemanly, so

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bad, that I would rather not mention it. But, however, I may tell you that it was not becoming and we protested and all the Indian doctors protested and sent up a representation to London, but we got no redress nor even an answer. For even in the British Medical Association, the Chairman of the Army Branch and the Indian Branch are generally retired Anglo-Indian officers. That brings me to the next change which was attempted in the service, and that is Public Services Commission when it visited India in 1914-15. I had the honour of being elected as the spokesman of the civil assistant surgeons, and in my evidence I ventured to point out that it was desirable to keep the best Indian talent down for ever if for nothing else for the reason that, when the I. M. S. Officer reached his pension period, he went away not only with the Indian pension but also with the Indian experience and the Indian knowledge, with the result that the younger members of the service when they want a mature head to consult with in a serious case cannot get it. All that accumulated experience goes away from the land and the profession is never likely to improve unless the sons of the soil are allowed to rise to the higher posts and after retiring settle down in this country so that they may serve as consulters to the junior members of the profession. The next event in connection with the medical service is part of the announcement of August 1917 which made the medical service a transferred subject and held out hopes: but on the very heel of it followed the Lovett Committee and the Esher Committee. These are committees purely military and as such they managed their business in a purely military fashion, that is in a dogmatic autocratic fashion. They did not summon any witnesses, they held no public enquiry, they came with the resolve to pass through certain stages of seeming enquiry and recorded evidence of their own chosen witnesses. The few that were examined were generally selected from the heads of the department with the result that public opinion was not taken and private practitioners had no occasion to give evidence except as the instrument of a big functionary. The spokesman of the Public Services Commission was ignored. When they came to know that such an enquiry was set on foot they tendered evidence and it was refused. I may mention to you, Sir, that Sir Charles Smyth, Medical Member of the Secretary of State's Council was sent down here to do something in this direction. What he did was not publicly known, because he said it should not be divulged. But I had an interview with him and he assured me that, while the Public Services Commission report recommended that the number of appointments to be reserved for Indian doctors was to be 33, his own recommendation was 40 and that we can be sure of 30 per cent. higher appointments. But since then, they have gone back again and adopted a very clever dodge and that is to make not only I. M. S. as higher appointments in the

Medical department but also to invite another service, the Army Medical Service, for a share of the higher appointments and the excuse they adduce in justification of their policy is that there should be a war reserve in India. I do not know if there is anybody here acquainted with military matters, but I spent my early years of studentship in a military hospital and I happen to know something about it. What the I. M. S. officers say is that that there should be a war reserve. But such a thing cannot be peculiarly necessary for India. It does not obtain in any other country. Neither England, the United States of America, nor any other country that we know of has it. If it does not exist in any other country, what necessity is there for India to have it? The war reserves that they had formerly were considered insufficient. Now the war reserve should be considerably increased. That is the recommendation. Ladies and gentlemen, pardon me if I tell you this is nothing but a trick to deprive the Indians of their legitimate share in the appointments of the Civil Medical Service. What is the real state of things? They wanted almost all the Indian medical officers to go and take their proper places in the army with the result that almost all the district headquarter hospitals and all the district dispensaries except a few were left in charge of the local medical men and with what result? We have the evidence, not of any interested party, not of any Indian, but of dispassionate gentlemen, Sir Benjamin Rogers of Calcutta and Mr. Harris of Bengal. They all say that the work turned out by the assistant surgeons, during the war, who were temporarily placed in independent charge of district hospitals, was as good as in the previous years, in fact. I may tell you that the number of operations went up, the hospitals become more popular, more dispensaries and other institutions were opened and in everyway progress was shown by the acting incumbents, but what is the reward? The reward is: these committees were introduced, enquiries were held behind their back and temporary I.M.S. men were told that many of them were inefficient. I took the trouble of going to Calcutta, to Bombay, and to England to make enquiries from various sources, and I have spoken to scores of these I.M.S. officers and they say that not a scrap of evidence could be adduced except racial jealousy. Another argument for keeping a larger number of most of the higher appointments in the hands of Europeans is that the Indians have no capacity for regimental life, that they would not do for military hospitals. That is another thing which we have to prove, but the actual fact is that there are hundreds and hundreds of our young men now working in military hospitals doing the work just as well as it was done before if not better. With regard to the response, we were never told that we should prepare ourselves for war, we never knew that this war was coming on, and yet when war came

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no less than 900 Indian medical men came forward to offer their services in the army in the medical field. If 900 could be forthcoming, without preparation, without encouragement, at an emergency, what would be the condition if proper encouragement and previous notice were given and sympathy is shown? I think my time is coming to a close. I do not want to go on at random. As I told you, I am not a speaker, but I am full of facts and I can relate to you any number of them, but the long and short of it is I can show hundreds of instances where I.M.S. officers have not been fair to us but positively against our interests. What is the remedy? The remedy is simply this: abolish the I.M.S. Such of those as are already here may join the Royal Army Medical Corps and will work in the British regiments and the Government can reserve a few for the treatment of the European members of the service. The only occasion where perhaps an European lady would require a doctor of her own race and sex would be at the delicate period of her life. The introduction of women's service in India gets away that plea and gives no strength to that argument. Therefore it is, I make bold to say, that there is no place for a separate I.M.S. in India and that Indians have been on probation for a sufficiently long time and we are here in thousands ready to take the burdens of the country and man the hospitals just as well as any Europeans can. We have proved it in the years of the war and we are prepared to undergo any test by any impartial agency. We are competent and therefore we claim our right. We cannot do for a considerable length of time without a certain number of English doctors, particularly specialists. For them we shall always have a place so long as England makes it possible for us to retain our connection with her. With these few words I have great pleasure in moving this resolution which runs thus:—

The Federation considers the recommendations of the Lovett and Esher Committees as being retrograde and calls upon the Government to set them aside. The Federation is of opinion that the Medical Service in India should be separated into two divisions, one military and the other civil. The former should be recruited both in England and India, while the latter should be recruited mainly in India. While exchange of officers may be allowed for purposes of training, the two services should be kept strictly separate and to meet military emergencies, officers in the Civil Medical Service should be obliged to undergo military training for fixed periods at stated intervals and go on field service when required.

Rao Bahadur C. S. Subrahmanyam.

Rao Bahadur C. S. Subrahmanyam (Bellary):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—my friend, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyar, was to have seconded this resolution and in his unavoidable and regrettable absence I am called upon to second it, and I do so with great pleasure. The subject of this resolution, apart from its technicality, is one which should appeal to every one of us.

because without medical men no country, least of all our country, can get on. With the large number of diseases and the frequency of epidemics and all the trouble which our people undergo on account of the want of good medical aid, the encouragement of the medical service, the keeping them up to the high watermark of efficiency and also keeping them in a prosperous and contented condition ought to be one of the first duties of the State. This resolution, apart from its technicalities, simply protests against the continued injustice that has been done to our countrymen in the medical services. Invidious distinctions are drawn which have no connection with the ability or capacity of the men concerned. In other branches of the service such as public works and law and general administration, the distinctions are not so bad, but in the medical service the European has secured a monopoly and I am afraid the lack of agitation, or the medical men not being vociferous, partly accounts for their being kept down. You have all heard of assistant surgeons, the highest you have heard of is a civil surgeon. That rank each man reaches probably at the end of his career and probably at the end of his active life. You do not hear of any other appointments being held by an Indian. Why is it so? Do you think that among Indians there are not competent men to be in charge of important hospitals in the Presidency town? What is it due to? Take the native state of Mysore. Some of the finest hospitals are maintained by the State. They are conducted by Indians, they have received special training and so also have the men in the Madras Presidency received special training and yet their special knowledge and special ability count for nothing. It is, pure and simple, a dishonest monopoly for the men who style themselves I.M.S., and after all if you take the I.M.S. men, it cannot be said that all of them are capable, that all of them are specialists, that all of them, or even a majority of them, are really capable men. If you come to the question of ability as tested by the popular voice, by the amount of private confidence that they secure, you will find as a rule—I come from the mufassal, I know a great deal about the conditions in the mufassal—the I.M.S. is resorted to in what are called medico-legal matters, because his word carries greater weight than that of an Indian. Another thing for which they are resorted to is for service qualifications, for service retirements, or leave, etc. It is purely artificial. The value he secures outside the service is purely artificial, but if it is a question of a patient needing medical help and seeking it, you will find very few I.M.S. men are resorted to. There is no secret about it. It does not require much proof. This is the scandalous state of affairs which, it is a wonder and a pity, has been allowed to continue so long. The reports of these two committees are driving another nail in the coffin of the Indian medical men in the service. I will ask you all who have

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a copy of this resolution to read it and you will see that you have got a head to complain and if you care to refer to these two reports with reference to these medical services, you will find that the distinction so long kept up is being accentuated and continued in a greater measure and that the Indian in the service is kept back. There is one point, that the Indian may not be competent to administer medical relief to soldiers. But after all soldiers means the Indian soldiers. They are not the British regiment. So, for the Indian to treat Indian soldiers is not such a hard task. The Indian soldier who is the patient is not going to be a fighter with his doctor and as for management, I have heard from all the medical men that it is more easy to be a doctor of the sepoy than to be charged with a hospital in a civil station. That argument which is always a bugbear argument and which people do not understand generally is that an Indian is not capable of being in charge of the regiment. It is not in the battle-field after all. As a matter of fact that has been belied during the war. Large numbers of young men had received what are called temporary commissions, but in these temporary commissions they rose to be Captains and they had a large number of Indians under them, and they did acquit themselves very well and the few men who have managed to enter the I.M.S. and who are some of them Majors and Captains and Colonels, they have stood their ground and are not found wanting. So the argument of prestige and colour which gives importance—all that is gone. The war has taught us that colour does not make a man better. Therefore, looking at it from the ordinary citizen's point of view, this resolution is a resolution which should commend itself to you all because it is very vital in the conditions of our country. This monopoly we should destroy; it is a necessity because the more medical men we have, the more medical men who retire well and honourably from the service and live in our country and thereby do us good, the better for us. At present all the better paid men get their pensions but their services are all of no use; but take a man like Dr. Rama Rao. He lives amidst us. He does some work. From the point of view of the injustice to the service itself, from the point of view of the utility to the country, I think this resolution must meet with your approval. (Cheers).

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

The Khilafat.

THE KHILAFAT.

The President.

The President :—I shall now put this resolution from the chair :

The National Liberal Federation of India regrets that the Prime Minister's pledge to the Musalmans of India made in January 1918 has not been redeemed: and strongly urges His Majesty's Government to avail themselves of the developments in Greece and suitably revise the Treaty with Turkey.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION.

The President:—The next resolution relates to repressive legislation and I put it from the chair. It runs thus :—

The Federation urges upon the Government of India to take immediate steps to repeal the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and the Deportation Regulations.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

WOMEN FRANCHISE.

The President:—The next resolution relates to women suffrage. I shall also put that from the chair. The resolution runs thus :—

The Federation requests the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils respectively to remove the sex disqualification in their respective franchise from women otherwise duly qualified.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

TRADE UNIONS.

The President :—The next resolution is with regard to trade unions. It runs thus :—

The Federation urges the Government of India to take steps to legalise trade unions on the lines of the English legislation on the matter.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The Conference then adjourned for a short interval.

The Conference re-assembled after lunch at 3-30 P. M. Mr. Natesan read messages of good wishes from Mr. N. Pattabhirama Rao, Retired Dewan of Cochin, and Rai Krishnaji of Benares.

PUNJAB WRONGS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Y. S. Srinivasa Sastri:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, this is the resolution that I have the honour to move :—

1. The Federation records its conviction that the failure of British statesmanship to rise to the demands of the situation in regard to the Punjab affair has largely prevented the people from realising the value of the Constitutional Reforms.
2. The Federation protests against the failure of the Government to render justice by imposing adequate punishment upon officers who were guilty of acts of cruelty, oppression and humiliation during the period of martial law administration in the Punjab.
3. The Federation has noticed with regret and surprise that the compensation awarded to the victims of martial law excesses was extremely inadequate and disproportionately small as compared with the compensation awarded to the victims of mob violence as well as with the losses sustained by them. This Federation further regrets that the heavy fines levied upon certain cities have not been revised and reduced.

Repressive
Legislation.

The President.

Women Fran-
chise.

The President.

Trade Unions.

The President.

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4. The Federation again strongly urges that effective safeguards should be provided against a recurrence of such things as happened in 1919 in the Panjab on the lines recommended at the Calcutta Session of the Federation.

An affectionate friend has put me in some difficulty. He tells me I am expected to make a fiery speech on this occasion. A tepid speech, cold and packed with reasoning, might seem inappropriate to the subject-matter of this resolution. On the other hand, if I put a little extra warmth into my speech, some young friends who always make me nervous on these occasions (Laughter) might get up and ask 'why are you not at Nagpur?' The truth is that such a long time has passed since the atrocities in Punjab shocked us that, although the shocking continues to some extent, sensible people might question as they have questioned, whether it is right that a speaker weighed down with any sense of responsibility should address an audience in terms that might have been justifiable when the acts were still fresh in our recollection. I wish it were possible to accord a hearty assent to that doctrine and I much fear it is not. The kind of things which fill our minds to-day is not forgotten easily unless certain acts on the part of the perpetrators are also before us for consideration. Now a friend the other day was asking me 'do you seriously expect that the Government of the Punjab, or for that matter, that equally guilty agency, the Government of India, would ever express a word of regret for what they have done in this matter?' He was quite right. One has no right to expect that a Government such as we have known during the last few years would ever express regret for any wrongs, and yet if we are true to ourselves, I do not know how we can rest till we have extorted an admission of error on the part of this Government, (Hear, Hear) as adequate reparation in every way for the wrongs of which they have been guilty. Sometime ago I ventured in another connection to prophesy that this matter of the Punjab is not likely to be laid aside by the representatives of the public for a long time. The Government of India are, no doubt, very anxious that we should lay them aside, but it is not possible; and I am one of those who think that the new Legislative Assembly can have no better task than that of bringing up this matter again (Hear, hear) and I look to some strong members of that body to see that the Government of India do the right thing to those whom they have so seriously wronged. A little enthusiasm in this matter is by no means excessive. We shall not be guilty of departing from that great principle of life which gives its name to our party, namely, moderation, if in this one measure which really is at the bottom of the whole political trouble to-day, if in this one matter we decline to be altogether moderate. (Hear, hear). We will ask for nothing which it is impossible for the Government to give, we will ask for nothing which it is unreasonable to expect of

ordinary human beings, we will ask for nothing which it will be impossible for a proud power-intoxicated bureaucracy to give. We ask 'is it right to think that gentlemen who are affectionate, who are polite in their private relations, should take leave of all their virtues the moment they put on the robes of office?' Our officials, gentlemen, are they gentlemen, or are they not gentlemen? I have frequently asked myself 'am I wrong to expect the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, am I wrong to expect the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India to say to those whom they have wantonly wronged—'no', perhaps the word wantonly does not apply to these two individuals—'to those whom their subordinates and officers have wantonly wronged;' for of that there is no doubt—it is not right.' Are we expecting too much to think that, when the facts are exposed and they have been proved to demonstration—and they have themselves admitted that about a dozen persons were forced out of their bed, were detained without good cause, their families humiliated, and they themselves detained for a month without adequate cause shown, without there being the possibility of adequate cause being shown,—is it right or wrong that to such a people a word of public regret should proceed from the Government? In private life, would you expect a man to say that he would be ashamed of himself that he would hold himself the bond-slave for ever to such a person; but this Government to the members of which I have had talks in this very sense, this Government refused to budge an inch. I put a question the other day naming certain individuals to whom they have admitted they have caused wrong asking whether they will not make public apology to them. They dared not say 'no' to me. They said privately, 'Yes. We are considering the matter.' Sometime later when the question was put in public the answer was 'the matter is under consideration'. This was as long ago as September last. We are at the end of December. Still the public knows nothing. Now the Government of India are particularly careful, they take every possible precaution when they consider what is to be done to the sufferers in this Punjab tragedy. They have to deliberate very long, the papers have to go round and round from the Punjab Government to the Government of India and from the Government of India to the Punjab Government. Things go backward and forward, but nothing happens. Fancy the Government of India reported in the month of May to the Secretary of State, they received orders quickly enough: we put our questions in September, and yet one of the questions was 'how much have private organisations contributed in the way of relief to the sufferers' and the answer was 'the Government knew nothing.' Sometime previously, to one other question they answered they did not know exactly the amount of casualties. I ask whether you would consider any civilised Government whose credit had

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been rudely shaken, whose prestige had been so hopelessly shattered, whether any civilised Government could still say at the end of six months, at the end of one year, that they had not the necessary statistics available and that they did not make careful enquiries. One part of this resolution points out the extreme disproportion between the compensation allowed to European sufferers and that allowed to the Indian sufferers. I dare say you noted the figures at the time, but let me tell you in the case of even an European who was injured, the amount of damages runs to five figures. In the case of those who were killed in the Jallianwala it scarcely rises to the third stage. That gives you at a glance the measure of the care and tenderness that our Government have shown throughout to the life of the Indians and yet, how sad to think that the whole thing was over and the Viceroy made his concluding speech to us and he did say that his Government were very anxious to establish the doctrine that Indian lives were as sacred and valuable in the eyes of the Government as European lives. Possibly the Viceroy believed what he said. I dare say he did, but if he expects an Indian to believe it, I am sure he would be grievously disappointed. Now the last part of this resolution demands that careful measures should be taken that nothing of the kind should occur again and we refer backwards to some recommendations made in the Calcutta Federation. I would gladly read them to you, but they will take time; but let me tell you, between us I do not believe in any one of them. This Government and its officers did not err on the side of excess because there were no rules. Is there any rule required to be enunciated for the first time that, when you fire on a mob, you must first notify them that you are going to do so; and if a man was determined to fire without notice would the existence of the law deter him? He was in a lawless mood. He was acting as the mouth-piece of a lawless section of the community. He was determined to earn their applause as their relentless champion. Is he likely to give notice when he thought no notice was necessary? Law or no law when a man takes life on that enormous scale and in such aggravating circumstances, would you insist that there should be a law asking him to stay behind and see how much damage was inflicted, whether there were any lives whom he might rescue, any persons to whom a little kindly assistance might have been helpful? Was law necessary for this purpose? And yet our Government say they found themselves for the first time in an extraordinary predicament. It would appear that, when armed sheaths flew in the sky—and they were men possessed with the means of inflicting injuries on the mobs below—their natural instincts would be to drop bombs and kill them unless there was a law to prevent them from doing so. Whether the mobs were violent, whether they were really likely to do any damage, were not questions that should trouble them.

The whole thing is, was there a law preventing them from throwing bombs? If there was no law, then leave them alone. This is the kind of argument employed throughout. Against such argument no law can provide effective remedy. Make the law that we recommend, in some other ways they would offend again. As long as the occasion arises, they would have failed and we might make laws but nothing will happen till we have the power and know how to use that power to extort from them the necessary reparation. When a great Government resolve to manufacture sedition nothing can prevent them from doing that. When great officers armed with resistless power for harm go about deliberately among school-boys and students at college, bent upon converting them into alienees of their Government, inflicting on them unnamable hardships, asking them at the point of the bayonet to march long miles, to say 'yes' to a roll call, when people do that kind of thing, is it possible to expect that ordinary remedy such as the making of rules and regulations will avail? Now the melancholy feature of the thing is this: when there is trouble and peoples' feelings are roused and your women and your children at home are in a state of panic and ask to be protected, I can understand them, I say I can understand them, but I do not pardon men in power doing wicked things and losing their head. It is just understandable but what is not understandable is that people placed in apparent authority over them at a safe distance, from which they could watch the event in better perspective, that they should say that nothing was done which was excessive or at the most that there were some injudicious and imprudent things that were done, that things might have been done a little differently, but that is all. I much lament that when peace was restored and all was in order, when women and children felt perfectly safe, that even then the hearts of the members of our Government did not relent, that our appeals at that stage to justice on those who had brought discredit should still have been withheld for reasons absolutely inadequate. That, gentlemen, fills one with grief and makes one desperate that, at any time, when a bureaucracy not responsible to the people, takes leave of all restraint and behaves immorally, it makes it difficult to believe that such a Government in the absence of popular restraint such as we are going to have can be brought back to the ways of reason and propriety. Now, ladies and gentlemen, there are a set of people in the country who think that those who feel for the Punjab and its wrongs are bound to take some extraordinary steps out of the ordinary line of agitation in order to bring home to the Government the existence of such a state of feeling. Yes. For extraordinary things extraordinary remedies are appropriate. Who denies that? If we were still a bureaucracy-ridden people, if there was

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no chance in the near future of our being able effectively to make the popular wish not merely heard and understood but respected and even obeyed, if we were going to be in 1921-22 as helpless in the constitution of this country as we have been hitherto, then indeed we must try some desperate remedy. But some of us believe that, notwithstanding the gravity of these wrongs, nothing needs to be done which will disturb the peace and harmony of the country, that, by taking due steps in our new regime, by learning to exercise our new power, we might bring even this bureaucracy to reason. Suppose—and I put this earnestly to you,—suppose your representatives on the Legislative Assembly and your representatives on the Council of State were determined that whatever can in reason be done to right the Punjab's wrongs shall be done, is that not enough power placed in their hands to secure that object? What need that there should be absolute legal powers if the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State concurrently pass strong resolutions that certain things should be done, I cannot conceive it possible for the Government of India however strong, however autocratic, to refuse to obey that order. They may refuse once. They may refuse twice, the third time they dare not refuse it. I certainly think that it is unnecessary to resort to Non-Co-operation to remedy this wrong, for what sort of remedy is Non-Co-operation? I can only think of one illustration that comes promptly to my mind. It is somewhat homely but I expect you will pardon the freedom with which I bring it to your notice. I remember once when I was a little boy a very cruel and unfeeling husband striking his wife and dragging her by the hair and behaving like a brute, some of us who stood by ran to her rescue, but what do you think that woman said: 'No, leave me alone, let him have his full vengeance. Let him do his worst with me and what he leaves unfinished I will finish for myself.' That is to say she expressed a determination to seek the worst torture and if necessary to finish her life. It appears to me sometimes that Non-Co-operators are in the frame of mind that belonged to that lady. They seem to say 'yes, the Government of India and the Punjab Government have inflicted on us great horrors, the Khilafat has driven us to despair. Incomplete Swaraj is abomination to us but we are going to inflict on us still greater hardships, we are going to finish what the Government of India have begun. There are still schools left to us. We can ruin them. There are still courts of law to which people can resort. We can bring them down. There are manufactures and industries and factories. We can raze them to the ground. There are newspapers, we shall put an end to them. And in that way we will heap suffering upon suffering on our head, hoping that, in the end, somehow or other the conscience of these wicked oppressors will be

aroused. But ladies and gentlemen, the conscience of these people is, by the very hypothesis of the argument non-existent. (Cheers). To expect that they will relent when they see the punishment that the people inflict upon themselves in addition to the punishment inflicted by others, is to attribute to them still virtues which it is appropriate for a moderate to attribute to them, but not for a nationalist or a Non-Co-operator. (Cheers). Now I wish once more to draw your attention to this answer that the Government of India gave me, if necessary to impress that upon your mind because it is that which appeals most to me. Somebody has said that there is no wrong in the world which a human being would be unwilling to forget or forgive if only the perpetrator of it showed real regret for it. What else is there? The Most High is often described in our sacred literature and in the sacred literature of every country as the ocean of compassion. He who forgives without any cause. Let but our Government show to us that they sincerely regret and I shall be one of those who will follow Mr. C. Vijiaraghava Chariar, the President of the Nagpur Congress and say 'we too will forgive.' But we want one word which cannot be mistaken, we want one sign which it is impossible to interpret otherwise, of real regret. I am happy to think that some members of the Government of India to whom I have had private talks are full of this regret. They confess that everything went wrong, they confess that when there was no rebellion they imagined there was a rebellion, they confess that their officers were guilty of wanton acts of humiliation. But when you ask them to say so, they would not. Ladies and gentlemen, that brings me to the expression of great surprise and regret that I have always felt. What is office, what is service under Government that should make that wrong in an official which is proper, which is noble, and which is worthy in an individual? I cannot imagine anybody desiring office or seeking it, knowing that by that means he will sometimes place himself in a position when he will only think of himself as an official and not as a gentleman or as a human being placed above other human beings. (Cheers). This is rather strong, but I may tell you that I have said before and will say this again till I see that the hearts of the Government of India are really full of regret, for, remember, please, according to our belief and according to the belief of every school of political thought, the whole of the beginning of this tragedy to-day down to the Nagpur Congress is indirectly the doing of Government, directly theirs in the beginning but afterwards also traceable to that unhappy event. The beginning was the Rowlatt Act, what the end is going to be nobody dare predict. But I do hope that, when the new councillors sit and the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State start on their career, the outlook of the Government of India will, under compulsion, be altered, that we who cannot now think of

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the Punjab without feeling some horror and indignation shall learn to think of it no long time as the acts of a race of administrators that belonged to the past, as acts that will never be repeated, as acts that, if unfortunately at any time repeated, will be speedily followed by those measures of reconciliation and reparation that, under civilised administrators, will always follow such occurrences. I am only compelled to add one other word before I finish and that is sometimes when I think of the young students of the Punjab Colleges—I cannot bring myself to blame the young men in any part of India for sympathising with them and their sufferings.' Have you, ladies and gentlemen, ever come across any written declaration, any speech made either by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab or by any of the high officials of the Punjab or by any one of those big officials, that they went into the college and spoke nicely to the students and said something like this as they ought to have done : 'You young men of the Punjab, future citizens with whom we shall have to work, from whom we shall expect loyal and good-faithed co-operation, we wronged you once. We thought wrong, we did wrong. The time is come however when you must lay aside all that unhappy memory. Do come now and shake hands, think well of us, we will do nothing of the kind in future.' Was not such word necessary, I ask. But I have not heard of any such thing. I only remember that when I went to the Punjab sometime ago I had occasion to address a gathering of students and said something of this sort to them. They received my remarks, I may tell you, quite sullenly. It did not make any impression on them and I did not think that it would make any impression on them. Just imagine what the impression on them would have been if those remarks had come not from me but from one of those officials on whose deeds we can only think with shame. How quickly would the aspect of things have changed? Instead of the Non-Co-operation movement making tremendous headway in Nagpur we would probably find, and that is not a wild dream, that all the political parties in this country had laid aside their differences, had all worked the constitutional reforms to their complete success; for, as we say in the first part of the resolution, nothing stands in the way of a proper understanding of these constitutional reforms as the recollection of the Punjab. Time and again when I have spoken of the reforms scheme to the audience, people have thrown at me "what about Jallianwala? Pray read us that section that says 'there shall be no martial law in this country.'" But things are impossible, but the impossible is expected in a state of mind such as that which has been engendered by the thought of the Punjab. Ladies and gentlemen, I place this resolution for your acceptance in the full hope that you will take it not as expressing the depth of feeling, as some of us feel, but as marking and indicating clearly to Government the minimum that we consider necessary on their part in order to

bring something like peace to this distracted province. (Loud applause).

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Mr. D. G. Dalvi (Bombay) :—Ladies and gentlemen, after the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri I do not think I am justified in detaining you with any lengthy arguments of mine on this much discussed question of the Punjab. I shall content myself with one or two general observations before I bring my remarks to a close. The Government of India desire that this issue of the Punjab should be treated as dead as Queen Anne. Curiously enough Mr. C. Vijiaraghava Chariar, the President of the Nagpur Congress appears to agree with them in that he has advised the Congress to forgive if not to forget. The policy of the liberal party has been to uphold the rights and liberties of the people and I do not think we shall be justified in either forgetting or forgiving the Government of India on this question until we have obtained proper amends for the great wrong that they have inflicted on our brethren in the Punjab. Therefore, it is that we have formulated very reasonable and moderate demands which we appeal to the Government of India to grant even at this late hour. I find that I am supported in this demand by a recent contributor to the "Times of India" signing himself X. Y. Z. last month. This X. Y. Z. is reputed to be an Anglo-Indian writer and what does he say in the course of the argument? He says that punishment must be given to those who inflicted suffering and humiliation upon the people of the Punjab. He only says that another committee may be appointed to work in camera and arrive at proper conclusions and the results of their deliberations should be published and then adequate action should be taken. I find also as a matter of fact the sympathetic Editor of the "Times of India" has supported the demand. I am mentioning this only to show that nobody is prepared to treat the issue of the Punjab as a dead question. Ladies and gentlemen, our friends on the other side have often blamed the liberal party as not having done their part in obtaining a solution of this very complicated question. But what are the facts? Ever since the tragedy occurred in the Punjab all the liberal organs in the country and more especially the organ conducted by our learned President, the "Leader", insisiently took up the question and our deputation went to England and it was at the instance of the Moderate Deputation that the Hunter Committee was appointed. Two of our leaders, Mr. Chimanlal Setalvad and Pandit Jagath Narain, were deputed for arriving at proper conclusions, and their dissenting minute read with the Congress Sub-Committee's Report has not been challenged. After the two Houses of Parliament failed us in giving adequate relief, it was again a moderate leader who tried to raise a debate on this question in the Imperial Council and now the resolution that we are passing, as the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri told you, is one

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that our leaders who are on the Legislative Assembly will see that relief is given before we sit sullen over this question. Ladies and gentlemen, there are some wounds which are not healed by time, but only widen all the more and this is one such. The wound of the Punjab will pester and pester and if that relief is not given forthwith, the Government of India will find, as was expressed by the late Mr. Gokhale on another occasion, let not the words 'too late' be engraved on the portals of the Government of India. With these words I second the resolution. (Cheers.)

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The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE FACTORY ACT.

The Factory Act.

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Mr. N. M. Joshi.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Bombay):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which has been entrusted to me, although not of a technical character, belongs to a neglected category. I shall read it out to you :—

The Federation is of opinion that to improve the conditions of labour in this country, the Factory Act should be amended in the following respects :—

- (1) Work in all industrial undertakings should, for the present, be limited to ten hours a day in the case of men, eight in the case of women and five in the case of children between the ages of 12 and 14.
- (2) Children between fourteen and sixteen years should be classed as young persons and their hours of work should not exceed six hours.
- (3) In the case of mines the maximum should be fixed at 54 hours a week.
- (4) Exceptions under Sections 21 and 22 of the Indian Factories Act of 1912 should be removed altogether.
- (5) A rule should be made prohibiting the employment of women for six weeks before and six weeks after child-birth and provision should be made for maternity benefit.
- (6) Women and children should under no circumstances be employed during night time.
- (7) Provision should be made for the appointment of special health officers, including women health officers, to supervise health conditions in factories.
- (8) The minimum age for admission to industrial employment should be fixed at twelve.
- (9) The definition of "Factory" should be so revised that all industrial undertakings employing 20 persons and above even without the use of mechanical power are brought under the Act.

Ladies and gentlemen, although I prefaced my speech with a remark that the subject-matter of this resolution belongs to a neglected category, it is a matter of satisfaction to me that this subject has found a place in the programme of the conference of the liberal party. It is however in the fitness of things that it should find a place in our programme. We call ourselves liberals, after the liberal party in England which was the forerunner of the labour party in England. In India to-day we have not yet got a labour party with a recognised place in our political movement. I suppose it is therefore right that those who call themselves liberals should take up this subject at least until the labour party comes into existence and begins to stand on its own

The Factory Act. legs. There is one special reason. There was a time until a few years ago, say 10 years back, when a number of our politicians and publicists and organs of public people had opposed factory legislation when it was introduced into the Legislative Councils of our country. Now that time is slightly passing. A change is coming over public opinion in this country. It is due to two causes. In the first place, the labour of the world is asserting itself by its own power, by its own awakening, by its own organisations. At the same time there is also a change in the angle of vision of the educated people and the politicians. They have begun to feel that what the country needs is not only money, is not only goods, not only points made of paper, but the real wealth of the country consists in its men, in its manhood, in its citizens and not only in its wealth. That fact is being correctly appreciated though slowly by this present generation and a sign of that fact is that we have taken up the subject for consideration at this meeting. The evils of the factory system began to appear in our country during the last century. They developed to the present pace during the last 10 or 20 years. We thought they were profitable and began to add to their number one after another. But instead of profiting by the experience of other countries, we followed them in their wrong path. We did not take any precautions to prevent the evils with the result that all the evils of slumdom and long hours have appeared in our country. These evils to some extent follow the running of factories if no proper care is taken at the very beginning. We have to compete with the other countries. Then the factory owners think that, in order to have more production, factories must work longer hours. When factories begin to appear in cities there is scarcity of labour. We begin to think then that children would be useful for our purpose and we begin to employ children. It is in this way that all these evils come in the wake of the growth of factories. In order to check these evils, if not to eradicate them, Government introduced factory legislation. Then that factory legislation was improved in the year 1911 but it has been found now that the real obstacle in the way of improving the condition of the labouring classes consists in that countries have to compete with one another in their industrial development. The Bombay textile manufacturers have to compete with the Lancashire textile manufacturers and so on, and now it has been found that, if the condition of the factory workers is at all to be improved permanently, it can be improved only by international effort. No one country can move very much. For that purpose, when the peace treaty was signed, the international labour organisation was brought into existence and at its first meeting at Washington certain resolutions were passed. The Government of India have been asked to declare their opinion on this resolution and the Government of India have also announced their intention of introducing certain changes in the Factory Act

Mr. N. M. Joshi.

in order to give effect to some at least of the resolutions at the Washington Conference. It is therefore quite timely that we should make certain suggestions to the Government of India on this subject. Our suggestions mentioned in this resolution refer to two or three important subjects. The first suggestion is about the hours of work that should be allowed in the factories. Up to this time the factory worker can be asked to work for 12 hours in a day. You can very well imagine what will be the effect of continuous work of 12 hours near a machine in a factory. We propose that that should be reduced to 10 hours a day. I know that in Western civilised advanced countries workers have demanded and in almost all countries obtained an eight-hour day. No factory worker can be asked to work for more than eight hours a day and we who sympathise with labour aspirations in India also want that the labourers in India should not be asked to work for more than eight hours a day, but we call ourselves moderates and therefore it is in the fitness of things that we should in this matter also ask ourselves as well as ask the Government to progress slowly and gradually and step by step; and would therefore content ourselves with proposing that the hours of work should be reduced from 12 to 10. In the case of women, however, we are not willing to make any exception. We say that, at least in the case of women, the hours should be reduced to the standard time, namely, eight hours a day. In the case of children we propose that children under 12 should not be employed at all in factories. There are people in this hall and many more outside who believe that child labour is necessary not only in the interests of the industries but in the interests of the parents of the children. (Cries of 'no, no'). I am glad to hear that you say 'no, no,' but there are people whom I have heard not only in Madras but also in many other places who believe that the parents of children will protest if we ask the Government to raise the minimum age of employment of children to a very large extent. We therefore propose that that age should now be raised from 7 to 12. We recommend that children between the ages of 12 and 13 should not be asked to work for more than 5 hours, those between 14 and 16 should be classed as young persons and their hours of work should not exceed six hours a day, so that they may find time for education. We also suggest that the Factories Act should be so amended that the smaller factories could be brought under the operation of that Act. Here it is my duty to say that, personally, I should have put down 10 instead of 20. It is the small industries, the small factories, the small workshops, which give a large scope for the sweating of children, women and adults. It is therefore necessary that the smaller factories should be regulated by the Factory Act; but here too we have followed the principle of 'step by step' and we wish to go slowly and gradually. Therefore we have advocated a middle course and suggested that the number comprising

The Factory Act

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The Factory Act. the factories should be reduced from 50 to 20. These are some of our proposals to amend the Factory Act. The object of making these proposals is that the condition of the working classes should be improved and made better than what it is to-day. At present these men are working, although they are human beings, like animals. They have hardly time for rest and hardly time to perform their duties as citizens. They have no opportunities for education. It is not their fault. There are many people who say 'there are schools available, why do they not go there.' It is not right to say so. These people have really no opportunities to send their boys to school. They ask for more wages: They are asked 'why do you want more wages. Your wife is earning, your child is earning and you are earning.' Then, if the child does not have education, they are told the school is open, why not they go there. Therefore they are in great difficulty. It is the duty of educated men like us to help them to come out of the difficulty. Unfortunately, as I stated in the beginning, the educated classes had neglected this duty to a great extent, but I must say one fact, that, although many of our politicians had shown neglect of this problem in past, there was one citizen of Madras, the much abused, much-maligned Dr. T. M. Nair who had stood, some ten years back, in the interests and for the protection of the factory workers, and I am so glad to mention this fact in this audience to-day.

Gentlemen, I need not detain you long on this subject. The interests of the labouring classes are the interests of our country. Moreover, the very distinction between the liberals and the reactionary congressmen is this : that we believe in the swaraj which will make common people, the masses, the working classes, happy. Only yesterday I read an account of the Subjects Committee in the Congress and one man said there 'I do not care what kind of swaraj we get, whether it is swaraj by an autocrat or by a monarch. I do not care. I want some kind of swaraj.' I am quite sure the liberals would not say so. The liberals would say that they want swaraj which would make the common people and the working classes happy. With these remarks, I move the resolution. (Cheers).

Mr. Mavji Govindji.

Mr. Mavji Govindji (Bombay) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Joshi has addressed you and has placed the proposition before you. Mr. Joshi is a worker for labour. I look like a capitalist but I am really a labourite. I am an office-bearer of one of the labour organisations of Bombay. I am in the committee of the labour organisation lately organised in Bombay and as such, it is with very great pleasure that I rise to second the proposition so well placed before you by my friend Mr. Joshi. The problem of labour is the most important problem. It has been placed practically last on the agenda, but it is only last but not the least. Labour is the current problem of the day.

Labour all over the world is asserting itself. The future governments of the world, if they do not care for the labour portions of their community, will come to grief. They are already coming to grief. The labour troubles in England, as we have watched them, have been causing very great anxiety to British statesmen, very learned as they are. Here in India we have done practically very little for the uplift of labour. We have not cared for that problem. We have not devoted our attention to that. Our statisticians have not prepared facts and figures for that problem and our economists have not touched it and our people have not tackled the subject in the manner and with the weight the subject deserves. But now labour is beginning to assert itself. The effects of labour unrest all over the world are manifest in India also and labour is awakening and in that state, ignorant as our labour is, untutored as our labour is, it is the elders of the race, it is we who are intelligent, who are educated, who have got the means and the brains to devote to the help of our fellow companions, it is we, who are taunted with being neglectful towards the masses, that should do our duty to help them in this stage. They are awakening to their sense of self-respect. What has the West done in the past? There has been a long and continuous struggle between labour and other sections of the community there and in other countries of the world. There have been mistakes and blunders, long strikes there and long struggles. Unions after unions were crushed and in Parliament people had to fight strongly for gaining those rights of labour which to-day are recognised as a matter of fact. Here in India shall we not profit by the blunders of other countries? Here in India, our culture, our civilisation is based entirely on a different foundation. We treat practically every man as having the soul of God and here, in spite of the different castes, in spite of the different classes, we treat even the Pariah as one of our own; and we here in this country, shall we cause these bitter struggles between capitalism and labour as happened in the countries of the West? My question to you, young as well as old, is, will you do something from to-day, devote time to the consideration of the problem of labour, see what are the necessities of life, whether they are properly fed, properly housed, whether the medical attendance rendered to them is sufficient, whether they are leading a living life or dying a slow death. We, in the plenitude of the blessings conferred by Providence, do not realise what sufferings the poor people undergo. Look at the people working in the factory and coal mines. Recently in the Trade Union Congress of Bombay I came to know certain things. I am myself a coal merchant but I never knew the conditions under which workers worked. The men get 6 as. and the women get 5 as. a day. I myself must confess that such an important problem I had neglected in my studies. People who care for the welfare of the nation should not neglect this, for

The Factory Act

Mr. Mayji
Govindji.

The Factory Act mind you, labour forms 90 per cent. of the population of India ;
Mr. Mayji people who are educated, people who belong to the better classes
Gorindji. form only 10 per cent. and it is on the toiling masses of India that
the future of India depends. If we neglect them we shall not be
true to them. We should be failing in our duty and, in placing
this resolution, we are showing one thing to our labour brethren
that our sympathy is with them, that their sufferings are our
sufferings, that we are pledged to-day by this resolution to help
them in the best way possible, to help the labour of this country.
(Cheers).

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

**The Govern-
ment of India.**

**Mr. A.
Rangaswami
Aiyar.**

Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyar (Madura):—Mr. President,
ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I have the honour to
place before you for your consideration and acceptance runs as
follows :—

The Federation regrets that, instead of consideration being given to the
need for reduction of the strength of the Executive Council of the
Viceroy, there should have been an addition to the Council even
after the devolution of powers to Ministers in the Provinces. The
Federation protests against the recommendations of the Govern-
ment of India Secretariat Procedure Committee in so far as they
relate to the creation of new offices and consequent increase in the
staff and to the creation of posts of Private Secretaries to the
Members of the Executive Council.

A new era is coming and in the inauguration of that era
which is going to give us prosperity in new fields of beneficent
activity, the strengthening of the old is absolutely necessary
whether in the department of education, industry, or other multi-
farious activities which go to help and build a growing nation.
Therefore, at the inception of that era it is necessary that greater
emphasis should be laid upon economy in public expenditure.
But signs are not wanting that, at the time when much expendi-
ture will be entailed in improving these new departments, signs are
not wanting that expenditure is made to rise in other departments
so that the funds available may be reduced as far as possible.
Some of these signs form the subject-matter of this resolution.
One is that, instead of the strength of the Executive Council of
the Viceroy being reduced proportionately to the devolution of
responsibility on the Ministers in the Provinces regarding
transferred subjects, we find new departments are being created,
new portfolios are being created in the Executive Council of the
Viceroy. The Department of Industries and Munitions have been
given a distinction of being a special portfolio, and another new
department is being created in the form of 'Ways and Communi-
cations' proposed to embrace many subjects like railways, tram-
ways, posts and telegraphs, road traffic and other subjects which

did not claim any special distinction in the past as separate departments presided over by a special member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy. Not merely in this way is the cost of the establishment being increased, but we find proposals, special recommendations of the Committee—which was formed to revise the Government of India Secretariat procedure and they have made many recommendations, multiplied the appointment of secretaries, deputy—secretaries, assistant secretaries for which there is no limit prescribed. In many of these cases, the Government of India have adopted the recommendation of this Committee. Now the Act which was passed, gave power to the Governor-General in Council to appoint Members of the Legislative Assembly as secretaries whose salaries will be at the discretion of the Legislative Assembly while the law prescribes fresh opportunities for appointing and training representatives of the people. There is no reason why unlimited scope should be offered by the Government of India by accepting the recommendations of this Committee, by appointing highly paid officers to assist them. Not only this, but we find the members of the Executive Council may, if they desire, have private secretaries appointed at the cost of the public revenues to help them in the discharge of their duties. The Committee went further and prescribed that the secretaries should be members of the I.C.S. So before the Reforms Act comes into operation, we find vested interests sought to be strengthened and additional offices going to the service which is controlling the destinies of this country as the bureaucracy. It is necessary that we should raise an emphatic protest against the way in which expenses are being made to run high, leaving a small margin for the work of reconstruction in the economic life of the country. Therefore, when the Government of India approve of these proposals of the Select Committee of the Secretariat Procedure under the imposing name of efficiency and elasticity, we should take care that these names do not miscarry and set down the principle of economy which should regulate the cost of public service in India which is already notorious as the costliest public service in the world. Therefore, I place this resolution for your support and acceptance. (Cheers.)

The Govern-
ment of India.

Mr. A.
Rangaswami
Aiyar.

Prof. K. R. Kanitkar (Poona):—Ladies and gentlemen, the proposition has been put before you for your acceptance and while seconding it, I shall just recommend it for your acceptance with regard to two points. The first is that the Joint Committee in their deliberations have proposed that the Government of India should have three Indian members, that the number of Indian members should be one half of the Executive Council. Here we find that the Joint Committee proposes, and the Government of India disposes. It was proposed that the specific intention was that the percentage should be 50 in regard

Prof. K. R.
Kanitkar.

The Govern-
ment of India.

Prof. K. R.
Kanitkar

to the Indianising of this council. But now excuses have been found to decrease that percentage and it is proposed to give effect to this decrease in the form which was explained to you by the proposer. It is therefore necessary, absolutely necessary to protest against it at the present time. The second point which I will place before you for your consideration is: I am afraid that this tendency on the part of the Government of India is likely to prove contagious. Here it is proposed that every Executive Council Member will have a private secretary of his own, meaning thereby that the cost of administration will be increased by a large amount. When these private secretaries are appointed there in the Government of India, it is quite possible that Provincial Governments also may ask for the same. Members of Provincial Executive Councils may also like to take private secretaries in that way and this contagion is likely to spread, and therefore it is necessary that this disease must be guarded against. I am afraid that the disease may spread even to our Ministers. The Ministers will be on a par so far as the pay is concerned with the Executive Councillors, and if these Executive Councillors get additional help, the Ministers also may think of having such additional help. It is for these reasons that it is our duty to protest against this tendency, and therefore I recommend this proposition to you. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The Executive
Councils.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCILS.

The President.

The President :—I will put the next resolution which relates to Executive Councils. It runs thus :—

- (1) The Federation protests strongly against the fixing of the strength of the Executive Councils in Madras, Bombay and Bengal at 4 instead of at 2 as involving waste of public money, as thoroughly unjustifiable in view of the transfer of about one half of public business to Ministers, and as tending to retard the transfer of more subjects to Ministers.
- (2) The Federation notes with regret that the strength of the Executive Council in Bihar and Orissa should have been fixed at 3 instead of at 2 and that, with the strength of the Executive Council at 3, only one Indian should have been appointed against the express recommendation of the Joint Select Committee, both when they first reported on the Government of India Bill and subsequently, when they discussed the matter at the instance of the Government of India in connection with the Rules.

The resolution was put and carried.

Depressed and
Backward
Classes.

DEPRESSED AND BACKWARD CLASSES.

Mr. Y. R.
Kothari.

Mr. Y. R. Kothari (Poona) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution I am asked to move runs thus :—

The Federation urges the Reformed Legislatures in the Provinces to lose no time in framing a suitable programme for the educational advancement and social uplift of the backward and the depressed classes in the country.

[At this stage the President left the hall for a few minutes and Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar took the chair.]

Depressed and
Backward
Classes.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am quite sure that there could be no two opinions on the resolution I have been asked to move. Since we have this class in our society their evils are to be removed. There are certain classes between whom and the educated classes there is a wide gulf. In the Bombay Presidency, for example, if we take into consideration the situation in the Deccan, we find that Mahrattas and the other backward communities have only two or three per cent. vernacular literacy and not even $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. literacy in English as against 10 per cent. English literacy of the advanced classes. Under these circumstances, it is impossible that there should exist real unity amongst ourselves. Since caste exists, it is natural that caste feeling should exist. Otherwise, caste is bound to disappear and this communal feeling gives rise often to trouble and difficulties. If we want this communal feeling to disappear and if we want national feeling to develop among the people, we must do everything in our power to raise the backward and depressed classes. So long as they are backward, it is necessary that they should feel jealous of the advanced classes. We know that no such jealousy should be felt. All these things it is very easy to say, but it is very difficult to put to practice. And so long as these backward classes are ignorant and this feeling exists, it is sure to be exploited by persons who are self-seeking and who would like to advance personal interests at the sacrifice of national interests. We see these things happening in Madras and, to a certain extent, in the Bombay Presidency. The only remedy is to bring forward the depressed classes and the backward classes. We all agree that the administration of public affairs should be entrusted to men who are most capable but the communal feeling comes in the way of the realisation of this desire. If we wish that it should not be so, the only way is to uplift the backward classes, so that they will produce capable men among themselves which means that, even if the communal feeling is exploited, the results would not be disastrous and the administration would go into the hands of capable men, no matter whether of the depressed or backward classes, or of the advanced class. There is another matter which we should note. [At this stage the President entered the hall]. If we want to fight Non-Co-operation the best way to fight it is to show that we can achieve a good deal by co-operation. The powers transferred to us are those in regard to education, sanitation, and so forth. The most important department transferred to the people is the department of education. What have we to do in this connection? The first thing that we should attend to is mass education. The second thing is to bring forward the backward and the depressed classes. So, if we use the power properly in this

Mr. Y. R.
Kothari.

Depressed and
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Classes.

Mr. V. R.
Kothari.

respect, we shall convince the people and the masses that co-operation with Government is beneficial to the country and Non-Co-operation is not likely to achieve the results which the nation wants to achieve. If we bear all these things in mind, I am quite sure that you would pass this resolution unanimously. It requires the Reformed Councils of all Provinces to frame a programme of work which, if carried out, will bring forward and advance the depressed classes. I hope that the seven provincial branches of this Liberal Federation will take this resolution seriously and set themselves to the task of framing such a programme and strive to induce the respective legislatures to adopt such programmes so that one of the most important and difficult tasks which we will have to accomplish will have been accomplished. With these words, I beg to move the resolution. (Cheers).

Mr. A. D.
Altekar.

Mr. A. D. Altekar (Bombay):—Ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in associating myself with the resolution which Mr. Kothari has now proposed. I am also glad that our Federation is moving in this way. This Federation is a party of the people and for the people because, if this resolution means anything, it means this: whoever is depressed or backward in this country is no longer to be kept in that condition as far at least as we are concerned. (Hear, hear). I do not know much about other Presidencies, but with regard to my province I can say this. I hope that I can say the same thing about other provinces that an overwhelming majority of our party consists of people who are for a long time known as very good social reformers and on that account this resolution is but the natural consequence of the various movements that our people—they may have passed under different names in different provinces—have carried on in this respect. I need not tell you what are the advantages of education. Everybody knows it but I want to point out two or three things. In the first place, as we know from our Sastras they say that a man is a Sudra for a certain time and after Samskara he becomes a Dwija or a Brahmin and what is that Samskara? Leaving aside what happens to-day, the original idea was that the boy had to go to his guru's house and receive education which means that getting education was getting Samskara. All these quarrels between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, between this class and that class, will they not be abolished as soon as every man and woman, every boy and girl in this country, is educated, that is, as soon as he or she receives this Samskara and becomes a Dwija? Where is the necessity of quarrelling over such a simple matter when it is in our hands to make the nation a nation entirely of Brahmins? It is education alone which is the greatest purifying force. We know from the Bagavath Gita that there is nothing Pavitra like *Gnanam*. As soon as the man gets *Gnanam*, he cannot be depressed and it is

for that reason that we must insist, with all the force at our command, without the least possible delay, on our Legislatures formulating suitable programmes in order that this curse of illiteracy should disappear once for all from this country. That is one thing. Secondly the most necessary reason why we should at once take up such programmes is this: We have always, even to-day, men with great pride who can stand without the least disadvantage in comparison with the greatest in Europe or America, but as the late Mr. Gokhale used to say the average in India is lower than that elsewhere. It is very necessary that this average should at once be raised and this average can be raised only when the whole country becomes permeated with at least the rudiments of education. The third point is this: we are all striving for liberty and democracy, we are all aiming at an ideal in which there is to be liberty for all, if you will allow me to say, reasonable liberty for all. If that ideal is to be made possible, we must see to it that every being who breathes in India is capable of understanding liberty, of understanding democracy, that every individual in India has an individuality, that he can think for himself and that he can act for himself so that humbugs and hypocrits would be impossible in this country. If they are possible to-day, it is because the large mass of our people cannot make them out. But give them education. As soon as they get their eyes open to see things in their proper perspective, they will say 'good-bye' to these people who are to-day domineering over public agitation. There is one more thing and it is this: for a very long time—young men like myself need not speak of conviction—for good many days I have been a staunch believer in that school of thought which says that the whole trouble and misfortune in India are all more or less due to social injustice, social tyranny and absurd social systems that prevail in this country. I am afraid the situation still remains and while we are all anxious to emphasise the wrongs that are done to us by others, I will say 'by all means emphasise them, by all means try to reduce them but at the same time please remember that, unless we do away with the disease that is inherent in ourselves, there is no hope for this country in future and in order to eradicate this disease there is no easier remedy than to give education to all the people.' I want to include, if you will permit me, our sisters and mothers in the class of backward communities in India and you will pardon me if I put in a word for them. They are really backward and if, as my friend points out, one-fifth of India is depressed and so much is backward, why one-half of India is both backward and depressed. Now we who love the rights and privileges of every individual, certainly we are not going to deny these rights and privileges to one-half of the population of the country. I am sure on behalf of this Federation we may urge also on these Legislatures that education of women is not forgotten in these

Depressed and
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Mr. A. D.
Altekar.

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Classes.

Mr. A. D.
Aitkar.

programmes I say this for one reason : the other day in the place where I live, some of my friends on the other side tried to make out that the education of girls can come afterwards, that it can wait and that the education of boys should come first. I would rather say, take the girls first, because it is the duty of the social body as a whole to see that every girl gets education. Lastly, it is but fair to these Legislatures when we ask them to formulate this programme, that we, the people of this country, must carry on without the least delay the gigantic effort towards this very object and I should think that it is our Federation, it is the inheritors of the great social reformers during the last 100 years, the followers of men like Ram Mohan Roy, Mr. Ranade and the late Mr. Gokhale, it is their duty to see that that gigantic effort is inaugurated by them. I shall say to young men 'never mind what the Legislatures will do to-day, never mind what this party or what that party will do ; as far as we are concerned there is useful work lying before us.' We may not be good politicians, we may not be big orators, but we can teach something at least to one man or one woman in this country, the rudiments of education and that will be passport enough for us to go to Heaven above. With these words, I commend this resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

INDIAN REFORM COMMITTEE IN LONDON.

Indian Reform
Committee in
London.

The President.

The President :—I shall now put before you a few resolutions which you do not find in the printed agenda. The first relates to the Indian Reform Committee in London. The resolutions runs thus :—

The National Liberal Federation of India recognises the Indian Reform Committee of London as its British Committee and resolves to contribute a sum of six hundred pounds per annum for its maintenance in addition to one-half of the delegation fees realised by the Reception Committee of the annual session of the Federation. Of the said six hundred pounds, the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras shall each contribute 150 each, the U. P. 100 and the Central Provinces and Behar 50. The amounts shall be remitted to the Indian Reform Committee in December in advance to each succeeding year.

I think it is desirable that I should state in very few words the position in relation to this Committee. You know that, just as the Congress passed from our hands, the British Committee of the Congress also passed from our hands. It was found particularly last year that no work could be done by persons holding our views as to the correct political methods in England through the British Committee of the Congress. Steps were therefore taken to organise our own committee. That committee was established early this year with Lord Clwyd as Chairman, Lord Carmichael as one of its members and several other influential

men. The Committee did some useful work in the course of this year in connection with the Reform Rules and one or two other subjects. It was decided by your Council at its meeting held in June and October that it was desirable that the Federation should recognise the Committee as its British Committee and should maintain it in order that the work which we desire to be done in England may be done for us through its agency. You have read in the papers that the British Committee of the Congress is soon going to an end along with the paper 'India.' Those of us who are old enough to remember with what love, with what sacrifice, with what tender care the British Committee was nourished by such men as Mr. Hume, Mr. Naoroji, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, what an amount of care was bestowed upon that Committee and that paper by Mr. Gokhale, cannot but feel a sense of deep grief that, under the present dispensation, the National Congress is not only shredding one after another of the features which won public admiration, but also of the institutions associated with it. I ventured to say in my address the day before yesterday that our task was no less than to take the place of the Congress that we knew. In this matter of maintaining the organisation at the seat of authority so that Indian grievances might be properly represented and Indian representations might be pleaded for, in that matter too as in respect of work in India, the mantle of the old Congress has descended upon the Liberal Federation. I trust, ladies and gentlemen, that this resolution which only marks a small beginning with regard to the development of the Indian Reform Committee will be given effect to and there will be no complaint from London that there is any delay in the remittance of the amounts we have promised. I may mention to you that a hopeful beginning has been made that very respectable amounts have been already realised and I am in hopes that, as we grow and progress we shall be able to strengthen and expand the organisation and give rise to no complaint whatever. I would now ask you to give your support to this resolution which I have placed before you with the approval of the Subjects Committee and with the recommendation of the Council of the Federation.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATION.

The President :—The next resolution relates to one or two points connected with the organisation of the Federation. I will first read it :

Resolved that Resolution 14 of the second session of the Federation be amended as noted below : In clause 4, substitute "25" for "15" and insert at the end of the paragraph : "5 members nominated by the President of the Annual Session." At clause 6 substitute Rs. 10 for Rs. 5.

**Indian Reform
Committee in
London.**

The President.

Recommendations of the Council of the Federation.

The President.

Recommendations of the Council of the Federation.

The President.

Last year in Calcutta we passed a few rules to regulate the work of the Federation. Those rules make no pretence to be of the nature of an elaborate constitution. Just as the Indian National Congress for many years after its establishment deemed it prudent and wise to grow without a written constitution applying to every minute particular, so too we found it convenient in the present stage of our development to have only a few simple rules for our guidance instead of fettering ourselves with an elaborate constitution. To this end, a few rules were passed last year and the experience of their working has demonstrated to your council the advisability of amending them in a few respects. One is that you can allow to the Provinces a representation of 25 instead of 15, secondly to make up for any deficiencies in order not to lose the advice of any member of the party who is in a position to make himself of service to the Federation, it is proposed to give power to the President of the annual session to nominate five members in addition to those who are elected by various Presidencies. Here again with a truly conservative instinct we have only followed the precedent set by the Indian National Congress in the outline of constitution drawn up for it at the session at Lucknow in 1899, and confirmed at Lahore in 1900. Next it is proposed that the delegation fee should be raised to Rs. 10 from Rs. 5. The Reception Committee acted in accordance with the opinion of the Council and, in anticipation of the sanction of the Federation, Rs. 10 has been levied this year and it will be so in future years also. Why it has been raised has already been shown to you in the previous resolution. This additional Rs. 5 is to go to the Indian Reform Committee in London. I would ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to give your assent to this proposition too in the usual manner.

The resolution was put and carried.

APPOINTMENT OF SECRETARIES.

Appointment of Secretaries.

The President.

The President :—The next resolution relates to the appointment of General Secretaries for the year 1921.

Resolved that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar (Loud cheers) and Mr. G. A. Natesan (Loud cheers) be appointed General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation during the year 1921.

I am sure, ladies and gentlemen, I speak the mind of one and all of you and I reflect the opinion not only of those who are present at this session but of every individual member of the party throughout the country when I say that we cannot but feel deeply grateful to our highly respected and distinguished leader Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar (Cheers) for having consented to be the General Secretary for the next year. As the General Secretary during the present year and the past, as one who has worked under the chairmanship of Sir. P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar during the whole of this year I can say most truthfully that this

Federation and the party of which it is the organised spokesman, is under a deep debt of gratitude to Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar for the valuable services he has rendered to us during the last two years. (Hear, hear.) You in Madras know what the Madras Liberal League owes to him. Mr. G. A. Natesan surely needs no introduction to anyone and I shall not commit the impertinence of attempting to describe in language the indefatigable energy of which he is capable. (Cheers). With Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar and Mr. G. A. Natesan as the General Secretaries, I feel more than hopeful that the record of work of the Council of the Federation during the next year will be such that, when we meet in December next, we shall be able to say that we have done our best. I ask you, gentlemen, to carry this resolution with acclamation.

Appointment of Secretaries.

The President.

The resolution was carried.

The President :—The next resolution is this :

The Council of the National Liberal Federation for 1921 shall be constituted as follows. (The list is printed elsewhere.)

The resolution was put and carried.

THE NEXT SESSION OF THE FEDERATION.

The President :—Mr. Asthana will now invite you to Allahabad next year.

The Next Session.

The President.

Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana :—I move.

"That the next session of the National Liberal Federation do hold its meeting at Allahabad."

Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana

In inviting this session to the most central place in India, I need not assure you that you will be greatly welcome there. I may say also, as I said when I spoke on the resolution on Non-Co-operation, that you need not be afraid of Non-Co-operation there. So far as my province is concerned, the movement of Non-Co-operation has not made any progress and I think, when you meet in the city of Allahabad, by your meeting there you will be bringing many waverers to your fold in the United Provinces. I therefore invite you, gentlemen, next year to meet at Allahabad and I hope you will accept the invitation (Cheers).

Mr. Girdharilal Agarwalla :—Ladies and gentlemen, I second the invitation of the proposer and I request all the members of the Liberal Federation to muster strong at the junction of the two rivers, the Ganges and the Jumna, and also the Saraswati which is however not visible. (Cheers.)

Mr. Girdharilal Agarwalla.

The President :—Ladies and gentlemen, I would associate myself heartily with my two friends in extending a cordial invitation to you to Allahabad. Unlike Madras you will find much severity of cold there, but we will try to compensate for that by the warmth of our reception.

The President.

Vote of Thanks
to the President.

The Hon'ble Mr.
Y. S. Srinivasa
Sastri.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Y. S. Srinivasa Sastri:—Ladies and gentlemen, the stage has been reached in our proceedings when someone must voice your feelings of gratitude to the Chairman who has conducted our deliberations during the last three days. I am very happy indeed to-day to do it on your behalf. The practice of these Annual Conferences and Congresses requires it that no man should be honoured in his own country. Mr. Chintamani belongs to this Presidency and nevertheless we have taken advantage of the legal fiction of his adoption elsewhere to welcome him here and honour him as though he did not belong to us (Cheers). We approached Mr. Chintamani with a request to assume the presidency of the Conference at a time when we were really in sore straits. I do not think, if the truth could be told, that Mr. Chintamani was in very auspicious conditions at the time to accept our call. He had perhaps received another call, but nevertheless he found it possible to obey the request that came from his own province and accept our invitation. In him we have a signal example of the perfect agreement of office with courage. The general belief is that somehow or other a man who accepts office thereby gags his own mouth. I am betraying no secret but Mr. Chintamani had all but accepted office when he delivered his speech to us the other day and who could have thought, hearing him, that it proceeded from a man who had either hungered for office or who having obtained it found that that was the time for bottling up his convictions. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Chintamani is not one of those politicians of whom we have heard it said who occasionally have confessed that their heart points one way but their head another. Probably that is the occasional predicament in which each one of us finds himself but in politics it is not wise always to let your head remain in one place but let your heart run away in another direction altogether. It is necessary to bring the heart, strong and impetuous as it may be, under the governance of a powerful and well-fixed head. Mr. Chintamani is one of those who can reconcile feelings, however strong, with profound philosophy, who knows how to feel strongly and at the same time to act wisely and safely. Mr. Chintamani exhibits in a fine style the vigorous type of a political worker of which England knows such an abundance but which in India has yet to grow up. Mr. Chintamani knows exactly the difficult situation, he knows where the safe conduct of any political programme lies and what is somewhat rare, he has got the capacity when once he makes up his mind, of imparting his convictions to others so that there may be no mistake whatever about them, so that there may be no hesitation whatever in following them up, so that, in good time, success may crown the efforts not only of himself but of those who follow him. (Cheers). If under his guidance we have

a certain measure of success, we may put it to him to consider whether it is all due to his ability or whether some credit is not also due to us. I would ask you, Sir, to consider whether it has not been your good fortune that you have not had to sway an audience or, shall I call it, a vast concourse of 16,000 delegates. If we do not embarrass you by our numbers, we gave you assistance also by our conduct. We all heard one another patiently and even the youngest of us never thought it necessary to second their convictions by blows. (Laughter). The times are somewhat out of joint. Our politics are now disfigured by a strange form of enthusiasm that is unable to restrain itself and that shows itself in strange incongruity. I am sad to say, but which of you can overlook the extraordinary divergence between precept and practice that characterise so many of our politicians in this country; many whose doings are small consider it necessary however to talk big; many who acknowledge certain programmes in public and in large meetings, fail to carry them out miserably in practice. Of all things that sadden me and I have no hesitation in affirming, there is nothing that saddens me so much as the spectacle of thousands of our students who consider it perfectly honourable and consistent with their dignity to go about saying that they are followers of Non-Co-operation as it is preached, and yet so few of them carry it out in practice. What is true of these young men is true also of a large number of our senior politicians. Gentlemen, when we consider that aspect of our national affairs at the present moment, we find it possible to understand why we, the Moderates or the liberals, are weak in numbers still. There is a certain story of which I dare say you need not be reminded of a pious Brahmin of old who, wishing to make a sacrifice, purchased a goat and carried it on his shoulders. The men who coveted the goat stationed themselves at regular intervals and asked him each in turn when he approached the pious Brahmin 'what has happened to you that you should carry a dog on your shoulders.' This lie repeated often and designedly produced the wrong conviction in the mind of the poor Brahmin and he cast off the animal on his back and went home a sad man. A great many people who are really liberals at heart and share our convictions approve our programme, will nevertheless not come into our ranks and acknowledge their true affiliation merely because numbers about them go about saying that that is unpatriotic and that is disservice to the country. I do not say that they are designed enemies of ourselves or designing enemies of ourselves. No. Nevertheless it is the force of iteration, it is the influence of the same opinion repeated with a full throat by a thousand people around us that seems to over-awe us; too many a man amongst us, genuine hearty liberal, still keeps aloof not knowing his own line. That makes me think that our work lies

Vote of Thanks
to the President!

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The Hon'ble Mr.
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Sastri.

President's Concluding Speech.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani.

swami Aiyar a little more than a fortnight ago took me by surprise. The only consideration that led me on the pressing advice of my dear brother, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, to consent to come and preside here, was that it would not be right for any member of the organisation to put the Reception Committee to the trouble of finding another President at such a juncture. Since then a circumstance to which my Honourable friend, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, has referred, may have led some people to doubt whether it will be possible for me to keep the engagement. I am glad that no difficulty came in the way and that I have been able to come here to perform the duty that you have cast upon me, honestly and with such poor ability I am endowed with, with the generous support of you all. The speeches that were made in electing me to the chair day before yesterday by such persons as Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, Mrs. Besant and others and the speeches that have been made now by the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Mrs. Besant put me to shame that it was in respect of so undeserving a man that such generous sentiments have been expressed. I can only assure you that it was wholly in the spirit of duty and service and with a full consciousness of the inappropriateness of my occupying this Presidential Chair that I responded to the invitation. To-day, at the end of the third day of the sittings, I am still more conscious of my feelings and I will take the words of generous praise that have been uttered as the blessings and benedictions of my well-wishers for my future success in the public service. It is with regret that I have been obliged to relinquish the office of secretary to the Federation, I hope only for a short time. I would beg you to accept my assurance that my devotion to the Liberal party, to the Liberal Federation, to the ideas and the ideals which the party stands for, will remain complete and unabated and that you will not fail to find me at your next session and the other gatherings, provincial and national, of the party, as some of you may suspect. My faith in the principles and policy of the National Liberal Federation is complete. It is complete because my faith in our old National Congress was complete. My whole public life from the first day to the middle of 1918 was bound up with the Indian National Congress and along with many other devoted Congressmen, elder as well as younger, it was with real pain that I decided that duty to the country required that I should abstain from that institution. My honourable friend, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, along with several other good men and true, were of opinion that we should still fight within the Congress and should not give it up easily. I am sorry to say that I was a man of little faith so far as that went and it is only a melancholy consolation to think that many familiar faces which were not to be found on the platform of our first conference at Bombay have since come in. It is a source of particular rejoicing to me as I am sure it is to one and

all of you, that our venerable friend, Mrs. Besant, she who, as every one admits, in spite of differences of opinion on particular subjects and at particular times, will always be held by every Indian in deep gratitude for her unselfish, almost heroic services to India at her age (Cheers)—I am particularly rejoiced that Mrs. Besant is here with us to-day. (Cheers.) When I recall the doubts that we felt in Bombay in 1918, the misgivings of those who thought that there should be no second invitation to Calcutta as our differences with the Congress might be made up, I am glad that we have held three sessions and I feel confident that when we meet next year at Allahabad we shall find the fourth session stronger and more robust, more successful than the present session, as the fourth session of the National Congress at Allahabad was than the third National Congress, held at Madras. I will not detain you long by any remarks of a personal character. I do not do so for the simple reason that in no language that I can find can I thank you adequately, can I describe my feeling of gratitude. I will now pass on to a task which is a very pleasing one. I ask you to join with me in thanking the chairman and members of the Reception Committee (Cheers.) and the Captain and members of the Federation Volunteer Corps (Cheers) for the service they have rendered in making this session of the Federation the success that it has been. The only remark of a personal character with which I have been myself unable to agree in the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri's speech—I quite understood the spirit of the remark—was that the success of this session in so far as it can be held to be successful was not due solely to me (Laughter). I will go farther and say that it is not due to me even in part. It has been due entirely to the labours of the Reception Committee and the Volunteers of the Federation and the co-operation of the delegates who have come from this Presidency and other Presidencies. No President of a conference can well hope to discharge his duties with any degree of satisfaction to himself or to others unless he has the willing co-operation of the members of the whole Conference, but still more of the Subjects Committee. I am aware that, so far as my conduct of the proceedings of the Subjects Committee went, some of you, ladies and gentlemen here, who were members thereof might have no particular reason to be thankful to me. But I repeat here what I said yesterday in the Committee that the impatience that I might have betrayed to see that the business was gone through was only the result in addition to my defects of temperament (Cries of 'no, no') to the observation and experience which I had to my credit of more than 16 Subjects Committees of the old National Congress where at the end of the session almost every member used to complain of a President who had been indulgent to them during the sittings because business was not finished whereas they were glad that

President's Concluding Speech.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani.

Vote of Thanks
to the President.

The Hon'ble Mr.
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Sastri.

cut out before us. Our President said no words truer to us than when he desired us to remember that moderation in politics is a virtue and not weakness, that we must go about with our heads erect, not ashamed of our views but in the full conviction that, few though we be to-day, we are bound in no long time to be many, although we may not be an overwhelming majority in the country. We should much like to be in the majority but if we can only be in the majority by embracing doctrines which we consider disastrous, we far rather continue in weak minority calling out our friends to be cautious and careful than seek success through dangerous and perilous doctrines. (Hear, hear.) There is no harm in being in a minority. Often as our great people have reminded us every now and then minorities do greater service to the country than majorities. There is in every generation at every point a certain force, a certain wave of thought that spreads over vast masses of people. It is easy for you to gauge the various aspects of that wave of thought. It is easy for you all to pour your little energy into those streams and make them a swelling flood but there is the other work to be done as well without which the community stands in great peril of being swept away, the duty of supplying the corrective to this unrestrained enthusiasm, the forces not of the moment but of the future which have also to be thought of. It is an ungrateful task, it is an unrecognised service very often to speak against the many, to seem to stand opposed to the general current while really what you are doing is to purify that which ought to be pure but is not, to take the full value out of that which, for the time being, is in possession of our heart, to supply the corrective and to make it therefore much more useful and valuable. We of the liberal party are doing, I think, a valuable service in remaining true to our own conviction, in erecting our own platform, and in giving our message undiluted just as we feel it. I am one of those who, at one time, thought that our place as an organisation was within the bosom of the Congress. I confess, ladies and gentlemen, I have travelled rather far from that phase of thought. Our Chairman used wise words, 'The Congress that we knew.' Ought we not rather to say now 'The Congress that was.' (Hear, hear.) For the Congress that we knew is no longer there. Its creed has been changed. Its constitution has been altered beyond recognition.

(Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer :—This year.)

Every element in that constitution which we regarded as the guarantee of safe progress is now eliminated from its constitution; under the influence of one leader, man after man who used to be leader has fallen away from the Congress. We now find all the great names ranged either in opposition outside the Congress or in sullen despair within the Congress. (Hear, hear.) True words those in which we were told that the old Congress

has revived in this organisation. We carry on the task still undimmed and I am sure, if those amongst you who have come here are true to your convictions, do not allow yourselves to be overawed by the full throated dissents you hear on all sides, if only you act as the centres of the true congress light of old, the Liberal Federation can look forward with hope to the future. (Cheers.)

Vote of Thanks
to the President.

The Hon'ble Mr.
Y. S. Sriuivasa
Sastri.

Mrs. Besant :—Ladies and gentlemen, we began our work and we might fairly boast of the success with which it has been carried on. We met here, many of us by what was really a very liberal invitation of those who have founded the liberal leagues. They took up wisely that welcome to those who agreed in their fundamentals with the Congress that was. We who had been working along similar lines answered to that invitation because we felt and we feel that, in the present time of the history of India, all who are workers for reform, all who desire to keep up the old traditions of the Congress that are dear to us for the great names that made it and worked in it, that all those who tried to win reforms and having won them are not willing to cast them away but desire to utilise them to the good of the motherland, that all these should gather together, show their unity, affirm their comradeship, walk on along the road to wider and wider freedom until it is recognised that, however a minority may have had to carry this standard of freedom, they will draw by their strength, by their truth, the whole nation around them, for in the end it is truth that wins and nothing else. So I am glad to add my thanks to our President in the name of those with whom I am most closely connected. We are glad to work here. We hope that a new creed will remain such as I am sure it will during the next year for I feel that it is the Liberal Federation and not what we used to call the National Congress that now is carrying forward the banner of India to a certain and assured victory. In looking at the clouds against us, let us remember that we must weigh as well as count, we must think of values as well as of numbers. We may well boast that with us are the leaders of the past, and I am sure they will justify themselves as the leaders also of the future. (Cheers).

Mrs. Besant.

Diwan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar :—I ask you to carry this vote with acclamation.

Diwan Bahadur
L. A. Govinda-
raghava Aiyar.

This was carried with acclamation.

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING SPEECH.

President's Con-
cluding Speech.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani, who then rose to deliver his concluding address amidst loud cheers, said :—Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot tell you how deeply grateful I am for the affection with which you have overwhelmed me. As I said most truthfully in my address day before yesterday the telegram that was sent on behalf of the Reception Committee by Sir Siva-

The Hon'ble Mr.
Chintamani.

President's Concluding Speech.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani.

swami Aiyar a little more than a fortnight ago took me by surprise. The only consideration that led me on the pressing advice of my dear brother, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, to consent to come and preside here, was that it would not be right for any member of the organisation to put the Reception Committee to the trouble of finding another President at such a juncture. Since then a circumstance to which my Honourable friend, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, has referred, may have led some people to doubt whether it will be possible for me to keep the engagement. I am glad that no difficulty came in the way and that I have been able to come here to perform the duty that you have cast upon me, honestly and with such poor ability I am endowed with, with the generous support of you all. The speeches that were made in electing me to the chair day before yesterday by such persons as Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, Mrs. Besant and others and the speeches that have been made now by the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Mrs. Besant put me to shame that it was in respect of so undeserving a man that such generous sentiments have been expressed. I can only assure you that it was wholly in the spirit of duty and service and with a full consciousness of the inappropriateness of my occupying this Presidential Chair that I responded to the invitation. To-day, at the end of the third day of the sittings, I am still more conscious of my feelings and I will take the words of generous praise that have been uttered as the blessings and benedictions of my well-wishers for my future success in the public service. It is with regret that I have been obliged to relinquish the office of secretary to the Federation, I hope only for a short time. I would beg you to accept my assurance that my devotion to the Liberal party, to the Liberal Federation, to the ideas and the ideals which the party stands for, will remain complete and unabated and that you will not fail to find me at your next session and the other gatherings, provincial and national, of the party, as some of you may suspect. My faith in the principles and policy of the National Liberal Federation is complete. It is complete because my faith in our old National Congress was complete. My whole public life from the first day to the middle of 1918 was bound up with the Indian National Congress and along with many other devoted Congressmen, elder as well as younger, it was with real pain that I decided that duty to the country required that I should abstain from that institution. My honourable friend, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, along with several other good men and true, were of opinion that we should still fight within the Congress and should not give it up easily. I am sorry to say that I was a man of little faith so far as that went and it is only a melancholy consolation to think that many familiar faces which were not to be found on the platform of our first conference at Bombay have since come in. It is a source of particular rejoicing to me as I am sure it is to one and

all of you, that our venerable friend, Mrs. Besant, she who, as every one admits, in spite of differences of opinion on particular subjects and at particular times, will always be held by every Indian in deep gratitude for her unselfish, almost heroic services to India at her age (Cheers)—I am particularly rejoiced that Mrs. Besant is here with us to-day. (Cheers.) When I recall the doubts that we felt in Bombay in 1918, the misgivings of those who thought that there should be no second invitation to Calcutta as our differences with the Congress might be made up, I am glad that we have held three sessions and I feel confident that when we meet next year at Allahabad we shall find the fourth session stronger and more robust, more successful than the present session, as the fourth session of the National Congress at Allahabad was than the third National Congress, held at Madras. I will not detain you long by any remarks of a personal character. I do not do so for the simple reason that in no language that I can find can I thank you adequately, can I describe my feeling of gratitude. I will now pass on to a task which is a very pleasing one. I ask you to join with me in thanking the chairman and members of the Reception Committee (Cheers.) and the Captain and members of the Federation Volunteer Corps (Cheers) for the service they have rendered in making this session of the Federation the success that it has been. The only remark of a personal character with which I have been myself unable to agree in the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri's speech—I quite understood the spirit of the remark—was that the success of this session in so far as it can be held to be successful was not due solely to me (Laughter). I will go farther and say that it is not due to me even in part. It has been due entirely to the labours of the Reception Committee and the Volunteers of the Federation and the co-operation of the delegates who have come from this Presidency and other Presidencies. No President of a conference can well hope to discharge his duties with any degree of satisfaction to himself or to others unless he has the willing co-operation of the members of the whole Conference, but still more of the Subjects Committee. I am aware that, so far as my conduct of the proceedings of the Subjects Committee went, some of you, ladies and gentlemen here, who were members thereof might have no particular reason to be thankful to me. But I repeat here what I said yesterday in the Committee that the impatience that I might have betrayed to see that the business was gone through was only the result in addition to my defects of temperament (Cries of 'no, no') to the observation and experience which I had to my credit of more than 16 Subjects Committees of the old National Congress where at the end of the session almost every member used to complain of a President who had been indulgent to them during the sittings because business was not finished whereas they were glad that

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even necessary eloquence was curtailed. I publicly apologise to every member of the Subjects Committee who might have been the victim of any hastiness that I might have betrayed. The chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, (Cheers) is not only one of my most respected friends but one whom I have always looked upon as a leader whom I have always been proud to follow, whom I know the people in other presidencies hold not only in respect but in affection. (Cheers). Mr. Natesan, I have had occasion to refer to a few minutes ago. Who that has come to the Conference can afford or will forget Mr. G. A. Natesan. (Laughter). If it can be said of any one that he is here, there and everywhere it may be said of him. I also think the other Secretaries, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri and Mr. Girdhar das Narayan Das (Cheers) and the Captain of the Volunteers, Mr. P. A. Subramanya Aiyar (Cheers), the Treasurer Mr. Kolanda-velu Mudaliar (Cheers) and last but not least Mr. Ramasami Sastri to whose labours many of us here can bear personal testimony, and ladies and gentlemen, to Diwan Bahadur Govindas Chathurbujadas for his hospitality to us here this afternoon. I have deliberately left to the last one name—I do not find his name among the office-bearers of the Reception Committee—but every member of the Reception Committee including the Chairman himself will join with me in saying that he is the leader of them all and it was under his wise guidance that the whole work of this Conference was done as the work of the Madras Liberal League is done. Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to me to ask you to thank Sir Sivaswami Aiyar. (Cheers). I reckon it an uncommonly fortunate circumstance that, in the early years of our Liberal organisation, we were able to work under such a leader as Sir Sivaswami Aiyar. Ladies and gentlemen, our Conference this year has met in a hall named after one of the Congress patriots and statesmen whom modern India has produced. (Cheers). A distinguished English publicist told me last year in London that none of the living English Statesmen of either party was in his judgment equal to Mr. Gokhale in the capacity of statesmanship. (Cheers). As Mrs. Besant has now said, Mr. Gokhale's blessings are with us. He is constantly with us in spirit and the success of this Liberal Federation will be one of the greatest tributes to the impression which Mr. Gokhale left on the minds of his countrymen by the work of his lifetime. What is the Liberal Federation but a concrete tribute to the work of Mr. Gokhale and other leaders of his time? (Cheers). I repeat once more the convictions to which I gave expression the day before yesterday that it is with the success of this Liberal party that the political future of India for many years to come is bound up. If I thought that our destiny lay outside the British Empire I should not belong to the Liberal Federation. But I have not the slightest doubt that even, among the present members of the

Indian National Congress, you will get many a stalwart leader to make private confessions of his secret convictions, that we had not the strength to do without the British Raj and to establish an independent Indian republic. If it be admitted that our future lies within the Empire and that the only political method that we should adopt is constitutional agitation, then it stands to reason that, without doubt, without self-distrust, without questioning, we should go forward as the political party which is in the right, we should go forward without any apologies, and with a determination that every obstacle shall be swept away from our path. Given this spirit of determination, this strength of conviction, I shall have no misgiving about the future. I have not the slightest fear of the numerical strength of our opponents. I am not in the least disheartened by the smallness of the numbers of our annual sessions. The only circumstance that should make me pessimistic about the future of the party is the self-distrust that I find among not a few members of the party. It is this that I would drive away before anything else, if I have the power. My humble appeal to you not as President of the Federation but as one of the rank and file, as one of its humble workers, is to drive away from the minds of the people even the faintest doubt as to whether we are in the right. Once you succeed in this, the Federation has succeeded. Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you once more for all the kindness you have shown to me. I hope I may not do anything to lose that confidence and that kindness. I hope in whatever sphere of activity I may be engaged at a given time my whole thought and mind shall be given to the pursuit of the principles and policies of the Liberal Party. I now declare the Third Session of the National Liberal Federation of India dissolved. (Cheers).

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar then called for three cheers to the Honourable Mr. Chintamani which were lustily responded to.

The Federation then dissolved.

President's Concluding Speech.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani.

Cheers for the President.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.