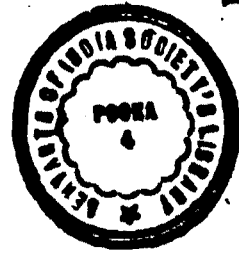


REPORT



OF

THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FOURTH SESSION

OF THE

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA

HELD AT ALLAHABAD

On the 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1921.

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THE National Liberal Federation of India

THE FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION.

HELD AT MAYO HALL, ALLAHABAD,

Wednesday, the 28th, Thursday, the 29th and Friday, the 30th December, 1921.

LIST OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED.

Condolence Resolutions.

THE LATE RAI BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR.

1. This Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the death of Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, C. I. E., and to convey its sincere condolences to the members of his family.

[From the Chair.]

Condolence
Resolutions.

THE LATE SIR RASH BEHARI GHOSE.

2. This Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the death of Sir Rash Behari Ghose, C. I. E., and to convey its sincere condolences to the members of his family.

[From the Chair.]

Welcome to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

3. This Federation accords its most loyal and respectful welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on his visit to India.

[From the Chair.]

Welcome to the
Prince.

Indianisation of the Army.

4. This Federation urges the Government to give effect immediately to the resolution of the Indian Legislative Assembly in regard to the Indianisation of the Commissioned ranks in the Indian Army by starting with an initial recruitment of Indians to 25 per cent. of the annual vacancies and raising such recruitment by annual increments of not less than 5 per cent.

Indianisation of
the Army.

Proposed by Mr. B. S. Kamat.

Seconded by Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra.

Supported by Mr. A. P. Sen.

„ Sir K. G. Gupta.

Civil Disobedience.

5. This Federation is strongly of opinion that the campaign of Civil Disobedience, resolved upon by the Congress, is fraught with the gravest danger to the real interests of the country and is bound to cause untold suffering and misery to the people, and earnestly appeals to the country not to follow course which imperils peace,

Civil Disobe-
dience.

Civil Disobedience. order and personal liberty, and is bound to produce a mentality inimical not merely to the present Government but to any form of government."

Proposed by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer.

Seconded by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas.

Supported by Pandit P. N. Saprú.

" " G. N. Misra.

" " Ramraj.

" " Prof. Joag.

Self-Government.

Self-Government.

6. In view of the experience obtained of the working of the Reforms Act, the rapid growth of national consciousness and the strong and growing demand among all sections of the people for a fuller control over their destinies, this Federation strongly urges that:—

(1) Full autonomy should be introduced in the Provincial Governments at the end of the first term of the various Legislatures, and

(2) As regards Central Government, all subjects, except defence, foreign affairs, relations with Indian States and ecclesiastical affairs, should be transferred to popular control at the end of the first term of the Legislative Assembly, subject to such safeguards as may be suitable and necessary for the protection of all vested interests.

Proposed by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer.

Seconded by Pandit Hirdaya Nath Kunzru.

Supported by Dr. D. C. Mitter.

Political Situation.

Political Situation.

7. (1) This Federation fully realises the difficulties of the Government in dealing with the present critical situation, the inevitable dangers to the country of a campaign of civil disobedience, and the necessity for the protection of peaceful and law-abiding citizens against any interference with their liberties, and it recognises the duty of all patriotic citizens to support the Government in all measures necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. But it views with great concern the inauguration of a policy of indiscriminate arrests and extensive application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and is strongly of opinion that such a policy defeats its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating general unrest. It also draws pointed attention to the fact that some Local Governments and local authorities have acted with an excess of zeal and want of discretion in the matter of arrests and with harshness and severity in regard to sentences of which the Federation strongly disapproves. It therefore strongly urges on the Government an immediate reconsideration of its policy in order to ease the present situation.

(2) This Federation urges the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee and to withdraw the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act as early as possible, making such amendments of the ordinary law relating to intimidation as may be suitable and necessary for the effective protection of law-abiding citizens.

Proposed by Mr. G. A. Natesan.

Seconded by Mr. Sachchindra Prasad Basu.

Supported by Dr. N. N. Sarkar.

„ Dr. Annie Besant.
 „ Mr. B. S. Kamat.
 „ Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas
 „ Mr. Gadgill
 „ Mr. A. P. Sen.
 „ Pandit H. N. Kunzru.

The following resolutions were put from the chair and carried unanimously :—

RAILWAY MANAGEMENT.

7. This Federation expresses its entire approval of the recommendations of the Chairman and four other members of the Railway Committee, that the undertakings of the Guaranteed Railway Companies as when the contracts fall in, should be entrusted to the direct management of the State and trusts that this policy will be accepted by the Government.

Railway Management.

MOPLAH OUTRAGES.

8. That this Federation condemns the Moplah rebellion and expresses its profound abhorrence of the atrocities committed by the Moplahs in the course of the rebellion and feels it its duty to support the measures taken by the Government to suppress the rebellion and to protect the lives and the properties of the peaceful citizens in the area affected. It further appeals to the people to show their practical sympathies to sufferers by liberally subscribing to the Malabar Relief Fund. This Federation expresses its horror at the train tragedy at Podanor and trusts that those responsible for it will be early brought to punishment.

Moplah Outrages.

PUNJAB QUESTION.

9. This Federation expresses its dissatisfaction at the inadequacy of the action taken by his Excellency the Viceroy as a result of reviewing the cases of martial law prisoners in the Punjab, and reiterates its opinion that full satisfaction cannot be afforded until the officers guilty of acts of cruelty, oppression and humiliation during the period of martial law administration are suitably punished.

Punjab Question

KHILAFAT QUESTION.

10. The National Liberal Federation of India regrets that the Prime Minister's pledge to the Mussalmans of India made in January, 1918, has not been redeemed and strongly urges his Majesty's Government suitably to revise the treaty with Turkey.

Khilafat Question.

RT. HON. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

11. This Federation congratulates the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri on his able and bold advocacy in urging the claims of India's equality of status in the Empire at the Imperial Conference and places on record its warm appreciation of the great service rendered by him in obtaining recognition of the same.

Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri.

INDIANS ABROAD.

12. (1) This Federation while welcoming the resolution passed by the Imperial Conference regarding the status of Indians in the Empire as marking a distinct advance on the existing state of things, urges the British Government to induce the Union of South Africa, where the position of Indians is steadily deteriorating, to give effect to the resolution.

Indians Abroad.

(7) The Federation trusts that the position of Indians in East Africa will be determined in accordance with the policy approved by the Imperial Conference.

NON-COOPERATION.

Non-Cooperation.

13. This Federation requests the various Liberal Leagues and other organizations with allied objects to take early and effective steps for combating the non-cooperation movement by a systematic propaganda by lectures and leaflets and in such other ways as may be found practicable."

WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.

Women's Franchise.

14. That this Conference notes with pleasure that Madras and Bombay have given the vote to duly qualified women and calls on the other provinces to remove the disqualification of sex in the franchise as soon as possible.

GENERAL SECRETARIES FOR 1922.

General Secretaries for 1922.

15. Resolved that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, 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 1922.

COUNCIL FOR 1922.

Council for 1922.

16. That the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India for 1922 shall be constituted as suggested by the various Liberal organizations, the list of members elected to the Council to be submitted to the General Secretaries by the 1st February, 1922.

THE
National Liberal Federation of India.

The Fourth Session at Allahabad.

December, 1921.

The fourth session of the National Liberal Federation of India opened in Mayo Hall, Allahabad, on Wednesday, the 28th December, 1921, at 3-15 p. m. amidst scenes of enthusiasm. The hall was artistically decorated with flags and buntings and evergreens, and mottoes suitable to the occasion such as "Self-Government within the Empire", "Good Government is no substitute for Swaraj", "Support Home Industries", "Swaraj by Constitutional Means", "Right is Might", were in evidence all around the galleries. There was a distinguished gathering of delegates from all parts of the country, whose number was sufficiently large to fully crowd the hall. Besides, the visitors' galleries were completely full. A feature of the Conference was the presence of a good number of Kisan delegates from a number of districts in the the United Provinces.

The President-elect with the Chairman of the Reception Committee arrived at the hall at 3 p. m. and was met at the entrance by Mrs. Besant, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Mr. B. S. Kamat, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Mr. Durga Charan Banerji, Dr. S. N. Sen, Mr. A. P. Sen and others, and was conducted to the *dais* in procession amid lusty cheers. On the *dais* the President was supported by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Mrs. Besant, Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Rai Bahadur Anand Swarup, Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, Mr. Durga Charan Banerji, Rai Saheb Lala Sheo Charan Lal, Mr. B. S. Kamat, Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, Mr. G. A. Natesan, M. Narayan Prasad Asthana, Major D. R. Ranjit Singh, Mr. A. P. Sen, Mehta Krishna Ram, and Lala Behari Lal. Among the distinguished visitors were the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Minister of Education and Industries, U. P., Rai Bahadur Pandit Kanhaya Lal, Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, (both of whom were seated on the *dais*), Dr. S. M. Sulaiman, Khan Bahdur Shaikh Makbul Hussain, Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Mr. Kailash Prasad Kichlu, Chief Inspector of Vernacular Education, and Pandit Manohar Lal Zutshi, Under Secretary to Government, Education Department.

The proceedings began with the singing of *Bande Mataram* song sung in chorus by the students of the Crosthwaite Girls' High School to the accompaniment of harmonium.

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then rose amidst cheers and delivered the following welcome address:—

Fellow-Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—On behalf of the Reception Committee I offer you a cordial welcome to the sacred and historic city of Prayag.

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**Pandit Hir-
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Kunzru.**

Welcome
Address.

Pandit Hir-
daya Nath
Kunzru.

For centuries the Ganges and the Jumna have drawn pilgrims here from every part of India and I like to picture to myself the unique spectacle of princely munificence which Prayag witnessed during the reign of Harsha at the time of the great Kumbha festival which used to be celebrated then every five years. Speaking close upon fifteen years ago in this city which is the symbol of an ancient civilization, Mr. Gokhale said its name "stirred within him emotions which it was a privilege to feel". I trust you will not regard it as presumptuous of me if I express the hope that it will inspire you with similar feelings to-day.

THE LATE SIR RASHBEHARI GHOSE..

Since we met last we have had to mourn the death of our distinguished countryman Sir Rashbehari Ghose. He was an eminent jurist and a man of scholarly attainments. It will be superfluous on my part to recount the services which he rendered to the country in the dark days following the partition of Bengal. He took a keen interest in education and his princely benefactions to the Calcutta University will be remembered with gratitude by posterity.

PRINCE OF WALES.

It is our pleasant duty to offer a loyal welcome to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales who, to use his own words, has come here in order that he may know India and India may know him. It is a matter of deep regret to us that the visit of the heir-apparent to the throne who should be treated as above politics should have roused fierce passions and been the subject of an acute controversy. Despite the assurance given by His Excellency the Viceroy a political significance has been discerned in his visit. His Majesty the King visited India once as Prince of Wales in 1906, when Bengal was in the throes of the anti-partition agitation and once after his accession to the throne in 1911, but I am not aware that the warm welcome accorded to him on either of these occasions affected the course of Indian politics in the slightest degree. The fear that the visit of His Royal Highness may strengthen the hold of the bureaucracy on India thus derives no support from facts.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

In ordinary times a number of questions of undoubted importance, many of which are the direct outcome or have received additional prominence on account of the reforms, would have had to be considered even in a cursory review of the salient features of Indian politics. But we are living in stormy times when the country is seething with unprecedented excitement from end to end. The political situation is changing with phenomenal rapidity. Every day brings its own anxieties. The forces of unrest are growing apace in volume and intensity and the outlook never very bright during the last two years may be said without exaggeration to have become threatening. The question of our future overshadows every other question at present. It is, therefore, to a consideration of this problem that I shall address myself to-day. Before doing so, however, I must refer to the Moplah outbreak which shows the danger of playing on the feelings of an ignorant and fanatical people. The seriousness of the outbreak, which it has taken months to suppress, cannot be doubted, and the forcible conversion of a number of Hindus is, unfortunately, equally beyond question. An attempt was made by interested parties to minimize the gravity of the

situation in Malabar, but the testimony of independent witnesses who have made personal enquiries has placed the serious nature of the conflagration beyond the shadow of a doubt.

THE PROCLAIMING OF VOLUNTEERS.

I will not dwell on the causes of the present discontent as they are familiar to you all. But it has assumed a new phase of late. The tension has become much acuter owing to the disbandment of the Congress and Khilafat volunteers, under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, Pt. II, in a majority of the province. The task of the Government in maintaining law and order in these days is undoubtedly difficult. The avowed object of the non-cooperator is to bring all authority into contempt, and collision with Government is his favourite method of action. And some persons, influenced by the subversive doctrines which he preaches, have been guilty of acts which, in the interests of society, it is impossible to tolerate. Government are, therefore, entitled in a measure to the sympathy and co-operation of all peaceful and law-abiding citizens in discharging their primary duty of enforcing respect for authority. But did the necessities of the case require that the entire volunteer movement should be declared illegal and enrolment as a volunteer of the Congress or Khilafat Committee, visited with penalties? The volunteers have at times been instruments of political or social tyranny. Picketing as admitted by Mr. Gandhi himself has not always been limited to moral persuasion and *hartals* have not always been wholly voluntary. But, howsoever unpleasant the volunteers may have made themselves and however unlawful their doings at times, I am unable in the light of such facts as have come to our knowledge to admit the justification for the action taken against them as a body almost throughout India. The authorities have every right to proceed against individual volunteers guilty of violating the law. Their punishment may be necessary in the public interest, but this is no reason for proscribing the entire body pretty nearly everywhere. Besides, it has to be remembered that neither picketing nor the bringing about of *hartals* is *per se* unlawful. To declare them as such in an indirect manner can scarcely be regarded as a fair use of power. A stronger objection, however, arises when we consider the purpose for which the Criminal Law Amendment Act was originally intended. It was designed to put down revolutionary societies which carried on their activities in the dark and used the bomb and the assassin's dagger to achieve their object. A special law had to be passed to suppress them, as the societies being secret Government found it impossible to obtain sufficient evidence to proceed against them. The volunteers obviously stand on a different footing; and public opinion which has throughout opposed the retention of the Criminal Law Amendment Act on the statute book cannot approve of its application to them.

The circumstances in which Government adopted the new policy seem to prove the general soundness of this view. An attempt has been made, especially by Sir Harcourt Butler, to make out that the past record of the volunteers and the general trend of their activities left a patient Government no alternative but to make up its mind to deal drastically with them. It appears, however, to an outside observer that Government were thrown off their balance by the deplorable events which occurred recently in Bombay. The immediate cause of the step taken by them and, I believe, the real reason for it was their exasper-

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ation at the unfortunate boycott of the Prince's visit and their determination to secure a warm welcome for him, for if they had desired to suppress the volunteer movement on the general ground that it was dangerous to the peace and safety of the State, the Government of Bombay, which was the scene of serious disorder and lawlessness the day the Prince of Wales landed, would no doubt have been the first to set the law in motion against the volunteers, instead of having remained inactive till now. They have, however, signally failed to achieve the desired result. To take a few instances only. Lucknow and Allahabad observed complete *hartals* on the day of the Prince's visit which could not have been brought about by intimidation or undue pressure. In fact, it is believed by people who were in touch with facts that the *hartals* were complete only because of the general resentment against the arrests, particularly the arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru, who could not be accused even by his worst enemies of inciting to or conniving at violence. His prosecution and imprisonment sent a thrill of indignation through the province and have done more to exacerbate feeling and alienate public sympathy than anything else. Had Government deliberately set about devising means to defeat the object they had in view they could scarcely have improved upon the method which they have pursued.

The impolicy of embarking on a campaign of wholesale arrests and prosecutions is even more evident than the want of justification for making use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The proclamation of the Congress and Khilafat volunteers as unlawful was regarded as a direct challenge to the Congress and Khilafat organizations. It was looked upon as an attempt to strangle the movements and as might have been foreseen, their leaders thought that they had no option but to defend their organizations and the right of free association even at the cost of their personal liberty. There was an instantaneous and violent upheaval of feeling throughout the country and the law has been openly defied by large numbers of men. Except in a few cases, one of which has attracted more attention than the rest, the legality of the proceedings taken against them has not been questioned. The right of the Government to punish a violation of the law is not disputed, but, in the words of Burke, of what use is the assertion of a title when it proclaims the loss of the suit?

Government should lose no time in extricating themselves from the difficult situation in which their action has landed them. Although meant to deal a blow at non-cooperation, it has given a powerful impetus to the movement. The refusal of Government till lately to repress it and the patience which they showed may not have been rewarded with the success which they deserved, but the results obtained were not discouraging. Generally speaking, the conduct of Government did not provide non-cooperation with the atmosphere in which it could thrive, and indications were not wanting that if the old policy were continued for some time the forces of constitutionalism might be materially strengthened. The non-cooperator was beginning to feel jaded for want of the stimulation that comes from opposition, and the abandonment of civil disobedience for the time being by Mr. Gandhi, and differences of view in the Congress camp in regard to abstention from legislatures may be mentioned prominently among the hopeful signs which I have just alluded to. The danger that civil disobedience, with its attendant risks, might be advocated again had not disappeared, but if I am right in holding

that the Criminal Law Amendment Act was enforced really to prevent *hartals* in connection with the Prince's visit, I am justified in drawing from it the inference that, even in the view of Government, this gloomy contingency did not require immediate action. The forestalling of the evil day and the adoption of what Government may regard as preventive measures have not improved the situation. On the contrary, they have hastened the advent of civil disobedience, which according to Mr. Gandhi, is to be resorted to purely as a protest against the disbandment of the volunteers. The provinces where the authority of Government is most respected are not those which are taking vigorous action, but those which have followed a policy of inactivity, such as Bombay and the Central Provinces.

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The blame for the promulgation of the Criminal Law Amendment Act must be borne in no small measure by the Government of India. The fact that it has been enforced in more than one province shows that the new policy though not dictated by them, received their previous sanction. They should, therefore, advise the Local Governments to reconsider their position and to adopt a conciliatory attitude. Nothing but a change of policy will ease the tension. A policy of wholesale arrests and prosecutions which His Excellency the Viceroy said the other day he detested, will not receive the support of any section of Indian opinion. The Criminal Law Amendment Act should be withdrawn and all persons, convicted or arrested under it, should be released. It may not be easy for Government to retrace their steps, but the statesmanship and high-mindedness which His Excellency the Viceroy displayed the other day in his reply to the deputation which asked for the convening of a Round Table Conference can overcome difficulties which may seem insuperable to smaller minds. The consequences of persisting in the present course cannot be contemplated with equanimity. A false sense of prestige or delay may make the situation well nigh irremediable.

The Local Governments need not wait till they receive instructions from the Government of India. They may revise their policy of their own accord. In any case let us sincerely hope that they will not be as uncompromising as the Government of the United Provinces. Sir Harcourt Butler who thought it contrary to the public interest to allow a discussion of his policy in the U. P. Legislative Council has thought it desirable in that very interest to explain and justify it on two occasions when he could make *ex-parie* statements. His last utterance is in marked and painful contrast to the conciliatory sentiments expressed the other day by the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal. They regard the policy of repression as a disagreeable necessity and would fain abandon it if they thought they could, perhaps because they are "frightened by action". Sir Harcourt Butler on the other hand almost seems to revel in it. They have lived in the free atmosphere of English public life while he received his training in the bureaucratic school where the most valuable lesson that he learnt in political philosophy was that "law and order are mainly kept by force and that with difficulty."

Before I pass on to another topic I must notice a remark in Sir Harcourt Butler's speech which should not be allowed to pass unchallenged. He has been informed that the Moderates of Gorakhpur are "jubilant" over the

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Nath Kunzru.

“firmness” shown by Government. This is a libel on the Liberal party. I know of no member of our party in Gorakhpur to whom this statement can apply. There is no Liberal here but has learnt of the arrests with deep pain. I can say confidently that a policy of unadulterated repression will meet with the strongest opposition from the Liberals in these provinces. Perhaps the so-called moderates whose support Sir Harcourt Butler has received are members of the Aman Sabhas, which are the valuable instruments of official propaganda which his long “experience of Government” has enabled him to fashion.

The strenuous resistance which is being offered everywhere to the disbandment of the Congress and Khilafat volunteers is a matter for serious consideration. The cancellation of the order issued by Government will put an end to the revolt against authority which it has been the occasion of, but it can by itself effect no permanent improvement in the situation. Nothing can remove the deep and growing estrangement between the people and the Government but a wise solution of the problems which have kept the body politic in a state of continual agitation during the last two years. The Punjab and Khilafat questions should be satisfactorily settled and the desire of the people for power to shape their own future fully recognized.

THE PUNJAB.

The disastrous effect of the racial humiliation to which the people of the Punjab were subjected two years ago cannot be minimized. The iron has entered into the soul of India and she demands that her self-respect should be vindicated. She has not yet received complete satisfaction for the wrongs done to her, and such reparation as has been made to her has appeared to be tardy and unwilling. In particular some of the men, whose misdeeds cannot be lightly passed over, continue in the service of the Crown in the Punjab. The belief that Government contemplated rewarding one of them for the unpardonable excesses of which he was guilty during the Martial Law regime nearly convulsed the Punjab some time ago. Such a proceeding would have been an intolerable outrage on Indian feeling and would have converted the professions made by Government in the Legislative Assembly of their determination to hold the lives and honour of Indians as sacred as those of Europeans into a cruel mockery.

TURKISH TREATY.

The Moslem demand for a revision of the Turkish treaty must command the sympathy of every one who realizes the share that grasping imperialism and religious bigotry had in dictating the peace terms. The justice of the claim has received the fullest recognition both from the Secretary of State and the Government of India. The protests of our Muslim fellow-countrymen have received their constant and powerful support and it has been admitted that the Muslim case has been pressed on the British Cabinet by Mr. Montagu with an earnestness and ability which no Mahomedan could have surpassed. It is a matter of regret to us that complete success has not attended their efforts. His Excellency the Viceroy has, however, struck a note of hopefulness in his recent speeches and we sincerely trust that the Near East Conference which is to take place at an early date will pay due heed to the representations of His Excellency's Government and arrive at a settlement which will take full account of the feelings of Indian Mahomedans.

CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCE.

The Government of India Act was passed only two years ago and has been in force for not more than a year. Yet there is already a vigorous and widespread demand, in which all political parties have joined, for further constitutional advance. The Act contemplated that a commission should be appointed ten years after the reforms had been in operation to enquire into and report on their working, and the Joint Select Committee recommended that no substantial constitutional change should be made in the interval. But so rapidly have things moved since then that Mr. Sastri is reported to have predicated in his address to the City Club, Washington, that "within ten years India would speak as a co-partner with the other Dominions and that recent Irish events would probably quicken even that estimate". A resolution was moved during the last session of the Legislative Assembly asking for an acceleration of the pace of progress towards complete Self-Government. The Secretary of State is reported to have declined to entertain any such suggestion, but the courageous willingness of His Excellency the Viceroy to convene a Round Table Conference, if it could meet in an atmosphere of good will, shows that the Government of India was prepared to reopen the question and to assist us in the realization of our aspirations.

The experience gained of the working of the Reform Act itself has quickened the desire for another step forward. Let us take Provincial Legislatures first. In the first place, although non-cooperation has unfortunately kept many men out of the Councils, they have been able to achieve solid results and have shown that they are endowed with a sense of responsibility. I have no doubt that, but for their short-sighted boycott, the representatives of the people would have been in a much stronger position *vis a vis* the Government. In any case, although the Councils have not been functioning for long, I hold that they have proved their fitness to be entrusted with larger powers. I have no fear that our interests will suffer by an enhancement of their status. The departments relating to law and order have been placed under the control of the official half of the executive Government on the ground that they are concerned with matters in which even a slight mistake may have a far-reaching effect, and with which Ministers would find it peculiarly difficult to deal. But can any one contemplate with satisfaction the manner in which the bureaucracy has exercised its powers with regard to the maintenance of law and order? The Ministers could not have blundered more. Experience proves, to my mind, the necessity above all things of entrusting the maintenance of law and order to persons who derive their authority from the people.

In the second place I gather from newspaper reports and private conversations that dyarchy has failed to give satisfaction. I can say from personal knowledge that this is true of the United Provinces. Dyarchy has been found to be prejudicial to the growth of Responsible Government. It is difficult for members to maintain two different attitudes, one towards the removeable and the other towards the irremoveable executive, and the Ministers suffer for no fault of their own because a portion of the Government of which they constitute a part continues to be bureaucratic. Besides, the Ministers cannot count on the support of any party so long as it is believed that they are not free to mould their policies as they like. Again, the fear is entertained that if they

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have a solid following, Government may put pressure on them to make their followers support official policies or measures relating to reserved subjects. This attitude of mind can disappear only with the grant of provincial autonomy, which will do away with duality of authority.

The Montagu-Chelmsford report proposed that a provincial legislature should be allowed to apply to the Government of India for the modification of the list of reserved and transferred subjects five years after its first meeting. It would thus have been possible for it to acquire provincial autonomy after the expiry of two terms. This provision was, however, not embodied in the Government of India Act, but Mr. Montagu assured the House of Commons that there was nothing to prevent the grant of additional powers to councils before the enquiry by the Statutory Commission, and laid stress on it in his cross-examination of Mr. Chintamani. It should, therefore, occasion no surprise to the British Government if instead of waiting for six years we ask that provincial autonomy should be conceded by or before the expiry of the first term of the Councils.

As for the Central Government both the Congress and Liberal deputations urged the introduction of an element of responsibility into it on the Joint Select Committee. Mr. Samarth pressed for it in emphatic terms on behalf of the Liberal deputation. Competent observers, among whom is the President of the Legislative Assembly, have pointed out that it is necessary in the interests of harmony and progress that it should be recognized that an irresponsible executive is incompatible with an elected legislature. Apart from this, it will be an anomaly if autonomous provincial governments are controlled and supervised by a bureaucratic authority. The central legislature has not been allowed till now to exercise any control over the Government of India as the latter is still accountable to Parliament for the maintenance of law and order. But when the responsibility for preserving peace and order has been made over to the provincial councils, it is obvious that the dependence of the Government of India on Parliament in regard to civil administration should cease and that the control of Parliament should be replaced by that of the elected representatives of the people.

THE ARMY.

Our position in regard to the army yet remains to be considered. No country which aspires to manage its own affairs should depend on others for its defence. "If I had been a non-official member of this Assembly," said Sir William Vincent in the debate on the resolution relating to Indian autonomy, "the one consideration that I would have constantly pressed upon the Government would have been the development of an Indian army officered by Indians, because on that really rests very largely the future political progress of this country." It is the inevitable consequence of the reforms that the military policy of the Government of India should undergo a radical change. The basis of the reforms is trust in the people of India while the present military policy is rooted in distrust. The aim of the Government should now be the rapid Indianization of the Army. Commissioned ranks should be thrown open liberally and in steadily increasing numbers to Indians. A college for the training of officers should be established and British soldiers should be gradually replaced by Indian soldiers.

The present may seem to be a singularly inopportune moment for demanding far-reaching changes in the constitution. But the critical nature of the times makes it all the more necessary that Government should take a bold and generous step which will turn men's minds towards them. Nothing but courageous statesmanship will save the country from disaster.

Welcome
Address.

Pandit Hirdaya
Nath Kunra.

A Round Table Conference such as was suggested to His Excellency the Viceroy the other day, would have afforded a splendid opportunity of arriving at a satisfactory settlement in regard to the questions dealt with above. His Excellency the Viceroy, rising above the prejudices and passions of the hour, proposed that, for a time at least, the unhappy past should be forgotten and that the representatives of the people and the Government should meet together and discuss questions of vital importance in a new spirit. I cannot but deplore that the offer did not meet with the response which it deserved. A rare chance of securing peace with honour has been thrown away.

Since the proposal of a Round Table Conference was made things have happened which have added a new element of seriousness to the situation. On one side Government is threatened with mass civil disobedience and on the other with a declaration of independence. Only a few days ago Mr. Gandhi seemed to be keenly alive to the dangers lurking in mass civil disobedience. But undeterred by past experience, and forgetful of the recent Bombay riots which plunged him into agony he proposes to embark on a course which may lead to the most serious consequences and involve thousands in ruin. Our course, however, is clear. Violence we must strenuously oppose, no matter how brought about. It is a sacred duty which we owe to our country at this juncture.

Ladies and Gentlemen, one word more and I have done. There is much in the situation to induce pessimism. Dark clouds hang on our future which no eye can pierce. But while we cannot shut our eyes to facts we should not allow ourselves to be paralyzed by anxiety. Let us cast our eyes all over the world. Where do we find peace? Is there peace in the British Empire or out of it? Strife, political or economic, is going on everywhere. Unrest is the order of the day. It is the aftermath of the war. I sincerely hope that Government will bear in mind that acute discontent and the consequent revolt against authority are not peculiar to India and that force alone will prove of no more value here than it has done elsewhere. Legally Government can treat the activities which have found favour with the frenzied majority as illegal or seditious, but that will be tantamount to bringing an indictment against a whole nation. Such a proceeding would be beyond the power even of a mighty Government. Obedience to the law can be secured today, not by the administrator but by the statesman.

Messages of Sympathy.

Mehta Krishna Ram, Secretary of the Reception Committee, then mentioned that telegrams and letters had been received from the undermentioned gentlemen expressing sympathy with the Conference and regretting their inability to attend it:—Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoj, the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye, Minister of Education, Bombay, the Hon. Pandit Jagat Narayan, Minister of Local Self-Government and Public Health, United Provinces, Sir

Messages of
Sympathy.

Devaprasad Sarbadhikary, Rai Krishnaji, Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar, the Hon. Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, Sir B. C. Mitter, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao, Sir K. G. Gupta, Rai Baikuntha Nath Sen Bahadur, Rai Saheb Mathura Prasad of Chindwara, Dewan Bahadur Ballabh Das, Sir B. K. Bose, Mr. M. K. Apte, Rao Bahadur Subba Rao, Dr. Kacker, Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. Purushottam Das Thakkar and the editor of the *Anand*.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

MR. D. C. BANERJI.

MR. DURGA CHARAN BANERJI (Allahabad) in proposing Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer to the chair said:—

Election of
President.

Mr. D. C.
Banerjea.

Mr. Chairman, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On behalf of the Reception Committee of the Fourth Session of the Indian National Liberal Federation I am desired to place before you a proposition which, though of a formal character, is nonetheless of paramount importance and which, I am sure, you will carry with unanimous and enthusiastic approval. It is the proposition to ratify the election of Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer (cheers) as president of the Fourth Session of the Indian National Liberal Federation. Although many of you may not have the privilege of intimate personal acquaintance with him, his all-India reputation is public property. (Hear, hear.) He was one of the well-trying and trusted leaders of the Indian National Congress as we knew it until a few years ago and he is a disinterested and earnest worker of the Moderate Party at Madras at the present day. At the present juncture when the feelings of the people are stirred to an extent which was not conceivable a few months ago, when a most momentous, grave, and critical situation has been created throughout the length and breadth of the country, it is but right that we should have in the presidential chair a veteran leader who can guide our deliberations with his mature judgment and ripe experience. For the last three decades and more we have had to consider problems of a very complicated nature under very trying circumstances, but surely never before the present time have we been face to face with such a grave situation as is confronting us to-day. This is not the time to mince matters or yield to expediency and persuasion. It behoves us in this assembly of Moderates to make an effort to propound a rational, well-considered and practical pronouncement of a constructive nature in keeping with the creed of the Federation, a creed the foundation of which was laid in this very hall about 14 or 15 years ago, and mark out the line of action which is conducive to the best interests of the country, without exposing it to the risks and horrors of anarchy and revolution.

Gentlemen, we could not have made a better selection to guide us in these deliberations than that of Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer. Therefore I have great pleasure in placing this resolution before you that he be elected President of our Federation. (Cheers.)

MR. B. S. KAMAT.

Mr. B. S.
Kamat.

MR. B. S. KAMAT (Bombay) in seconding the proposition, said:—

Mr. Chairman, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very great pleasure in seconding the proposition which has been placed before you by Babu Durgacharan Banerji regarding the election of President. Speaking

on behalf of the Province of Bombay, I give my cordial support to the choice which has been made. For the second or third time I believe this choice has fallen upon a gentleman from Madras; and speaking as a Bombay man I frankly say that choice could not have been better.

Election of
President,

Mr. B. S.
Kamat.

Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer has been a leader in the Liberal ranks of very long standing. At the present juncture a great responsibility rests on the Liberal Party in this country. (Hear, hear.) The Liberal Party have to give to Government on the one hand their frank opinion on the situation in the country and, on the other hand, they have to express very candidly and courageously their opinion regarding the doings of some other party in the country. I think the situation requires a President with a well balanced mind, long public experience and an extraordinary amount of courage and candour and perhaps a great deal of tact to handle the situation. All these qualities, I have not the slightest doubt, our President-elect, Dewan Bahadur Ghvindaraghava Iyer, possesses in an eminent degree. We want at this time a true friend, guide and philosopher. We do not want a dictator (hear, hear), for the Liberal Party, as every one knows, neither likes to dictate to any blind rabble nor likes to be dictated to by others. We are a party who give out our frank opinions to all those who are concerned. Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer has been a veteran Congressman; he has been imbued with the traditions of the Congress as we knew it in the past; he has been in public life in the Madras Presidency in various fields and he has been intimately connected and identified with the Federation. There is one particular reason why his election will commend itself to you and that is his sterling public character for which he is venerated in Madras. If there is one peculiar trait more than another for which he is known, it is his absolute straightforwardness, uprightness of his character, and the sterling sincerity of his heart. He is indeed a noble-minded patriot although he does not wear Khaddar and cap. I have great pleasure indeed in seconding this proposition. (Cheers.)

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY IYER.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY IYER (Madras) in supporting the resolution said :—

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in rising to support the proposition which has been moved by Mr. Durga Charan Banerji and seconded by Mr. Kamat in terms so complimentary to my distinguished countryman. It may be said that as a fellow-countryman of his I am perhaps likely to be partial to the merits of my friend, Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer, on the other hand, I venture to claim a far more intimate acquaintance with him covering a period of over 30 years, a period of intimate acquaintance much longer than that possessed by other gentlemen present here, and I may confidently assure you that there is no public person in Madras with such a distinguished record of strenuous public activity as Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer. He was connected with the Congress for many years till recent times when, unfortunately for reasons which I need not dwell upon here, we had to form a separate party of our own. His experience of public affairs has been long and valuable. He became a member of the Madras Legislative Council in the first years of the present century

Sir P. S.
Sivaswami
Iyer.

Election of
President.

Sir P. S.
Sivaswami
Iyer.

and when I joined the Madras Legislative Council for the first time in 1904 he was my senior there and was already in the Council. It was my privilege to be associated with him in the Legislative Council and on various other public bodies and I have no hesitation in saying that no body commands the respect and esteem of the public of Madras more than Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer for his level-headedness, his great ability, his sound judgment, his eloquence and his sterling character. I have no doubt that in the present situation when we require the guidance of a level-headed man of sober views we shall find in Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer an excellent president to guide our deliberations aright and enable us to arrive at conclusions which may lead to a happy solution of the problems now confronting our country. I have very great pleasure in supporting this proposition. (Cheers.)

Other Speakers.

MR. HERAMBA CHANDRA MAITRA (Bengal):—

Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On behalf of Liberals of Bengal I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution.

RAJ BAHADUR R. G. MUNDLE (Berar):

Mr. Chairman, Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Representing as I do the Province of C. P. and Berar I have very great pleasure in supporting this resolution.

Pandit Parameshwar Nath Sapru (Fyzabad U. P.) supported the resolution in a Hindi speech.

The proposal was carried with acclamation and Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer was conducted to the presidential chair and garlanded by the Chairman of the Reception Committee amidst loud cheers.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

The President who on rising was given an ovation, then delivered the following address:—

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Address.

Dewan Bahadur
L.A. Govindara-
ghava Iyer.

FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Allow me to render my most sincere thanks for the honour that has been done to me by my being asked to preside over the fourth session of the National Liberal Federation. I am, however, oppressed by the feeling that at this juncture it would have been more appropriate that one who possessed the confidence of the country in a much larger degree than I can pretend to possess and had greater opportunities of influencing the councils of the Empire should have been chosen to guide the deliberations of the Federation.

H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT.

We are met here when his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is on a visit to this land of ancient civilization. It is our duty to offer our loyal and most cordial welcome to his Royal Highness. The King-Emperor and the members of his family are above all politics. His Excellency the Viceroy has assured us that the visit of His Royal Highness has no political object behind it and his Royal Highness's utterances abundantly justify the assurance. It is in the fitness of things that the future King-Emperor of India should thus early in his career be enabled to acquaint himself first hand with our country which is not the least important part of the British Empire.

LATE SIR RASHBEHARI GHOSE.

The country has to mourn the loss of the great jurist and patriot Sir Rashbehari Ghose. The genuine interest that he took in public affairs and the munificent benefactions that he made to the cause of learning are well-known to you. He presided over the session of the Indian National Congress at a time when the country needed wise and firm guidance. His scholarship, his sound judgment, his fearless independence and his breadth of outlook impressed all who had the privilege of coming under his invigorating influence. His death has left a gap difficult to fill.

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Dewan Bahadur
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ghava Iyer.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

It is, perhaps, a truism to say that the country is now passing through a crisis. Events are moving with bewildering rapidity. The general tension is such as to necessitate a close examination of the position that one has to take up whatever the school of thought may be to which one belongs. In these circumstances I need make no apology if, in addressing you, I mainly direct my attention to the present situation and to the question whether the party that is opposed to us has fulfilled or is likely to fulfil the legitimate expectations and requirements of the people and the country.

We are all aware of the difficulties to which the members of the party under the distinguished leadership of Mahatma Gandhi are now subject. It is, therefore, perhaps, an ungracious task to examine the principles and the programme of that party. But the highest interests of the country imperatively demand that the present situation should be closely examined with a view to see how far it would be met and improved by a further persistence in the policy with which Mr. Gandhi has identified himself. The distinctive features of that movement are the attainment of Swaraj and the righting of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs by the paralysis of the Government by means of non-violent non-cooperation.

NON-COOPERATION.

It is familiar knowledge how the Special Congress at Calcutta set its seal of approval on the departure from the policy that till then dominated the Congress and how a policy of non-violent non-cooperation was inaugurated and how the Nagpur Congress confirmed that departure and definitely declared its adherence to non-cooperation. We have now had the experience of over a year of the working of that policy. Mahatma Gandhi suggested the possibility of the need for its adoption when he presided over the Khilafat Conference at Delhi in November, 1919. When the adoption of the policy of non-cooperation was seriously thought of, in the beginning of 1920, it was stated that there should be no violence in thought or speech or deed, that, therefore, there should be no boycott of British goods by way of revenge or punishment, that boycott was a form of violence and that, moreover, even if it were desirable, it was impracticable. The suggestion then was that those who held high offices of honour or emolument ought to give them up as also those that belonged to the menial services under the Government, but advice to the Indian soldiers to refuse to serve the Government was considered premature. That was to be the last not the first step. This view, however, was soon to be changed

and by May, 1920, the Mahatma made up his mind that the programme of non-cooperation should consist of four progressive stages:—

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1. The giving up of titles and the resignation of honorary posts.
2. The withdrawal from Government service, saving for the time the police and military departments.
3. The withdrawal of the police and the military officers from the Government.
4. And the suspension of taxes.

In June 1920, a deputation waited upon the late Viceroy in connection with the Khilafat question and the Mahatma about the same time addressed an open letter to him intimating that non-cooperation would begin on the 1st August if in the meanwhile the Khilafat wrong was not remedied to the satisfaction of the Indian Mussalmans.

CHANGE OF PROGRAMME.

With another month, a further change came over the programme and the first stage was stated to consist of the surrender of all titles and honorary posts. Non-participation in Government loans, suspension by lawyers of practice and settlement of disputes by private arbitration, boycott of Government school by parents, boycott of reformed councils, non-participation in Government parties and such other functions, refusal to accept any civil or military post in Mesopotamia and vigorous prosecution of the Swadeshi movement. As by the 1st of August, 1920, the Khilafat question was not settled to the satisfaction of the Indian Mussalmans the programme of non-cooperation was definitely adopted and Mahatma Gandhi took the lead.

The Congress that met at Calcutta is memorable as above stated, as definitely adopting the policy of non-cooperation as an indispensable plank in the Congress platform and as giving it a definite and authoritative content. The resolution adopted at the Calcutta session, after pointing out that there could be no contentment in India without the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent similar wrongs in the future was the establishment of Swarajya, advised *inter alia* the surrender of titles and resignation of nominated seats in local bodies, refusal to attend Darbars and similar functions held at the instance of, or to do honour to, Government officials, gradual withdrawal of children and students from schools and colleges controlled or aided by the Government and the establishment of national schools and colleges in their places, gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants, withdrawal of candidates for election to the reformed Councils and refusal by the electors to vote for the candidates offering themselves for election and the boycott of foreign goods. The advice about the boycott of foreign goods was not, however, at Mr. Gandhi's instance. In his speech he said : "The boycott of foreign goods is included in the resolution, you have got here, I confess, an anomaly for which I am not originally responsible. But I have consented to it. I will not go into the history of how it found a place into the resolution of which the essence is discipline and self-sacrifice. Swadeshi means permanent boycott of foreign goods. It is,

therefore, a matter of redundancy. But I have taken it in, because I could not reject it as a matter of conscience. I know, however, it is a physical impossibility.' It was in this speech that the Mahatma made the memorable pronouncement that if there was sufficient response to his scheme Swarajya could be gained in a year.

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THE NAGPUR CONGRESS AND AFTER.

Then came the Nagpur Congress which adopted the change in the Congress creed and the resolution on non-cooperation followed the one adopted at Calcutta. The question of the boycott of schools and colleges was elaborated by advising direct approach of students of over 16 years of age to give up Government or State-aided schools and of their parents in the case of students below that age. The starting of an All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund was definitely resolved upon. The boycott of schools and colleges was at its full height from January to March, 1921, and Mr. Gandhi gave the following advice to the post-graduate students of the Calcutta University: "I ask the students who are gathered in this theatre to burn their books and not to seek at the present moment a literary career. I ask you to work as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the sake of Swaraj. I, therefore, ask every one of you, students, to take to the spinning-wheel and you will find the message of the truth. The message of the spinning wheel is: 'He who takes me, he who turns me, brings Swaraj within a measurable distance. The message of the spinning wheel is every man, woman or child of India will turn of me for one year or eight months and I shall present in turn Swaraj.' The programme, however, again underwent a change. In February, 1921, there was a reformulation of the conditions of Swaraj and they were said to be, amongst other matters, the collecting of as much money as possible, promoting Hindu-Muslim unity and ridding Hinduism of the curse of untouchability and otherwise purifying ourselves by avoiding intoxicating drinks and drugs. It will be observed that the problem of untouchability and the curse of drink have now begun to attract notice. Then came the Bezwada session of the All-India Congress Committee which insisted on the need for the collection of one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, enrolling one crore of members in the Congress register and introducing twenty lakhs of spinning wheels. It is a remarkable tribute to the influence of Mr. Gandhi that he was able to secure over a crore of rupees by the 30th June, 1921. By this time the picketing campaign was begun and special emphasis was laid on the removal of untouchability and the removal of the drink curse. When the All-India Congress Committee met in the last week of July at Bombay, the boycott of foreign cloth was fixed as the only item to be completed before the 30th September. In the meanwhile, there was the Moplah outbreak and it was also found that enough Khadi was not available for the needs of the people and the advice was given that the Hindu-Muslim unity should be preserved even under the greatest strain and the use of foreign cloth should be boycotted even though one has to be satisfied with the merest loin cloth and hand-spinning should be practised during every odd moment that could be spared. Later on, the advisability was suggested of organizing hand-spinning and hand-weaving in every district to the exclusion of every other activity. On the 5th October last, the Working Committee met at Bombay and the resolutions adopted at that meeting are of great im-

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portance. The Committee resolved that, in its opinion, it was the clear duty of every Government employee, whether soldier or civilian, who could support himself without Congress assistance to leave the service and it asked for meetings to be organised to adopt *inter alia* what is known as the Karachi resolutions. Insistence was made on the completion of the boycott of foreign cloth before the 30th of the month. Though general civil disobedience was positively disapproved, active workers in the cause of Swadeshi were authorised by the committee to practice it in their individual capacity under certain precautions. The spinning wheel has gradually risen in importance and it is now the declared instrument for the attainment of the Swaraj. In the recent history of our country no single individual had a greater control over any movement than Mr. Gandhi has over the non-cooperation movement; he is now declared the dictator of the movement. I have thus passed in rapid review the changes in the non-cooperation programme not that I wish to suggest that changes in a programme are undesirable by themselves or justify its rejection. My point rather is that the distinguished author of the movement has been himself unable to definitely settle the programme; and in order to make it acceptable to the people in general, and I lay special emphasis on this aspect, he has to incorporate into it items which could not be said to be distinctive of the non-cooperation movement, and which have public sympathy and support independently of that movement, such as for instance, the problem of untouchability, the drink evil and the Swadeshi movement. It is claimed for the movement that it has a spiritual side and tends to the development of the soul force. It is a problem, however, whether non-cooperation is the only or the best means of bringing about the development of soul force such as the Mahatma wishes to see effected.

MR. GANDHI'S SAD EXPERIENCE.

Now the chief merit that is claimed for the movement is that the objects in view are to be attained by absolute non-violence and this contention deserves close examination. We can admit that the movement of passive resistance attained remarkable success and led to striking results in South Africa, but it has to be noted that the conditions there were very different from those obtaining here. Given a personality like Mahatma Gandhi and a comparatively small and compact body of persons such as were the Indian settlers in South Africa with sufficient opportunities for the Mahatma to come into frequent and intimate contact with the persons asked to adopt passive resistance, it is obvious that the movement is deprived of its dangers. But when the principle is asked to be adopted by over 300 millions belonging to different strata of society and of different grades of culture and refinement and living in a vast area and subject to varying influences, beyond the possibility of the personal attention of the Mahatma and his devoted followers, the conditions presented are not such as to inspire confidence that similar results would ensue. As a matter of fact, when the movement was put to the test on anything like a large scale, it has been found again and again to belie the expectations of the author and the promoters of the movement. There are several instances that justify this statement of mine, but I take one which raised the issue clearly and was free from what might be said to be adventitious circumstances likely to affect the correctness of the conclusions that might be reached. I refer to what happened in

Bombay on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Here we had a people who had the benefit of the Mahatma's preachings in more than an ordinary degree, who were imbued with the traditions that a civic and well-ordered life engenders and who might be supposed to have formed and to possess the habits of self-discipline and self-restraint enjoined upon non-cooperators and who could be expected to realise and practice the virtues of non-violence. What has been the experience? I shall quote Mahatma Gandhi himself:—

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“The Swaraj that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils. The Hindu-Muslim unity has been a menace to the handful of Parsis, Christians and Jews. The non-violence of the non-cooperators has been worse than the violence of the cooperators. For with non-violence on our lips we have terrorised those who have differed from us and in so doing we have denied our God.”

Again: “The crowd did not consist of hooligans only or of boys. It was not an unintelligent crowd. They were not all mill-hands. It was essentially a mixed crowd unprepared and unwilling to listen to anybody. For the moment it had lost its head and it was not a crowd, but several crowds numbering in all less than 20,000.”

“The hope of reviving mass civil disobedience has once more been dashed in my opinion to pieces. The atmosphere for mass civil disobedience is absent.” After referring to Bardoli and Bombay he goes on to say:—“It was possible to isolate Malabar, it was also possible to disregard Malegaon. But it is not possible to ignore Bombay. Non-cooperators cannot escape the liability. It is true that non-cooperators were ceaselessly remonstrating everywhere with the people at considerable risk to themselves to arrest or stop the mischief and that they are responsible for saving many precious lives. But that is not enough for launching on civil disobedience or to discharge them from liability for the violence that has taken place. We claim to have established a peaceful atmosphere, *i. e.*, to have attained by our non-violence sufficient control over the movement, to keep their violence under check. We have failed when we ought to have succeeded, for yesterday was a day of our trial.”

BOYCOTT OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

Take, again, the boycott of schools and colleges. To me it is the saddest part of the programme. The argument is that slave-mentality is induced by instruction in educational institutions maintained or aided by the State. There is no doubt that an appreciable number of students have withdrawn from schools and colleges in pursuance of the appeal made to them. We have the figures for Calcutta. It may be taken that a very large proportion of these boys and young men who have thus withdrawn from the schools and colleges were left without any instruction; indeed, the avowed object of their withdrawal was that they might go into the country and preach the virtues of the spinning-wheel and popularise its use. One is appalled by the magnitude of the harm that has been caused by such a large number being drawn away at the most impressionable period of their lives from institutions where they could have bettered themselves mentally and morally.

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In view of the special needs of the country, hand-spinning was considered more important, especially when there are no national institutions imparting education. The untenability of this position is so manifest that I would not take up your time any further on it. I will only content myself with quoting Mr. Jayakar himself a leading non-cooperator and the president of the Third Thana District Conference of Bombay. He states :—

“The boycott of schools and colleges has not succeeded and even persons of known and undoubted loyalty to the cause complain that the action of the Congress workers has caused more harm than good. They concentrated too much on the disruption of existing institutions and less on the creation and maintenance of new ones on national lines. They forgot that a student cannot be left idle in the street and that if the Congress must call him out, it can only be after it has provided for him a good substitute. In Bombay, we let pass the psychological moment when we could have founded and reared up an excellent college with various branches. Public enthusiasm was ripe for it in the early part of the year, but we let it evaporate in declamation and emotional exaltation. Some went so far as to suggest that it was no part of the Congress programme to start national colleges though the terms of the Congress resolution specially provided for it. 50,000 boys are out in idleness, says Sir Ausutosh Mukerji. Some may glorify in this catastrophe, but there are many who regard this disruptive event with sad dismay. We have experimented too much in youthful sacrifice. Our youth have reciprocated with more love and tenderness than we have shown for their welfare. The few good institutions, which Congress workers have created, are suffering from our neglect and apathy and dragging a weary existence. The shadow of a name has, very often, been pursued to the abandonment of the substance and we now find a large number of boys in the country who are practically loafing in the streets with a vague ambition to do ‘something patriotic’. The recent resolution of the Congress throws a lurid light on this phase of this question.”

Much of the literature and history that forms an integral part of western education postulate national independence as the very foundation of national life and as one of the indispensable conditions of self-respect. Mr. Gandhi himself is a product of that education.

BOYCOTT OF COURTS BY LAWYERS.

As for the boycott of the courts by the lawyers, the measure has not met with any amount of appreciable success. There have been no signs of private arbitration courts springing in any numbers worth noting and there is no means of enforcing the decisions of such courts and it is too much to expect that, when the decision has gone against a party, he will invariably be satisfied with it and will equally invariably submit to it and execute it himself to his detriment. To illustrate my position as regards the lawyers, I cannot do better than quote Mr. Jayakar:

“This part of the Congress programme has created a foul atmosphere of hypocrisy, intolerance, imposture and conceit in the Congress camp, in which modesty, self-respect and honesty often times find it hard to hold their place. In our enthusiasm, we forget that many lawyers value their profession for the

training it affords in courage, truthfulness, honour and toleration. No other profession trains a young man so well to withstand and expose injustice and to uphold the traditions of truth and honour. Our past political history of thirty-three years is a brilliant record of the services rendered by the lawyers to the Congress cause. If a greater sacrifice than before was needed now on their part, a direct call on their self-respect and patriotism on this footing should have been made, but no good has arisen from putting the lawyer under the ban of ridicule and infamy. The call made upon them was singularly harsh."

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BOYCOTT OF THE COUNCILS.

As for the boycott of the Councils, this particular item in the programme has met with some success. But is it to the good of the country that it should have met with any success? I for one am distinctly of opinion that the non-cooperators made a great mistake by not getting into the Councils in large numbers and showing how and where the Reformed Councils needed improvement or thorough amendment. Their aim would have been quicker achieved and without the suffering and embarrassment that is now unhappily caused. In this connection, I will make one other quotation from Mr. Jayakar's address with your permission:

"Let us for this purpose (to weaken the irresponsible power of the bureaucracy and to make government by fright impossible) take advantage of every clean weapon even if it is not of the true N. C. O. brand, provided it is effective for our purpose. Let us not neglect or despise any legitimate avenue of fighting against the administration. The fight requires to be carried on in manifold ways. Some may carry it in the Councils face to face with the officials. Why cannot 'non-cooperation' in its proper sense be practised in the Councils? Sir P. M. Mehta, when he left the Council hall with his colleagues on a memorable occasion, or when he face to face with the then Home Member mercilessly unmasked the preposterous pretensions of the bureaucracy, was fighting with weapons and a spirit which many non-cooperators of the true and accredited brand may envy in these days. If non-cooperation is an *attitude* of the mind as its eminent author conceives it, and not so much a programme or a creed, a Council hall is as a fitting a place for its display as a mass meeting in Marwadi Vidyalaya. The spirit resides in the mind and is independent of the environment. It is no ground to say that, oftentimes, the environment frightens a weakling, for we do not build our doctrines only on the possibility of men being weak and timid."

Mr. Jayakar's address made Mr. Gandhi, to use his own words, "think furiously".

GIVING UP OF CIVIL OFFICES.

As for the giving up of service by officers in the civil departments of the administration, it will be admitted that those who draw high salaries are not likely to listen to the advice tendered to them except, perhaps, in very exceptional cases and these will be practically negligible. As for those in the lower ranks, they will be glad to throw up their appointments not so much on account of their sympathy with the movement but on economic grounds as they find their remuneration inadequate for their growing needs in these days of high prices.

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But they can do so only on one condition, and that is that their prospects are bettered by giving up their present places. The promoters of the non-cooperation movement have, however, made it clear that only those can give up Government service who have not to depend upon Congress funds for their maintenance.

POLICE AND INDIAN SOLDIERS.

As for the police and the Indian soldiers, it is a most serious step that is proposed, fraught with dangerous consequences. Taking the policemen first, I think I am within the mark when I say that between 6 and 7 crores of rupees are yearly spent for the pay of the rank and file and that sum has to be found for them or they must be enabled to get it in some other way. As for the Indian soldiers, not only must their subsistence be provided for, we must also be prepared for their places being taken up by European soldiers, though in smaller numbers, with added cost and with none of the expected improvement in the general outlook. Even if, therefore, the police and the Indian soldiers are prepared to accept the non-cooperation programme, it will be found that difficulties of an insuperable character arise, and so far no indications are available as to how they are expected to be met.

SUSPENSION OF TAXES.

As regards the suspension of taxes, the thing is sooner said than done. I shall assume for argument's sake that it is practicable, but how is it to be obtained? At what terrible cost of human misery and human suffering, and can it be said that when coercive processes are applied on a large scale the atmosphere that is thus created will be one of pure love and self-abnegation?

I have endeavoured to show how what may be considered to be the characteristic features of the non-cooperation movement are, if rigidly practised, bound to lead to results the very opposite to those claimed for it. Instead of developing self-discipline and self-restraint and love and soul force, they are bound to evoke and encourage some of the worst passions that lie dormant in the human breast. This contingency may not be so much due to the principles underlying the movement in the abstract as to the practical application of them in the present condition of the country and her people.

PARALYSIS OF THE GOVERNMENT

If the end of the non-cooperation movement is the paralysis of Government, even supposing that the end is attained, it has to be seen what is proposed to be substituted for the Government thus paralysed. The millennium will not be reached when the paralysis of the British Government is secured. It is impossible that the self-discipline and self-restraint of the people as a whole would become so perfect when the paralysis of the Government has been secured by non-violent non-cooperation that there will be no longer any need for Government, courts of justice, the penal law and the general administration. So far no information has been vouchsafed of what will take the place of the existing Government, when once Swaraj is secured by its paralysis. I have no doubt that there are excellent reasons why the promoters of the non-cooperation movement do not at present develop that aspect of the movement, but the public are entitled to be taken into their confidence. When this question comes to be tackled, I have no doubt that it will be found that there cannot be a root and

branch subversion of the existing machinery of Government; but all that can be thought of and attempted will be modifications here and there, and when these modifications come to be formulated, it may be as practicable to agitate for and secure them now as after the paralysis of the Government is secured.

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NON-COOPERATION AND SWARAJ IDEAL.

Then it is said that non-cooperation stands for Swaraj. The resolution as adopted at the sessions of the Congress held at Nagpur does not state what exactly is meant by "Swaraj", and it was claimed that it might be taken to mean either absolute independence, giving up the British connection, or Home Rule within the British Empire, according to the predilections of the individual signing the Congress creed. It is obvious that to leave the creed which is a fundamental part of the Congress Constitution so nebulous and uncertain is neither fair nor correct.

WHAT WE SHOULD STRIVE FOR.

I claim that, as a question of practical politics, full Dominion status is what we should strive for. That was what was expressly postulated by the Congress creed before the Nagpur Congress altered it. I shall not, however, lay any great stress on that fact as it may be said that, however matters might have stood under old world conditions, new forces are now asserting themselves justifying or even necessitating a new objective. Full Dominion status provides for the responsibility of the Legislature to the people and of the Cabinet to the Legislature. It postulates the membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations as an equal partner. The prerogative of the King remains untouched. He is the symbol of the Empire. No doubt in theory the status of a Dominion is of the subject character but actual practice has outgrown the theory. The resolution passed at the Imperial War Conference of 1917 is suggestive in this connection. After pointing out that the adjustment of the constitutional relations of the Empire is too important to be dealt with during the war, the resolution goes on to state: "They deem it their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognise the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for constitutions in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action founded on consultation as the several Governments may determine."

Speaking on this resolution General Smuts said:—

"The status of the Dominions as equal nations of the Empire will have to be recognised to a very large extent. The Governments of the Dominions as equal Governments of the King in the British Commonwealth will have to be considered far more fully than what is done to-day, at any rate in the theory of the constitution if not in practice. That is the most important principle laid down in the second part of this resolution, that there should be 'a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations'. And to strengthen the point the resolution goes on to affirm that the existing powers of self-government should not be interfered with. Of course, there is a good deal of feeling of natural and

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justifiable jealousy in the Dominions as to the rights which they have acquired and which they do not like to be tampered with, and, naturally, I think, it is very wise to add this to the resolution, that their existing powers of self-government should not be tampered with.

It will also be remembered that General Smuts objected to South Africa taking part in the Washington Conference unless she went, as he said, on her own legs' and not merely on the strength of the invitation to the British Government; and he points out in a recent speech how this protest has been taken up by the British Government with the result that the delegates from the Dominions, and India has her own delegate, attend the Conference not as British Empire delegates but as representatives of their Dominions.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DOMINION STATUS.

Perhaps no better light can be thrown on the full significance of the Dominion status than what is provided by the recent negotiations of the British Government with Ireland. As you are aware, the agreement in the nature of the treaty made by the Prime Minister and his co-adjutors as representing the British Government with the Irish plenipotentiaries provides that Ireland shall have the constitutional status of a Dominion and Mr. Lloyd George, in expounding the agreement before the House of Commons, emphasised the difficulty and danger of defining the Dominion status and crystallising its import. He pointed out that if any attempt were made to encroach upon the rights of Ireland which by the agreement was to have the same status as the Dominions, the Dominions would feel that their own position was thereby jeopardised and in this lay the guarantee for the security and full freedom of Ireland. Thus Dominion status allows of as complete independence and self-development as is compatible with non-secession from the Empire.

It may, therefore, be claimed that the attainment of full Dominion status will allow of our full self-expansion, self-realization and self-assertion as a nation. I need not dwell on the need or wisdom of maintaining the British connection, if, by so doing, we are not in any way retarding the national growth and development. It may be also said that even the most ardent advocates of an Indian republic in the present circumstances of the country do not insist on it as an end in itself but want it as they feel hopeless that otherwise the wrongs they wish to see remedied will not be set right by the Empire.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

India, too, is coming into her own in the Councils of the Empire. She has become a member of the League of Nations. In the Assembly of the League she has the same vote as the British Empire and she can give an independent vote to be exercised in her interest and by her choice. In the last Imperial Conference held in London, her part was on an equal footing with the self-governing Dominions. On questions of Imperial policy requiring common understanding and united action her voice was given the same weight and consideration as the other parts of Empire and the memorable resolution was secured :—

“ The Conference, while reaffirming the resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1918 that each community of the British Commonwealth should

enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities, recognises that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire. The Conference accordingly is of the opinion that in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised."

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It was to the lasting discredit of South Africa that her representatives would not join in this resolution, but it serves to emphasise the view that the interest of India will receive due consideration at the hands of the self-governing Dominions as a whole and as she gains in status and attains a footing of equality with the other Dominions she will be able to completely hold her own. India is also represented at the Washington Conference. It is true that her representative did not stand in the same relation to her that the representatives from the other Dominions did and that it is not by the vote of the people that he was sent as her representative. But that defect does not take away from but only accentuates the full import of the Dominion status. With his Highness the Maharao of Cutch, the rt. hon. Srinivasa Sastri has pressed the case for India with tact and firmness whenever he had the opportunity to do so. He has enhanced the reputation of India amongst the nations of the world and he is entitled to the gratitude of the country.

COUNCILS AND GROWTH OF CONVENTIONS.

At this stage I do not propose discussing the measure of responsible government that the country has had under the reformed Councils. It is pertinent, however, to draw attention to the fact that by the growth of conventions a large measure of responsibility could be secured. Conventions are in consonance with the genius and tradition of the British Constitution, they allow full advantage being taken of the experience gathered from the actual working of institutions, they admit of the easy rectifying of any errors that may have been committed and they do not need the elaborate procedure necessary for having statutory alteration. Already, as you are aware, they are beginning to be established in our reformed Legislatures. The refusal of the Secretary of State for India to interfere with the resolution of the Legislative Assembly on Lord Lytton's Indian Students' Committee is a noteworthy case as bearing on this question of convention.

REAL FASCINATION OF MR. GANDHI'S MOVEMENT.

I shall not be justified in merely referring to the weaknesses of the non-cooperation movement. There can be no doubt that the movement has great fascination for the masses and even the classes. The movement has come to stay. The appeal to soul force that has been made, the high moral pedestal that has been held out, the confidence, I had almost said the cocksureness, with which the goal is promised to be reached, the lightning rapidity with which it is said Swaraj is to be attained, the great personality of Mahatma Gandhi, his saintly life, his transparent selflessness and the ready and unquestioning submission that he is able to command at the hands of most, if not all, of his followers, all

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had no doubt their material share in the spread of the movement and contributed largely to deepen its hold on the popular imagination. But when all is said that can be, it must be admitted that the enthusiasm for it now so much in evidence is not altogether fictitious and it will be found to possess a residuum undoubtedly genuine which will not disappear with the mere march of time or change of leadership. It behoves us, therefore, to refer to the causes that led to the movement.

THE KHILAFAT QUESTION.

As already stated, the Khilafat question ushered in the movement. You are familiar with the history of the question. It is evident that our Mussalman brethren have great cause for dissatisfaction with the manner in which the British Government have dealt with it. The Government of India are satisfied that the Indian Mussalmans have a just grievance. His Highness the Aga Khan and the rt. hon. Syed Amir Ali, to mention only two honoured names, are at one with the rest of the Muslim opinion. Unprejudiced Europeans who possess intimate knowledge of Mahomedan problems and history and who command the detachment necessary for forming correct judgments, like Sir Theodore Morrison, support it. Anglo-Indian opinion, too, is in its favour and the Hindu section of the population of all shades of opinion has consistently supported Muslim opinion in this matter. There is no difference amongst the Mussalmans themselves. The Shiah and the Sunni are in agreement. It is not the body known as the Khilafatist alone that feels the wrong. Recently there was a deputation of the Muslim community that waited on his Excellency the Viceroy. It was not composed of political agitators. I will quote one sentence from the address. They say: 'We deem it our paramount duty that the mere knowledge of such representation (the representations to the British Government by the Government of India of the Mussalman feeling) is not and cannot be a source of comfort to the Indian Mussalmans in their religious sorrows.' It shows that the iron has entered into the soul of even those whose loyalty is unquestionable. The French Government has arrived at a settlement with the Angora Government which appears to be generally acceptable to the Mahomedan world. There is a strong and wide-spread impression in the country, and appearances justify it, that the chief obstacle to a settlement of this question satisfactory to the Indian Mussalmans is the British Government. It will not do for the Government of India merely to say that they have done their best by making the necessary representations to the British Cabinet. The Government of India is in organic unity with the British Government. The fact that they recognise the justice of Mussalman opinion ought to be a reason for enhancing their responsibility in seeing that the Mussalman claims are vindicated. It is difficult to resist the impression that the British Cabinet or, at any rate, Mr. Lloyd George and those who support him are under the idea that with sufficient pressure brought to bear on the Indian Mussalmans their agitation for the redress of the Khilafat wrong will wane and finally disappear. If that be so, they are undoubtedly in error. The sore has already been allowed to fester long and any further delay in healing it will lead to most serious consequences.

In his reply to the deputation that recently waited on him to request him to call for a conference to consider the present situation, his Excellency the

Viceroy said that he and Lord Chelmsford had done everything possible on this matter and asked where they failed. He knows best how to bring pressure on the British Cabinet. He is certainly entitled to their support in handling the present situation.

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Since the above was written his Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the deputation of prominent Bengal Mahomedans pointed out that the representations of the Government of India were having effect, that he had reason to hope that a satisfactory settlement would be brought about with Turkey at an early date, though with characteristic caution he warned the deputation against becoming sanguine that all demands would be satisfied.

THE PUNJAB WRONGS.

The next wrong that led to the movement is the Punjab tragedy. Sir William Vincent has called it an unhappy episode in the history of British India. An indelible stain has been left on the fair fame of Britain, and it will take years, if not decades, before the memory of that tragedy is wiped out from the Indian mind. I share the view that the punishment inflicted on the delinquents was not adequate. The developments would have been altogether different and the situation would have been considerably eased if at the initial stages the Government had the statesmanship to acknowledge the wrong that had been committed in the same way as the representatives of the people on their part regretted the mob excesses that led to the Government reprisals. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught has appealed to the people of India to forget and forgive, and the Legislative Assembly has already adopted a resolution after a full discussion of the question. It is time that we cease to cherish and harp on the grievance. Now that the enormity of the wrong done has been admitted and regret has been expressed therefor in unqualified terms, we would do well to look forwards not backwards. With the lapse of time the difficulty of punishing the offenders responsible for the tragedy is increased. It is still possible, of course, as indeed has been promised, that the compensation payable to the Indians who suffered should be calculated on a liberal basis. It is also possible for the cases being considered of those who were the recipients of special marks of Government appreciation and favour with a view to decide in the light of the full facts now available how far such recognition was deserved. In the final determination of the above matters, consideration of prestige ought not to be allowed to interfere.

PODANUR TRAGEDY.

Our care must be to see that it is made impossible that such occurrences should recur. We may now feel certain that this object has been secured. In this connection reference is made to the Podanur tragedy. A serious blunder has been committed, almost criminal, in the negligence and thoughtlessness that it reveals. Those responsible for the blunder deserve severe punishment and it is expected they will get it. The committee appointed to report on the matter has not yet submitted its report and it will be premature to further enlarge on the subject. Thanks to local causes, the angle of vision said to have changed in several other parts of India, and particularly in the Government of India, has not perceptibly changed in my province, the beauracracy has not visibly weakened in its power nor has prestige lost its grid on the administration. But a true regard for facts will not in any way justify

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the placing of the Podanur tragedy on a par with the Punjab tragedy or the assumption that it reveals the same mentality on the part of the administrators as the Punjab tragedy did.

LIBERAL PARTY AND REFORM SCHEME.

As you are aware, the support by the Liberal Party of the Reform Scheme under the new Government of India Act was not due to their acceptance of the view that Indians were unfit for responsible government in their present condition. They recognised the measure of responsible government that the scheme contained and were prepared that conscientious efforts should be made to work it for all it was worth so as to dispel the fears of those that were honestly inclined to doubt our fitness for self-government. Cooperation wherever possible and opposition whenever needed has been our motto.

WORK OF REFORMED LEGISLATURES.

The opinion is general that the reformed Legislatures have worked satisfactorily and have justified the expectations formed of them. Most of the Provincial Governments, if not all, associate the Ministers with the Executive Councillors in their deliberations on the reserved subjects so that the unitary system is in practical operation on a large scale. No less an authority than the President of the Legislative Assembly has viewed most favourably the work of the Legislative Assembly. The case of the Legislative Assembly is specially important as it has to deal with matters affecting all-India administration and the Central Government does not possess even the modicum of constitutionally responsible element that the Provincial Governments possess. According to Mr. Whyte, the Assembly has been an almost unqualified success and the body has shown a corporate sense of responsibility which is its most reassuring feature. According to him the problem presented by the conjunction of an irremovable executive with a large constitutionally irresponsible majority would become ripe for treatment long before the ten years are over, prescribed by the Government of India Act for the appointment of a commission to enquire into the working of the system of Government of India. You know the resolution ultimately adopted by the Legislative Assembly on this question. I would only refer to a few points.

The experience of the working of the Provincial and Central Legislatures shows that full powers if entrusted to them will only heighten their sense of responsibility except in cases where local and temporary causes may serve as deflecting factors. Now that dominion status is recognised as the goal, there is no reason why approximation to it should be delayed when once the capacity of the people is proved equal to it. Mr. Montagu seems to have pointed out that the working of the electorate is an important consideration. No doubt it is. There can be no question, however, that the political consciousness of the people as a whole has been deeply awakened and that an intelligent and discriminating interest is taken by the masses in the doings of the Government and the working of popular institutions. India to-day is not the India of even a decade ago. Where the masses are likely to go wrong is when some great injustice is done and the Government for reasons of its own is unwilling to acknowledge and repair the wrong.

I shall not hazard any remarks of my own as to the directions in which alteration should be made which doubtless will receive your full consideration. Full financial control subject to safeguards that might be needed should be secured to the popular representatives in the Provincial and Central Legislatures, and the question has to be seriously considered whether as regards the Central Government it is necessary to go through the process that the provinces are now passing through, dyarchy with a view to full responsible government, especially as it will take time to procure the alteration of the statute by the British Parliament.

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A bold step forward is needed in the present unrest. The disinclination of the Indian politician to be satisfied with convention is intelligible. Apart from his passion for being logical and his unfamiliarity with the system, he finds that a healthy growth of the system depends largely upon the personal predilections of the Secretary of State for India, the personnel of the Government of India and the members of the British Cabinet. The memory is still fresh of the results of Dyer debate in the House of Lords and the support that the majority of the Lords had from those here that did not scruple to subscribe for the Dyer Fund, and that does not inspire confidence that with a change of the party in power the growth of convention will continue unchecked or unaffected.

TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT LEGITIMATE.

The temperance movement is taking the form of total abstinence. It is a great mistake, however, to make it a political movement. The efforts of the non-cooperators in this direction have met with a large measure of success. It is because the movement itself is popular. Prohibition is bound to come whether with or without local option as a half-way resting house. The excise revenue cannot be long counted upon. The financial statement for 1921-22 shows that for the whole of the country it is close upon 20 crores. In my province according to the latest figures an estimated revenue of 556 lakhs has already shrunk by about 80 lakhs and I have no doubt that the other provinces are undergoing similar experience. The Indian Exchequer has lost nearly six crores of rupees a year on account of the anxiety of the Government to reclaim the Chinese from the opium habit, though the object appears to be doubtful of attainment. With this example before them it is not strange that the Indian people should insist that, far from meeting with disapproval, any effort of theirs should have the practical sympathy of the Government.

The loss of revenue is no doubt inevitable and it has to be met, and this question requires very serious consideration where even after retrenchment in expenditure a deficit remains, by relying on the general prosperity of the people who will be benefited by prohibition or decrease in the consumption of alcoholic drinks. There is nothing in the movement taken to put down drink that is specially the function of the non-cooperator. Picketing is no doubt practised. It is remarkable, I am speaking of such experience as I have in my own province, that it is attended with so little violence. It is a testimony to the preparedness of the people for the movement. There is no doubt that on account of the intimate connection of picketing with the diminution of the excise revenue, those who practise it are objects of persecution

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by the officers of the Government, and unpopularity of the administration is, of course, the consequence. The best course to be adopted is not to identify the movement with the non-cooperator, and that is best effected by not attaching any special importance to the efforts of the non-cooperator when devoted against drink.

USE OF SEC. 108 and 144 UNJUSTIFIED.

The powers under section 108 and section 144 of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code have been freely availed of for the purpose of crippling the activities of the non-cooperators. The use of the provisions of section 144 for political purposes is a new policy. From such experience as I possess in my province, it may be stated that such use is generally uncalled for. In by far the largest number of cases the person to whom the order is directed either to abstain from taking part in a meeting or to cease from picketing or to show cause why he should not find security for keeping the peace, disobeys it, with the result that the consequential provisions are applied. In most of such cases no defence is entered and the accused prefer the prison to the payment of fine where fine is imposed. There is, I fear, a far too great readiness on the part of the executive officers to take advantage of these provisions of law, a readiness which is encouraged by the determined attitude of those to whom they are sought to be applied, not to make a defence. I venture to think that in many of these cases if the prosecution witnesses were duly cross-examined and the accused entered upon their defence or availed themselves of the other facilities open to them under the law, the result of the trials would have been different. But it suits the non-cooperators to act as they are doing; in fact it is the very thing that they want. Though I admit that it is very difficult for the executive officers and particularly the police to keep a cool head in these trying circumstances, the highest interests of the country and the Government demand that great discrimination should be exercised in the issue of orders under sections 108 and 144 of the Cr. P. Code in the launching of proceedings, so as to reduce them to a minimum.

Our duty in these circumstances is to help the Government in all their legitimate efforts to uphold peace and order and press upon them the need for great tact and discrimination in the exercise of their ordinary powers under the law. When the non-cooperator finds that he does not excite attention, the movement will undoubtedly receive a set back. As it is he is enabled to reap a rich harvest of recruits to his movement from those whose views are not fully formed.

I may also point out that no one need be an object of special attention especially on the part of police officers simply because he preaches or helps the use of spinning-wheel or wears what is called the Gandhi or Swaraj cap or uses *khaddar*. The spinning-wheel as such has no political complexion about it and the Government would easily divorce it from politics by ceasing to have for it the excessive dread that it has as present.

HARTAL AND H. R. H. THE PRINCE'S VISIT.

Before I close, I have to say a few words on the grave turn that events have taken. I am sure that everyone in the country, not obsessed by the glamour of non-cooperation, will admit that the proposal to proclaim a *hartal*

on the days of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is not one conceived in the best interests of the country. Let us admit His Royal Highness' visit has been planned notwithstanding objections to it in certain quarters. It is inconsistent with the traditions of oriental hospitality that an organised attempt should be made to withhold welcome to His Royal Highness for the purpose of evincing the nation's displeasure towards the Government that has planned the visit. The smallest that could have been expected from any party in such circumstances is to leave each one to follow his own wishes and judgment without putting any pressure on him. Mr. Gandhi seems to recognise that, short of wringing out any reforms at the point of the bayonet in the present circumstances, the statutory declaration needed for the attainment of complete *Swaraj* has to come from the British Parliament, and the sword that he would propose is the sword of self-sacrifice. To one of his clear thinking, it must be obvious that in proclaiming a *hartal* on the occasion of the Prince's visit he is touching the most susceptible part in the English mind. No wonder therefore that a difficult situation has been thus created. The difficulty has been enhanced by the refusal of Mr. Gandhi to call a truce even if the Government on its part is prepared to call one. The proclaimed objects of non-cooperation were the righting of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of *Swaraj*. Mr. Gandhi himself recognises in his recent statement on Lord Ronaldshay's speech that 'the only conference that can at all avail at this stage is a conference called to deal with the causes of the present discontent, namely, the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and *Swaraj*.' If, therefore, a conference is necessary, it is impossible to expect that the results of the conference will be satisfactory unless in a calm atmosphere which obviously is out of the question, if, on the one hand, there is the *hartal* and on the other the unrestricted exercise of the extraordinary powers that the executive possesses under the special laws. It has to be remembered that the Round Table Conference proposed, met with the acceptance of all opinion save that of Mr. Gandhi. The nation is entitled to consideration at his hands especially in view of the admittedly great suffering which it is called upon to undergo. It is, therefore most unfortunate that Mr. Gandhi should have made the resolve he did with the result that the proposed conference had to be given up. The question arises what has now to be done? I venture to think that this latest move on the part of Mr. Gandhi will go a large way towards alienating the sympathies of those not already committed to non-cooperation, and the duty will be more largely recognised and acted upon, on the part of the people to uphold peace and order. It may be that the duties of the Government in the situation with which they are faced are difficult to discharge; but if a conflagration is to be avoided, it behoves them to observe all the restraint that is possible consistently with the maintenance of order. Care has to be taken that such measures as are enforced are not the outcome of panic and do not degenerate into terrorism or revenge. It has to be recognised that Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants are perfectly sincere in their professions of non-violence and are doing their best to see that violence is not used in the carrying out of the programme that they have resolved upon. Their endeavours have met with a considerable amount of success. The force cannot be ignored of the challenge that Mr. Gandhi makes, 'Why have no attempts been made to prove a single case of intimidation?' referring to the events in Calcutta during the last ten

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days. The course taken by the Government has this element of weakness in it that it offers a premium to persons anxious to be in the lime-light. When some are arrested, more come in. The gaol is considered the place of freedom. No heroic measure can be suggested on either side. The arrest of men of great respectability and of unimpeachable character like Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Babu Bhagwan Das cannot be contemplated without feelings of the very deepest regret. The extension of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act recommended to be shortly repealed to several parts of the country has been protested against. The facts so far known do not negative the suggestion that reliance could have been placed on the ordinary law of the land and that the executive need not have called to its aid, in the wholesale manner it has done, the extraordinary powers it possesses under the special laws. Speaking of my own province, his Excellency Lord Willingdon acknowledged that the extension of the Criminal Law Amendment Act to the Presidency of Madras was as a precautionary measure. It was not suggested that any proved necessity existed justifying extension. It is questionable whether a hearty welcome could be secured to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by the policy that is now being pursued when it has the effect of filling the gaols with large numbers of persons, thus precipitating the very state of affairs that Mr. Gandhi and his followers declared they wished to exist and were eagerly looking forward to. It must be distressing in the extreme to His Royal Highness that on the occasion of his visit a number of persons should be thrown into gaol. In the above circumstances, the best course to be adopted would appear to be to trust to the ordinary law of the land and not to invoke the extraordinary powers that may be taken under the law.

Let the policy of the Government be one of pure conciliation and strict non-interference with every form of legitimate political activity. Thus and thus alone will the Indian people feel that it is in the peaceful path of constitutional agitation that lies the only road and certain means of attaining what is dear to every Indian heart—Swaraj.

You must have read in this morning's papers what is probably the most important resolution of the Congress at Ahmedabad. I shall not discuss it now. It is fraught with far-reaching consequences. It is full of grave portents for the future. Many a great catastrophe has had its origin in pious intentions. We are bound to resist every form of activity inconsistent with constitutional action.

I have done. May it be vouchsafed to us and the country to think correctly and act rightly. (Loud and prolonged cheers)

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

Subjects Com-
mittee.

The President said :—

Ladies and gentlemen, before we adjourn to-night we shall have to form the Subjects Committee. The rule is that 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 we follow the constitution of the National Congress as it was and excluding them each Province will have the right to elect fifteen members to the Committee. But the United Provinces, where we

are met will have the right to send thirty members. I now ask you to choose the members. I think there will be very little difficulty in having the list of persons. In these circumstances, perhaps, it is unnecessary to wait until the names are actually handed to the President or some one else. I therefore adjourn the session for the day until 11-30 a. m. tomorrow. The Subjects Committee will meet at quarter past six in this hall. Arrangements have been made for refreshments upstairs. There is another matter that I have to announce. There is the Cooperative Societies Exhibition which is being held in the MacDonnel Hindu Boarding House and everybody here is welcome to that Exhibition. That is the announcement I have been asked to make.

Subjects Com-
mittee.

The sittings adjourned till the following day.

SECOND DAY.

The Federation resumed its sittings on Thursday, the 29th December, at 12 noon, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer presiding. There was a number of new delegates including Sir K. G. Gupta.

The President:—A telegram has been received from Mr. Manohar Lall of Aligarh regretting that illness prevented his attendance and wishing the Federation success, and also says, "Trust that it will express strongly on the most indiscriminate repression."

RESOLUTIONS.

THE LATE RAI BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my melancholy duty to place before this Federation the first resolution on the agenda paper, which runs as follows:—

Condolence
Resolutions.

"This Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the death of Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, C. I. E., and to convey its sincere condolence to the members of his family."

Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Mudholkar had taken a very leading part in building up the Congress as it was. He was a prominent worker in the cause of the Congress and he took a very sincere interest in every movement that went for the betterment of this country. He was with the Congress during the periods of tribulation through which it had passed. He was made President of that body in 1912 at Bankipore. He was the life and soul of the Industrial Conference and was Secretary of that body for a number of years. The country has sustained a great loss in his death, and I now ask you to carry this resolution in the usual manner by standing.

The resolution was carried in silence, the whole audience standing.

THE LATE SIR RASH BEHARI GHOSE.

The President:—I have another melancholy duty to discharge and that is to deplore the death of Sir Rash Behari Ghose. The resolution runs as follows:—

"This Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the death of Sir Rash Behari Ghose, C. I. E., and to convey its sincere condolence to the members of his family."

I ask you to carry it by standing.

The resolution was carried in silence, the whole audience standing.

Welcome to the
Prince of Wales.

WELCOME TO H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

The President:—Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my most pleasant duty to express the sense of this House in welcoming the Prince of Wales to this country. (Cheers). The resolution runs as follows :—

“This Federation accords its most loyal and respectful welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on his visit to India.”

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

Indianisation of
the Army.
Mr. B. S.
Kamat.

Indianisation of the Army,

MR. B. S. KAMAT.

Mr. B. S. Kamat (Poona) in proposing the next resolution on the Indianisation of the Army said :—

Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which has been entrusted to me relates to the Indianisation of the Army and runs as follows :—

“This Federation urges the Government to give effect immediately to the resolution of the Indian Legislative Assembly in regard to the Indianisation of the commissioned ranks in the Indian Army by starting with an initial recruitment of Indians to 25 per cent. of the annual vacancies and raising such recruitment by annual increments of not less than 5 per cent.”

Ladies and Gentlemen, before I deal with this resolution I think I must make one observation and it is this. I believe in the ordinary course of things our distinguished friend Sir Sivaswami Iyer would have been in charge of this resolution. As he happens, however, to be unable to move this resolution for certain reasons it has been entrusted to me, and I move it with a great deal of diffidence because, in the first place, my knowledge of the subject is not as deep as Sir Sivaswami Iyer's and, in the second place, we have here on the platform to-day a distinguished Liberal from Calcutta, a specialist and a great authority on the military question, one who was a member of the Esher Committee which discussed the military question, I mean our friend from Calcutta, Sir K. G. Gupta. (Cheers.) His presence of course greatly adds to my difficulty, although I hope he would set me right if I go wrong.

In this resolution we say that Government should give effect immediately to the resolution of the Indian Legislative Assembly on this subject. With your permission, sir, I shall read the resolution on the subject which has been adopted by the Indian Legislative Assembly. In March last while discussing the Esher Committee's report the Legislative Assembly ultimately passed a resolution in the following form :—

“That the King-Emperor's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of his Majesty's military, naval and air forces in India and the auxiliary services and the auxiliary forces, that every encouragement should be given to Indians—including the educated middle classes—subject to the prescribed standards of fitness—to enter the commissioned ranks of the Army, and that in nominating candidates for the entrance examination, unofficial Indians should be associated with the nominating authority, and in granting King's commissions, after giving full regard to the claims to

promotion of officers of the Indian Army who already hold the commission of his Excellency the Viceroy, the rest of the commissions granted should be given to cadets trained at Sandhurst. The general rule in selecting candidates for this training should be that the large majority of selections should be from the communities which furnish recruits to the army and, as far as possible, in proportion to the numbers in which they furnish such recruits."

And the second clause of the resolution passed by the Assembly—and this is perhaps the most important part of to-day's resolution is:—

"That not less than 25 per cent. of the King's commissions granted every year should be given to his Majesty's Indian subjects to start with."

Now, in dealing with this subject I will briefly refer to the question of the Esher Committee. Soon after the termination of the war in 1919 the Government appointed a committee called the Esher Committee and that Committee went into the question of increasing the efficiency of the Indian Army and made voluminous recommendations. The Liberal Federation last year at Madras discussed the report and expressed in great details its disapproval of the same. Subsequently the Legislative Assembly referred the whole of the Esher Committee's report to a sub-committee of which our friend Sir Sivaswami Iyer was a prominent member. That sub-committee, after going into the question in great detail and giving the fullest consideration to the report, made certain recommendations to the Government of India; and the resolution which has now been brought up before you for confirmation so to say was one of the resolutions which was adopted by the Assembly in March last as a recommendation to the Government of India in the matter of the Indianisation of the army.

I wish this assembly to realise the importance of this subject. I am aware that outside there are a few shibboleths regarding *Swaraj*. People have been concentrating their attention on the question as to how *Swaraj* could be achieved in a very short time. Some people outside are still hoping that *Swaraj* is bound to come before the 31st December, i. e. within two days. But as far as I can see, *Swaraj*, full responsible government or Dominion Home-Rule, whatever it may be called, depends in a great measure on our power to defend ourselves against foreign aggression (hear, hear), and there can be no *Swaraj* if we have no means of preserving internal peace and protecting our frontiers and our coast against foreign aggression. So that military defence in a great measure is *Swaraj* and *Swaraj* is military defence. Therein lies the importance of the subject. I know the shibboleths outside are to concentrate our energies on the Punjab question, the Khilafat wrongs or full responsible government. People do not realise that even if we get *Swaraj* before the 1st January next it will be an unstable *Swaraj*, as we have no power to keep enemy in check, to manage our own affairs in the army and give the law-abiding citizens the protection which they are entitled to and also protect ourselves against foreign aggression. That being the importance of the subject, I believe I can congratulate the Federation on the fact that they have given to it the due importance which it deserves. Even the National Congress during the last 35 or 36 years has kept this subject in the background most undeservedly, although recently I know some attempts have been made to give

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it the prominence which it deserves. However, we Liberals should take up this question as our principal cry, and if we intend, as others, attaining full responsible government at an early date, let us make military defence and Indianization of the army the principal planks in the programme of the Liberal Party.

Now, the resolution refers to two or three things. Firstly, it refers to what we want in the military. It next refers to what we want in the naval force and, thirdly, it refers to what we want in the Royal Air Force. With regard to the latter two forces, *viz.*, the naval and Royal Air Forces, let me tell this assembly that the Royal Air Force and the Royal Navy are not under the direct control of the Government of India, and therefore whatever demand we may make must hang more or less upon what recommendations the Government of India may make to the Home Government in England and what concession they in turn may be able to give us in the near future. All the same, it is our duty to press as vigorously as possible that Indianization should be carried out in all the three branches of his Majesty's forces.

Now, speaking about the military, I wish to tell you briefly how the position stands at the present moment. I gather from some of the interpellations in the Legislative Assembly that the total strength of British officers at the present time, in both branches of the Army—the British service and the Indian service—is something like 8,809 or roughly 9,000. In other words, British officers holding King's commissions number about 9,000 in India. Now, the next question of great interest to us is, out of the total how many are Indians? I find again from some of the answers given by the Government of India to our interpellations that the total number of Indians holding King's commissions—I do not mean the Viceroy's commissions, I mean the King's commissions—including permanent commissions and honorary commissions, also commissions in the Indian Medical Service, all told, all put, packed and rolled into one, come to 1,224. So that the number of commissions held by Indians is at present roughly 1,200 while the total number of British officers in the Indian army is something like 9,000. I am sure this assembly will regard this present position as being exceedingly unsatisfactory. The resolution before you therefore demands a larger percentage of commissions for Indians. We say in the resolution:—To begin with we want at least 25 per cent. of the vacancies. (Since the discussion of this resolution in the Subjects Committee last night a great deal of improvement has taken place in the wording of the resolution.) We urge that the Government of India should give effect to the resolution of the Assembly to which I have referred by starting with an initial recruitment of Indians up to 25 per cent of the vacancies. But we have also to realise the difficulty of the Government of India. It is perfectly true that vacancies do not occur in a day and therefore it would not be possible for the Government to give effect to a resolution like this in a moment. What we therefore urge on the Government of India is that they should declare that their policy would be in all sincerity to give a larger percentage of commissions to Indians than at present.

In the resolution of the Legislative Assembly which I have just now read you will have noticed that we emphasised one particular fact, that while recruitment is going on for these commissions, the educated middle classes should not be forgotten. I shall give you in a moment what the view of

the Government of India on this question is. So far as their point of view is concerned, they are saying that they are prepared to accept the principle, but they add that they have to proceed very cautiously; in fact, they are only prepared to make an experiment. If that experiment succeeds, then only will they give commissions to Indians in larger proportions. Certainly this sounds very well indeed. In fact, every new thing should be tried as an experiment. Every cautious man proceeds on the same principle. All the same, we as Liberals, looking to the future interests of the country, have to urge on Government that whether the experiment succeeds in the beginning or not, ultimately as, if this country is to enjoy full responsible government, we must be able to protect ourselves, it should be continued until it is a success. Although *prima facie* in the beginning it may be found that certain classes of people are unfit for King's commissions, still the experiment is not to be given up by the Government of India but has to be pursued until the whole thing is a success.

In the debate in the Legislative Assembly when this question came up Sir Godfrey Fell on behalf of the Government of India told us what their policy would be in this matter. Without tiring your patience I shall very briefly refer to the point of view of the Government of India. He says :—

“The Government of India are anxious to make an experiment, and it is just because the Government of India are so anxious to make it a success that they wish to proceed prudently and cautiously in this matter. In the case of the Civil Services there is no very great risk about Indianising the administration.”

This means that they anticipate great risk in Indianisation so far as the military service is concerned. Sir Godfrey Fell proceeds to state his reason why he fears Indianisation in the matter of the military but not in the matter of civil administration. He says :—

“I wish at once to guard myself against the accusation that I am suggesting that an Indian in any civil department is in any way necessarily inferior to the Englishman. That is not my intention at all; but what I do mean is that if you put Indians into a civil department, such as the Indian Civil Service or the Forest Department or the Education Department, and one of them fails no very great harm is done. Now, it is a totally different matter when you come to deal with the army.....The first function of a soldier is not the administration of the army; his first function is to fight.”

And if in that respect he fails it means a question of life and death to a number of people. I agree. No doubt the risk in the case of the Indianisation of the army is greater from the point of view of the Government of India than the risk which the Government would run so far as the Civil Services go. But suppose the efficiency of Indians in all the civil departments is very, very great. If, on the other hand, the Indianisation of the army is neglected for the next 10 or 15 years, what happens? The Indianisation of the civil departments goes on to a great pitch of efficiency, and the country remains absolutely helpless so far as the army is concerned; and we do not want that efficiency in one direction should be looked after and that in the other should be neglected. My point therefore is this. At the risk of a little failure on the part of people who may be given commissions this experi-

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ment must be continued to its logical conclusion until the whole of the army is thoroughly Indianised and we are able to protect our country. That is so far as the point of view of the Government is concerned.

Now there is one little thing to which I wish to refer before I close. We pressed for 25 per cent. of the King's commissions. I have given you the strength of the officers in the army as it is. I have also shown you the difficulties so far as the Government of India are concerned. Let us all therefore concentrate on getting the 25 per cent. to begin with. Later on, as this resolution says, we want no less than 5 per cent. of the annual vacancies to be given to Indians whenever nominations are made to the commissions. Now what has been the present state of things? I believe during the last two years various examinations have been held for nominations to the King's commission. Every half year an examination is held by the Government of India and certain candidates are selected. During the last two years only 25 cadetships have been given by the Government of India; that gives an exceedingly small ratio indeed. We are asking for 25 per cent. Of course it all depends upon the number of vacancies that occur in a year. Still I can tell you from the records that during the last two years although so many examinations were held, for various reasons Government found only 19 persons fit to be given King's commissions. Now, how is selection made? Generally people from the aristocratic classes are selected—sons of well-to-do persons whose fathers have big names are given King's commissions. At any rate, that is the impression in the public mind in India regarding the selection of these cadets. What we want is that the middle classes should not be neglected. If there are certain martial classes like the Sikhs or the Gurkhas or the Jats or the Rajputs or the Marathas, by all means let them also be selected in their due proportions. But because the middle classes have during the last hundred years or more been carrying on only literary pursuits it does not mean that not a single person among them would be found suitable to hold the King's commission, although it is true that the educated middle classes either in these provinces or in the other provinces in India have been backward in taking to military careers. I say that this is the result of the policy of emasculation that has been carried on by Government themselves. If the people had not been disarmed for so many years and if the Arms Act had not been enforced, the martial spirit of the people, including the spirit of the educated middle classes, would have remained perhaps much more vigorous, instead of remaining dormant as at present. What we say now is that Government should select candidates not only from the martial classes but also from the middle classes who, I am sure, if properly trained, will be found suitable by reason of their training, education and high culture and social position to hold the King's commission and that instead of giving 25 cadetships in two years for all the people of India, the proportion ought to be largely increased.

I shall now turn to one point, namely, what the Government of India have done since this resolution was adopted in the Assembly in March last. The Viceroy, when he made a speech in the September session of the Legislative Assembly briefly referred to what was being done by the Government of India in this respect. With your permission, Sir, I shall place before you what his Excellency the Viceroy said in opening the Assembly on the 3rd September. "A resolution was passed" he said, "by the Legislative Assembly

last session recommending the establishment of a college in India to train Indian lads who desired to enter the Indian army through Sandhurst. A scheme on these lines, *viz.*, to have a Sandhurst college, so to say—has been forwarded for the approval of the Secretary of State, and as soon as that has been received, rapid progress will be made with the adaptation of the buildings formerly occupied by the Imperial Cadet Corps at Dehra Dun so as to fit them for a college of this nature." He proceeds to say that there will be accommodation in this proposed college at Dehra Dun for 90 pupils, and if the experiment succeeds then only will this college be expanded into a bigger college. This shows that some action is being taken by the Government of India and that provision for something like 90 pupils will be made in the new military college which it is proposed to open at Dehra Dun and which probably the Prince of Wales will be asked to open. The question is whether we should be satisfied with the provision for 90 pupils. It seems to me *prima facie* that provision for 90 pupils for a country so big as this is rather a very small proportion indeed. However, even for this small mercy we should be thankful. And it is some consolation that the matter is not entirely lost sight of and that the Government of Lord Reading has taken some action in the matter. With regard to the other recommendation made by the Legislative Assembly, I shall also briefly refer to what action has been taken by the Government of India. Lord Reading said in his speech just referred to:—"A subject which has occupied your attention and that of the Indian public and has roused great interest is that relating to the free admission of Indians to all arms of his Majesty's military and naval forces in India. In accordance with the resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly, my Government is now in communication with the Secretary of State with the object of enabling Indians to qualify for commissions in the artillery and engineer services in the country." You will remember that in our resolution we had asked that not only should Indians be admitted to the King's commissions so far as the naval and air forces were concerned, but they should be admitted also to other auxiliary services such as artillery, engineering, veterinary and transport services. It appears from the speech made by Lord Reading that some effect will be given to the resolution so far as commissions in the artillery and engineering services are concerned. But this statement does not go far enough. We are not told the percentage which will be reserved for Indians so far as these services are concerned. But here again something is being done by the Government of Lord Reading. So far as the naval service is concerned, the difficulty of the Government of India, at least as alleged by them, is, that there are no facilities in India for naval training. For that we must have suitable ships. Although we have the Royal Indian Marine in Bombay still we cannot provide adequate training for Indians in all the different branches of naval warfare. Of course you can give subsidiary training such as training for wireless operators and signallers. You cannot give full naval training unless you have a battle cruiser or something like that in Indian waters. For this training you will have to send Indians to England. That is the only course which seems to be feasible. In this connection, let me also tell you that the members of the Legislative Assembly pressed the Government of India to provide facilities for naval training in India. The difficulty which the Government of India told us confronted them was that there was no

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training ship which the Secretary of State could spare for the Indian Government. It is time we had urged that such a ship should be sent out to this country so that Indians may have training in naval warfare. Here again there is a small ray of hope so far as Lord Reading is concerned. He said: "A scheme is also under consideration for assisting Indian lads to qualify themselves by a period of training in England for a commissioned rank in the Royal Indian Marine." This means that the Government of India have approved of a small scheme to send a number of Indians to England to get naval training there. In this connection I think it will be pertinent if I add that my friend Sir Sivaswami Iyer has given notice of a resolution in the forthcoming session of the Legislative Assembly on the subject of naval training which, if accepted by the Legislature and the Government of India, will go a long way in providing the necessary facilities for naval training which we all wish to have in this country. A similar resolution was sent by me at the last session, but with the consent of Sir Sivaswami Iyer my resolution was allowed to be coalesced in this resolution; and we have been waiting to see the fate of this resolution.

This is the comprehensive nature of the resolution placed before you. We should make this question the principal plank of our Liberal programme. If we are unable to obtain at the hands of the Government of India all these facilities, all our talk of *Swaraj* will be nothing but a camouflage; for we shall not be able to protect our country in the manner we ought to do. For these eminent reasons I commend this resolution to your acceptance. (Loud cheers.)

Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra (Lucknow) seconded the resolution in a Hindi speech.

Mr. A. P. Sen (Lucknow) in supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. A. P. Sen.

Mr. President and Fellow Liberals, I do not think the resolution errs on the side of extravagance. I do not wish to say many words. I only wish to say this, that self-government and self-defence must go hand in hand. (Hear, hear.) With a substantial and progressive Indianisation of the Indian Army and the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army we shall be in a better position to deserve and in a stronger position to demand a complete autonomy within the British Commonwealth. With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I heartily support this resolution. (Cheers.)

Sir Krishna
Govinda Gupta.

Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta (Bengal) in further supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am very grateful to you for having permitted me to say a few words in support of the resolution which has been so ably proposed, seconded and supported by my friends here. To me this question has been an all-important one for many years; and ever since I have commenced to take any part in politics I have pressed this question before almost everything else. As regards *Swaraj*, we are all agreed that we must have it. (Hear, hear.) Not only that, the highest authority in the land, I mean his Majesty the King-Emperor himself, has declared that India is to have *Swaraj*. (Cheers.) But when you come to the practical question as to how to obtain *Swaraj*, you will see that it means that we must also

have the power of self-defence, not only, the power to maintain peace and order within the country but also to resist aggression from outside. India, you must remember, is not an isolated country. In the olden days perhaps, you may have said that the sea would defend on one side and the mighty Himalayas on the other. Of course in olden days India was free from any attacks from the sea side ; but even the great barriers of the Himalayas could not resist invasions from outside from time to time. But now the sea is open to the world. So in order to be able to defend ourselves against any foreign enemy, against those who come by sea and against those who come by land, we must have proper means of self-defence; and *Swaraj* without any means of self-defence will mean nothing. Therefore, if the British Government is really sincere in their professions to give us *Swaraj* they must be prepared to give us every facilities to Indianise the army as quickly as may be. That is the main question. I hold that if the British Government shows any hesitation or does not come forward quickly to take proper steps to Indianise the army, then all their promises to give us *Swaraj* would mean nothing at all. At present what is called the rank and file of the army is about 150,000, I believe. But that army is commanded entirely by Europeans. Lately one or two commissions have been given to Indians ; but that means nothing at all. The recruitment must be so based that every year there must be an increasing number of Indians in the commissioned ranks. The proportion proposed here would perhaps be a fair beginning. The British Government need not be frightened about the Indian army being officered by Indians mainly, because, as you know, there is another part of the army in India which is called the British Army, that is to say, British soldiers commanded by British officers. A time will no doubt come later when the proportion of the British army will be gradually lessened and replaced by Indians officered by Indians. On the way in which effect is given to this resolution will depend in a great measure the question as to whether we are to get *Swaraj* from the British Government at all or not. As regards the civil services, a great deal has been done and is being done to Indianise them, and representative government also has been given and I have no doubt that it will be given on a larger scale in the near future. All this can be done more quickly than any reform in the army. There it takes time. You cannot make an officer in two or three years. He must go through a regular course. It is therefore time that Government took up this army question in earnest. It should have proper schools for training Indians to take positions as commissioned officers ; and this should be done with the whole-hearted desire to properly Indianise what is called the Indian Army. With these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was put to the Conference and carried.

Civil Disobedience.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI IYER.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer (Madras) in proposing the resolution on Civil Disobedience said :—

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which has been entrusted to me reads as follows :—

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"This Federation is strongly of opinion that the campaign of Civil Disobedience, resolved upon by the Congress, is fraught with the gravest danger to the real interests of the country and is bound to cause untold suffering and misery to the people, and earnestly appeals to the country not to follow a course which imperils peace, order and personal liberty, and is bound to produce a mentality inimical not merely to the present Government but to any form of Government."

Mrs. Besant :—With the permission of the Chairman and with the consent of the speaker I ask that the following words be added :—" and so far from achieving *Swaraj*, which Indians of all political schools desire, is bound to lead to a deplorable set-back in the progress of the country."

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer :—I have no objection to accept the addition which has been proposed by Mrs. Besant. The second part of the proposition will then read as follows :—

"The Federation earnestly appeals to the country not to follow a course which imperils peace, order and personal liberty and is bound to produce a mentality inimical not merely to the present Government but to any form of government, and so far from achieving *Swaraj*, which Indians of all political schools desire, is bound to lead to a deplorable set-back in the progress of the country."

Gentlemen, from the moment that the non-cooperation programme was put forward by Mr. Gandhi, Civil Disobedience has always been at the back of his mind as a part and parcel of his programme to be resorted to as soon as, in his opinion, the people are ready to follow that part of the programme. The Congress has now resolved to adopt this item—Civil Disobedience—as part of its programme. Mahatma Gandhi has declared openly that Civil Disobedience is merely a substitute for armed rebellion. There is no question as to the object of this item in the programme. It is for the purpose of declaring war against the Government, of rebelling against the Government, that Civil Disobedience has been proposed. There is no doubt then as regards the object of this part of the programme. As regards the methods, though no doubt they have been said to be peaceful and though Mr. Gandhi has again and again insisted upon adherence to the policy of non-violence, there can be no doubt that Civil Disobedience involves the breaking of the law and the defiance of authority. (Hear, hear.) So far as mere non-cooperation is concerned, it need not necessarily involve the breaking of the law but the moment you resolve upon Civil Disobedience you are bound to come into collision with law and authority and there can be only one result when you provoke a conflict between authority and yourself. The necessary result of this policy will be to defy the Government, and to paralyse it. All that must necessarily result in great suffering and misery to the people. If you deliberately break the law, the Government cannot keep quiet if it is to deserve the name of Government. It must enforce law and order, if it is at all to be worthy of the name of Government. And if the Government has to maintain law and order, if it has to maintain its authority, it must necessarily punish those who have been guilty of breaches of the law. The result will be that you will be inducing hundreds, and thousands, if not more, to bring upon themselves that punishment which is the inevitable consequence of a collision with law and authority; and thus you will be producing a state of excitement in the country which will not possibly allow them to continue to adhere to the policy of non-

violence. It is all very well for Mahatma Gandhi to insist on a policy of non-violence. I have no doubt that so far as he himself is concerned and so far as several of his leading followers are concerned, they may be able to practise the necessary self-restraint; they may be able to carry out the policy of non-violence. But is it possible for thousands of ordinary people to whom this programme is addressed to adhere to the policy of non-violence in carrying out this programme? I am afraid it will be nothing short of the miraculous to expect the people to strictly adhere to this policy. Whenever there has been an occasion for the people to place themselves in conflict with authority we have found that they have not adhered to the policy of non-violence; they have been guilty of acts of violence. We have had illustrations of it recently in Bombay and elsewhere and it is not necessary for me to dwell upon the minor illustrations of it that occurred in other places previous to the Bombay riots.

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Now, the great mistake that Mahatma Gandhi commits lies in supposing that all people are saints like himself or can be turned into saints like himself. It is something which we cannot expect of ordinary human nature. You cannot turn the whole of humanity into saints. You cannot expect ordinary people to conform to a policy of non-violence in the face of punishment which they themselves have endeavoured their best to deserve. These collisions with authority will produce all the consequences which necessarily follow a breach of the law; but there are also other deplorable consequences which will ensue on a collision with Government. One feature which has made itself manifest during the last few months is the utter contempt for law and authority and the change in the mentality of the people which has been brought about. You go anywhere you like, and you will find that the people have lost all respect for law and order. It is all very well for you to say that they have only lost respect for the present Government but that they will have respect for law and order. But that is a frame of mind which cannot possibly be sedulously cultivated without its being subversive of all law and order. Already we find many unpleasant manifestations of this change of mentality. We find that there is an extreme intolerance of difference of opinion on the part of others. We find that there is great unwillingness to listen to persons who hold a view different from their own. And we find in various other ways a great disposition among the Gandhian sections of the people, to terrorise over the other sections. These are the symptoms which have already manifested themselves. The spirit of obedience to law is one which has been acquired not in a day or two, but has been the result of centuries of experience and centuries of civilization. It is extremely difficult to train people to the law-abiding habit, but it is extremely easy to destroy the law-abiding instinct in them. We have only to turn to the case of Russia where the people had been accustomed to long obedience to authority. And what has been the result there? We find that instead of proceeding upon constitutional lines the people have been plunged into the horrors of Bolshevism and anarchy. That is the state of affairs which we wish to be spared from. We should like to progress on constitutional lines and attain our goal by peaceful evolution and not by means of a revolution which will cause bloodshed and endless misery. We wish to spare our countrymen all the horrors of anarchy. And for what purpose is all this suffering to be endured or undergone? It is said for the purpose of attaining *Swaraj*. Now, if there were no prospect of

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attaining *Swaraj* by peaceful means, you may perhaps conceive of the possibility of considering other methods. But I have no doubt that if we only proceed along constitutional lines, if we avail ourselves of the opportunities that have now been placed within our reach, we shall reach the goal of responsible government in a much shorter time than you might expect to reach by the adoption of violent means.

Now, it has been said that it is not for the British Government to give us responsible government, but that it is for us to take it; that it is not necessary that there should be any concession in the shape of reform by any outsider, but that it is open to us to take it at once. That, I think, is absolutely impossible. There are only two courses left to us by which we could get it—either through the Parliament and the British people, as His Excellency the Viceroy put it, or by recourse to revolutionary methods. Now, there has undoubtedly been a change in the angle of vision of the British Government and the British people and of the Government here in India. There is no use in pointing to stray episodes in the administration and say, "Here is a blot in the administration or there is a blot". I do not hold any brief for the Government, nor am I prepared to take upon myself the task of defending all their measures whether they are right or wrong. But I do submit this to you: Has there been any Government which has been free from imperfections, which has been free from blunders? And taking the history of our own country and the doings of the Governments of the past, I ask: Has there been any Government which has been free from blunders or imperfections, or even defects? Now it surely betrays a lack of commonsense and regard for accuracy to say that this is a satanic Government and that the only salvation of the people lies in uprooting this Government by forcible methods. I am firmly convinced and I say it with all the earnestness of my conviction, that it is quite possible for us to attain the aim which we all have in view by proceeding on strictly constitutional lines.

To illustrate my remarks as to the improbability of the people adhering to peaceful methods, let me just refer you to some of the utterances of the Mahomedan followers of Mr. Gandhi. From what we have read in the newspapers, you will see that some of them are really fretting at the restraint imposed upon them by Mr. Gandhi regarding recourse to violence. Some of them have put it forward that recourse to violence has been enjoined by their religion and that the dictates of their religion require them not to observe this pact of non-violence any longer, but to resort to any means for the purpose of attaining their object. Now again, take the utterance of Maulana Mahomed Ali made some months ago. He distinctly stated: "I am prepared to observe non-violence so long as I am associated with Mahatma Gandhi." Note carefully the qualification which he put in. Remember also the qualification which has been introduced in the formula of the pledge undertaken by many of the volunteers. It says, "So long as the Congress adheres to the policy of non-violence." All that shows that if at any moment somebody or other sets the example of violence or the Congress adopts the policy of violence, which, in view of its recent pronouncement, is by no means an improbability, all these men will resort to methods of violence. The result of violence will be that our Mahomedan countrymen will certainly have recourse to arms and revolution. I do not know whether I am doing them an injustice in supposing that

the recollection of the days of Mahomedan ascendancy and the hope of a revival of that ascendancy may not be altogether absent from their minds. Look at the way in which they gloat over the treaty with the Amir and on his triumph over the British Government in India. Look at the way in which they gloat over a corridor being opened from Turkey to India. It is not an unnatural hypothesis, that many among the Mahomedans, especially among the more fanatical section of them, will be inspired by the vision of pan-Islamism. Just recollect the dangers of all that. It is surely our duty to warn our countrymen against the dangers of this fanaticism and to do all that lies in our power to induce them not to follow a course which is sure to lead to disaster and will retard our progress. With these words I move the resolution. (Cheers.)

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MR. JAMNADAS DWARKA DAS.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas (Bombay) seconding the resolution said :—

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen—

Mr. Jamna Das Dwarka Das.

I rise to second the resolution so ably placed before you by my friend Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, and I rise naturally with a certain amount of diffidence, for while we are discussing this subject here to-day, while we are engaged in condemning civil disobedience, unfortunately in another part of the country to-day, a large assembly has sanctioned a course of action which, some of us venture to believe, if adopted by the country, will inevitably lead it to disaster. However, I want at the very outset to make it clear that when I rise to take up this attitude in the Liberal Federation nothing is further from my mind than merely to condemn civil disobedience from party considerations. I was rather interested in the message that was read before the Ahmedabad Congress by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. That message was sent by Mrs. Das and it was:—"Let every man and woman in India ask himself or herself to-day this one supreme question and this question only: 'Do I stand for India in her present struggle?' Let us search our hearts and directly answer it now or never. We must decide, and the responsibility for the decision is ours." With many of my friends present here I am prepared to answer that question in the affirmative. (Hear, hear.) And yet I will do my utmost to raise my voice, however much it may be a cry in the wilderness, against the course that is being adopted by the Congress.

Let us see what Civil Disobedience means. Those of us who know something of Mr. Gandhi's views, those of us who have read his book on Indian Home Rule and those of us who have had opportunities of knowing Mr. Gandhi intimately at some moment or another (A cry "Call him Mahatma Gandhi"), those of us who know something of Mr. Gandhi (Call him "Mahatma") are convinced that Mr. Gandhi (Cries again, "Call him Mahatma Gandhi").

The President :—I may just point out to the visitors that they have come here not to take part in the proceedings. They are, of course, entitled to hear what is going on. Nobody presses upon them any convictions that do not appeal to them, and they are expected to keep order at the meeting and it is therefore desirable that the interruptions should no longer take place.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas continuing said :—

Mr. President, if I may be permitted to say a word to those who want me to call Mr. Gandhi Mahatma Gandhi, I may say that in calling him Mr.

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Gandhi I am only respecting Mr. Gandhi's own wishes more than they are doing. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Gandhi has frequently told us that nothing gives him more pain than that the people in spite of the fact that it hurts his feelings, should go on persistently calling him Mahatma. However, I was going to say when I was interrupted that those of us who know Mr. Gandhi intimately have no doubt about his views on civil disobedience. I do not want to run down Mr. Gandhi. I am an admirer of Mr. Gandhi. In his book he makes it clear that he is opposed to any form of government. He would have no outer authority at all, because he believes that in every man there is God who must decide for him the course of action in regard to every problem that presents itself to him in the course of his life. I have no quarrel with that theory. I recognise readily that there is a great deal of force in that theory so far as the man who has reached that particular stage it concerned. To him infringement of the Divine Law, be it by the people or by the Government or by any institution, is intolerable. But my quarrel with Mr. Gandhi comes when that theory is being preached to the masses who are far, far from having reached that stage of evolution. In other words, I venture to submit that Mr. Gandhi makes the mistake in believing that what has been a personal achievement for him can be a workable thing for the uneducated masses who have not learnt to control themselves as he has learnt. While I respect Mr. Gandhi as a man who is pure—a man of selfless and unspotted character, a man who has nothing to gain from this world, a man who wants no prizes that this world can give—I submit with equal emphasis that when he tries to play the political leader by preaching to the masses a theory the practice of which is not at all possible, the practice of which would inevitably lead to disaster to the country, I say, that Mr. Gandhi, however great a man he may be, is not fit to lead a political party, is not fit to be called a politician. (Hear, hear.)

In this connection, I am reminded of what a most esteemed friend of mine said the other day. He said "let us not walk with our heads in the clouds before we have learnt to walk at least like men on the ground". And there is a great deal of force in that. Mr. Gandhi has probably reached that stage of evolution when he is justified individually in walking with his head in the clouds. But let not Mr. Gandhi forget that society has not reached that level of evolution when their feet are firmly planted on the ground, to justify their walking with their heads in the clouds. Let us look at facts in the face. As Mrs. Das has pointed out, let us search our hearts and find out whether we are prepared to take the responsibility for the decision that we are taking in the interests of the country.

Mr. Gandhi makes it a condition, a necessary condition, for every one who is prepared to join the ranks of those who are going to practise civil disobedience, that they shall refrain from violence, that in the midst of the gravest provocation that may be offered to them, every man who is prepared to practise civil disobedience shall refrain from any kind of violence, violence in thought, violence in word and violence in deed. Now, I ask those who are playing with Mr. Gandhi and I call that nothing short of playing with fire—I ask all those who pretend to be followers of Mr. Gandhi whether they can go deep down within themselves and honestly answer this question: whether if a grave provocation is offered to them they will refrain from using violence.

I, who claim the liberty of speech, ventured not to address Mr. Gandhi as Mahatma Gandhi but as Mr. Gandhi. In doing so I was respecting Mr. Gandhi's wishes only. He himself told me personally that he did not want himself to be addressed as Mahatma. I do not think I offered any provocation to any one in addressing him in the manner he wanted to be addressed and yet—excuse me for saying so—though there was not violence in action, surely in thought and words there has been an exhibition of violence, (Cheers.) But to expect that the masses will refrain from violence in thought, word and deed in the midst of the gravest provocation is to expect the impossible (hear, hear), is to expect what is unnatural, is to ignore what is the most important factor in the political progress of any country, viz., the weaknesses of human nature. And if a person is prepared to ignore human nature, which is the most important factor in politics, then, however great that person may be, I submit, he has no right to lead in the political world. I submit if he takes upon himself the task of leading a political party he exposes himself to the charge of playing with human lives, of bringing disaster on the country which is on the onward way to progress. I submit therefore that Mr. Gandhi is not justified in ignoring the factor, the important factor, of the weaknesses of human nature in dealing with human beings. He is not dealing with gods. He is dealing with human beings.

But the further question that I ask myself when I criticise this policy of civil disobedience is : "Is it necessary for us to launch upon a programme which promises nothing in the shape of success but which is attended by grave perils that ordinarily attend a movement of this character?" I am told by a friend who came from England, by a sincere friend of India, that the West can understand constitutional agitation ; that the West can be affected by the way in which people resort to constitutional weapons for getting wrongs redressed and for securing further rights which are their birth-right ; but it is not possible for the West to understand this kind of revolution which only gives them a justification for authorising their representatives here to use the force of arms. Now, have we not in the Constitutional Reforms that have been granted to India enough to get, if we care to use them properly, as much as we want for the purpose of this country so as ultimately to lead this country to the goal of responsible government, the goal that we all cherish ? I submit that there is a good deal in the present Reforms which, if we would only use them properly, would lead us to the goal of responsible government. Perhaps you remember that it has been admitted that the powers vested in the Legislative Assembly are far wider than those contemplated by the authors of the Reforms themselves. Unfortunately all these powers have not yet been used to the full, but the day is not far off, I expect, when all these powers will be used, and then it will be possible for us to get for this country whatever we want constitutionally and without running the risk of bringing about a set back for years together.

Mr. Gandhi does not make it a secret that the object of his movement is to paralyse the Government ; that the object of his movement is to wage a war without any weapons on Government—and the only weapon to be used is non-violent non-cooperation. In other words, Mr. Gandhi would have the present Government overthrown. But have you thought as to what substitute you are

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going to have for the present Government when you have overthrown it? So far as Mr. Gandhi is concerned, he does not want any Government; he would only have the authority of the inner Self that is in every man. But the inner Self in every man has not developed to the extent to which it has probably developed in Mr. Gandhi. Why, has not Bombay given sufficient indication of the fact that if the forces of disorder are let loose, however much Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants may try to bring them under control, it would be impossible for them to do so? I speak with a certain amount of first-hand knowledge. I know the condition in which Mr. Gandhi was on the day on which the riots took place in Bombay. It is said that non-cooperators did not bring about that condition. But surely the population of the country does not consist merely of non-cooperators. The population consists of non-cooperators, a few in number comparatively; it also consists of persons who are educated; but it largely consists of men who are uneducated, illiterate and not moved always by the best instincts that ought to guide society. On such men the outer authority places a check which is needed in order that society may go on. But when forces of disorder are let loose, when greater men set the example to defy the law, when they come out into the open and break the law without any compunction, the result will be that the people who have nothing but the fear of the law, fear of authority, to guide their conduct in life, will come out into the open and break the law and make the world of India a world impossible to live in. That happened in Bombay. Unmentionable things happened in the streets. I admit for a moment that the non-cooperators did not do so, though I am not free to admit that they did not show violence in thought and word so far as those who went to receive the Prince of Wales were concerned. I admit for the sake of argument that the non-cooperators had nothing to do with the bringing about of those riots. But can it be said that these conditions were not brought about as a result of the non-cooperation movement? And what things happened in Bombay? Unmentionable things! In the streets—fellow delegates, I cannot resist the temptation of telling you—the honour of women, which has always been held sacred in India, was openly robbed. (cries of 'shame' 'shame.') Mr. Gandhi himself admitted that in the confession—the courageous confession, if I may say so—that he made the next day. The lives of constables, police constables, who were doing their duty, were taken. The lives of the whole population of Bombay were in danger. I saw Mr. Gandhi then. I was alone with him for two hours. I wish it were possible for me to convey to you the agony that his soul felt that day. I do not mind telling you what Mr. Gandhi said then. He said that he was in a state of bankruptcy; he had roused the fanaticism of the people and had no power left to control them. He said that the people had flattered him by crying "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai" and that cry was a torture to him; that cry was intolerable to his soul. Mr. Gandhi said something similar after the Satyagraha experience of 1919. Unfortunately, he did not see what was happening in Malabar. Worse things have happened in Malabar. He saw things happening under his own nose in Bombay on which he relied for non violent non cooperation, which upset him, which caused him great pain, brought forth that courageous confession from him. Has there not been sufficient indication for us to take a warning? Have-

these things that have happened, I admit on a comparatively small scale, not pointed out to us that if civil disobedience is resorted to on a large scale in every part of the country, these events will not merely be stray events happening here and there, but that the day will not be far off when Malabar and Bombay will repeat themselves frequently at every other place in India? Are we prepared to invite that condition or are we prepared to go on the only path which is sure to bring progress, *viz.*, the path of constitutional agitation? I leave the judgment to the House. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. Prakash Narayan Sapru (Allahabad) supported the resolution.

Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra (Lucknow) supported the resolution in a vernacular speech.

Pandit Ramraj (U. P.), a Kisan delegate, supported the resolution in a Hindi speech.

PROF. JOAG.

Prof. Joag (Poona) in further supporting the resolution said :—

Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I rise—(Cries of "Hindi, Hindi.") I am unable to respond to this call, because I come from the Deccan and cannot speak in Hindi. I rise to support this resolution as one of the delegates from the Deccan. Several reasons are given in this resolution, and many more have been impressed on our mind by many eminent speakers who have taken part in the discussion, as to why civil disobedience is a dangerous thing and why therefore we should ask our countrymen to desist from that course. But to my mind the most important of all reasons is one that is given here, *viz.*, that civil disobedience is sure to produce a mentality inimical to any form of government whatever. Let us not conceal from ourselves the reality of the situation; and let us help our countrymen also to realise for themselves where they are being led. Words, my friends, do not matter. The course of action advocated by the Congress and its leader, is clearly a course that is sure to lead this country to a condition of revolution. Let us not mince matters, and let us clearly tell our people that they are being asked to bring about an upheaval, to bring about a revolution in this country. No, ladies and gentlemen, revolution, as the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri pointed out in the article that he contributed to the Indian number of the "Times", is a huge gamble in human concerns; and in all seriousness we are asked in this country today to embark on this course of pure speculation and gamble. It is a lesson that is taught to us by history. The history of the French revolution and also the history of the recent revolution in Russia clearly teach us what revolution means. Ladies and gentlemen, are we likely to be better situated than the people were in France or the people were in Russia when they embraced revolution? I do not think so. Let us not therefore be misled. I am sure that the gathering that has assembled here is not likely to be misled. But it is not a question that concerns us here alone. It is a question that concerns the whole of our country. Let us therefore tell our people frankly that they are being asked to indulge in pure speculation and gamble. If in France and Russia revolution proved to be a gamble I think in a backward country like India it is sure to prove to be more so. We have here our own problems of social regeneration of our people and the industrial regeneration of our country. We have several problems of our own

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to solve; and when these problems require all the energy that we have in us and when we know that the workers on whom the country can rely for the solution of these problems are not many, that is to say, when we know that the fund of energy at our disposal is very limited—when we know all these, is it worth our while to embark on this course which involves so many risks?

And then I want to ask you one further question. I know that it is possible that a people may be driven through sheer despair to a perilous course like this when they see before them nothing but darkness. Is the present state of our country calculated to produce in each of us such a state of utter despair? (Hisses from the visitors' gallery.) My answer is an emphatic No. (More hisses from the gallery.) Let cynics say what they will. But we the Liberals believe and let us tell our countrymen (Again hisses and jeering from the gallery.)

A delegate :—Mr. President, there are some gentlemen here who are not behaving like gentlemen. They are loafers, I should say.

Another delegate :—Followers of non-violence!

The President :—I thought that my request would have appealed to those gentlemen who are here as visitors and who are not called upon to express any opinion upon the resolutions that are being considered. Ordinary courtesy and the general feeling of good taste that ought to prevail among persons who listen to speakers ought to have told them that that is not the way in which to interrupt a speaker. I also have noticed that there were the most unseemly interruptions and it makes me very sad indeed to see that those who belong to the student generation should be guilty of this kind of discourtesy to speakers. The principle of non-violence in thought and word which I am sure is being impressed upon students—that must have taught them that even though they are in a position to differ, and that for valid reasons, from what is being expressed here, the method of showing that difference is not by this disrespectful manner in which they have been behaving themselves. I am very sorry to have to say this. I appeal once again to their good sense to see that they will behave here like those who are expected to be as visitors alone, need I say, as gentlemen.

Prof. Joag :—But the Liberals believe, as I said,—and let us carry that belief to our countrymen far and wide—that we are placed by the recent Constitutional Reforms on the high road to responsible government. Political reform is a means to an end. And what is our end here? In the words of our revered leader, the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale, the goal that we seek to attain is to give each man and each woman in this country full opportunity for self-expression, for self-development. It is for this goal that we are striving, and as we feel that we cannot give full opportunities to each individual so long as we are not masters in our own house, we are seeking for political reform. And as we slowly advance in this direction, let us also gradually advance on other lines. Let us devote our energy to this work; let us make use of the reforms which have been granted to us for this purpose and let us as one nation advance and gain a position of eminence in the British Empire and also in the world. When we have work to do—and we have enough work to tax all the energy that is available to us—for the development of the country, why should we give it up in the vain pursuit of an ideal that

we are told is to be reached by methods of revolution? Ladies and gentlemen, this course of revolution is sure to undermine all society, is sure to lead to destruction and disaster, and therefore it is that we ask our countrymen not to follow the lead that is given to them by the Congress. It is frequently said that it is our duty implicitly to obey what the Congress asks us to do. Let there be no such gospel preached in the country. Remember, ladies and gentlemen, that the Congress was brought into existence for a particular purpose, to do good to our people, and now when we see that the well-being and the happiness of our people are being sacrificed by the Congress, is it right on our part to appeal to the sentiments of the people in the name of the Congress and ask them to follow this dangerous path? The Congress, after all, is a means to an end; and when the end is in danger, we ought not to have any scruples in brushing aside the mandates of such a body as the Congress. Therefore I ask you to support this resolution.

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But I will not stop there. The resolution asks us to convey this message to our people. When the upheaval comes, if unfortunately it comes, it is the poor people who will suffer. This resolution has a message for the people, and we who are gathered in this hall have a certain duty imposed upon us when we pass this resolution, and that duty is to carry to every nook and corner to the best of our ability this message which is expressed in this resolution. Let us go to our people; let our love for the country and our poor brethren lead us to every part of our country, and let that love make us tell our people without any hesitation, without any fear of unpopularity what they are asked in all seriousness to do. And that is, I think, ladies and gentlemen, the most important part of the resolution. It is no use passing this resolution in this assembly. It is not arguments that are needed to convince the members of this Federation of the dangers of this course. The poor people in the country do not understand what they are asked to do. And if we feel that they are being led into a disaster, it is our duty to tell them and to ask them to desist from this course. That is what the resolution tells us, and that is what the resolution asks our people to do. Let us clearly realise, when we support this resolution, that a responsibility rests upon us, and let us make up our minds today each one in his own humble sphere, to carry out this responsibility. With these words, Mr. President, I support this resolution.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried.

The President :—We shall adjourn now after a Bande Mataram song. We meet again tomorrow at half past 11. The Subjects Committee will meet upstairs exactly at 4 in the evening.

Mr. Kuncru :—Follow-delegates, I have to announce that a garden party will be given to you by the Hon. Mr. Chintamani in honour of the President and he requests all the delegates to attend it. The party will be held at Man Bhawan, Canning Road, at 4 o'clock tomorrow. Invitations have been issued to all delegates, but if there are any individuals who have not received the invitation they may be sure that the omission is accidental and not intentional, and Mr. Chintamani hopes that that will not prevent any delegate from attending the party.

The Federation then adjourned, after a Bande Mataram song, till the following day.

THIRD DAY.

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Prof. Joag.

The Federation resumed its sittings on Friday, the 30th December, at 12 noon, with Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer in the chair. The attendance was as large as on the previous days.

The proceeding commenced with a Bande Mataram song sung by boys.

The President :—Ladies and Gentlemen,—As you might be aware, the proposer of a resolution is generally allowed 15 minutes and the seconder and supporter are allowed five minutes. It may be that in the course of the discussions it will be necessary for us to enforce that time rule. I do not propose, at any rate in the earlier stages of to-day's proceedings, to enforce that rule very strictly, but I would appeal to speakers to keep themselves as far as possible within the limit of the rule. That is usually observed in proceedings such as these. I have great pleasure now to call upon Sir Sivaswami Iyer to propose the resolution upon self-government which is the first item on the agenda to-day.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI IYER.

Self-Government.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer (Madras) in proposing the resolution on self-government said :—

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I have been charged with the duty of moving runs as follows :—

“In view of the experience obtained of the working of the Reforms Act, the rapid growth of national consciousness and the strong and growing demand among all sections of the people for a fuller control over their destinies, this Federation strongly urges that :—

(1) Full autonomy should be introduced in the Provincial Governments at the end of the first term of the various Legislatures, and

(2) As regards Central Government, all subjects, except defence, foreign affairs, relations with Indian States and ecclesiastical affairs, should be transferred to popular control at the end of the first term of the Legislative Assembly, subject to such safeguards as may be suitable and necessary for the protection of all vested interests.”

Ladies and Gentlemen, the Reforms Act which introduced the new constitutional era was passed at the end of 1919. A year was taken in the elaboration of the rules and procedure under the Act ; and the year that is now coming to a close will complete one year of the existence of the various legislatures. It may be said that the one year that is about to expire is too short a period for making a further demand, and that the onus lies upon those who make this further demand to make out a very strong case for a further step so shortly after the Reforms have been in operation. I would observe, in the first place, that the Reforms that were introduced under the Reforms Act fall short of the demands of the people as they were made before the Act was passed. In making this claim we do not now put forward something which was not put forward originally, but we are simply reiterating the demand that was originally made. (Hear, hear.) It may be said, it has been said and it is bound to be said, that our experience has been too short. I am not one of those who believe in ignoring or

minimising the strength of the arguments on the other side. I think the proper course is always to recognise the force of the arguments which might be urged against us and to meet them fairly and squarely. If the period of one year that has gone by is too short, as it must be admitted to be, one thing may be fairly said and that is, that during this period it has not been proved that the working of the Reforms has been a failure. I prefer to put it modestly in the negative form. I do not wish to contend that it has been proved to be an undoubted success. So much at least we can claim without any fear of want of modesty, that the working of the Reforms has not been proved to be a failure.

In this connection certain tributes and compliments which have been paid to the working of the legislatures by various persons have been pressed into service by those who ask for further concessions. I am afraid that we do not understand the significance of these tributes and compliments. It is a mistake to ride such tributes and compliments to death and to build an argument upon them. I would, therefore, prefer to state that so far as the work of the various legislatures is concerned, they have not shown that they are insensible to the responsibilities that have been imposed upon them by the Reform Act. Are there any other reasons for making this demand? We say that there has been a rapid growth of national consciousness and there has been a strong and growing demand among all sections of people for a fuller control over their destinies. That is a fact which cannot possibly be disputed. But the mere growth of national consciousness or the mere strength of a demand may not by itself be sufficient to support a case for further concession. We therefore add a further reason, that in view of the experience gained of the working of the Reforms Act we are entitled to ask for a further concession. What is the nature of this experience? The experience may be either with regard to our capacity for successfully working the Reforms or with regard to defects in the machinery or in the constitution which might have been revealed in the course of the actual working. As regards our capacity for working the Reforms, I have pointed out that it has not been said that we have been found wanting. As regards the question of defects which have been revealed, I would refer to those defects which are likely to best appeal to the Government itself. So far as practical experience goes, and I can speak only for the Legislative Assembly in which I have been taking a part, there has been no lack of desire on the part of the Government to accede to the wishes of the Assembly or to mould its policy according to the wishes of the legislature. Undoubtedly we exercise a large influence, an influence growing day by day, and that is a fact to be fully recognised and welcomed. On the other hand, there are certain defects which must have struck any impartial observer. How exactly matters stand with regard to local Councils, I am not in a position to say. But it is quite probable that the same defects that have been brought to light in the Central Legislature may have been brought to light in the working of the provincial Councils as well. One thing that is noticeable above all others in the working of the Central Legislature is the want of coordination and want of organization among the members of the legislature and the waste of time and of energy and of effort that are consequent on that state of things. Resolutions, wise and unwise, are often proposed; intepellations are sent with ruthless severity and the time of the legislature is taken

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up by all sorts of questions, important or unimportant. So far as the Government is concerned, and so far as the non-official members are concerned, it is not possible for them to regulate the procedure, to economise time and to direct the energies of the legislature into the most fruitful channels with the maximum of advantage to the community. That can only be achieved by the formation of party organisations. I know that members of Government have often complained that it is not possible for them to say what amount of precise support they can rely upon in the Assembly or in the Council of State. Whenever they have to introduce a legislative measure or a fiscal measure they have no idea as to what support they can command. The Government, as you are aware, is now in a minority in the Legislature. The official members who are there and the nominated members who are there all put together do not give them any majority at all. The elected members are in a majority and in the present state of things when there is want of cohesion among the various elected members, Government do not know precisely where they stand and what amount of support they can get. That necessarily interferes with the framing of proposals or with the reaching of any definite conclusions with any definite prospect of backing in the Assembly.

I need not expatiate upon the question as to how far this interferes with the successful working of the legislature. It may perhaps be said that a successful party organisation ought to precede, and not succeed, the grant of responsible government. I am not altogether sure of the soundness of that position. It may be quite possible to form a party organisation, and I do think it is our duty to see that there is such an organisation formed so that the members of the Legislature may acquire the habits of cooperation, of discipline and of concerted action. On the other hand, it may be said that in the peculiar circumstances of this country, in the absence of any very sharp differences of principle, when the whole of the new institution may be said to be in a state of solution, the introduction of responsible government may help parties to be crystalized out of this fluid condition. I think the grant of responsible Government may have this effect of precipitating the formation of definite parties which cannot but help the Government to determine its programme, to frame its policy and to go forth to the Assembly confident in the expectation of support. Whether we shall succeed in forming parties on the lines of the parties in England or whether our line of development will be towards the formation of groups as in France, all this is too early to forecast, but whatever may be the particular line of advance, I have no doubt that the introduction of Responsible Government and the principle of responsibility will have the effect of promoting better organisation.

Then again it is said that the legislatures are not sufficiently representative of the people and that therefore responsible government cannot be granted. Of all the criticisms that have been levelled against the present constitution, this seems to me to be the unkindest cut, proceeding as it does specially from the Government and the officials who were responsible for the framing of this measure. When the Home Member on the last occasion of the debate in the Assembly put the question whether the legislature was really a representative one, I was disposed to say *et tu, Brute!* It is the Government that is responsible for the franchise and for the rules of

working. I am afraid that in judging this matter Government is as impatient as the ardent spirits among ourselves. The latter are eager to copy the latest fads in the political world which have been adopted within the last few years or perhaps the past few months. The Government is equally impatient to see an electorate as advanced, as educated and as responsible as the one which exists in the United Kingdom of the present day, forgetting that when responsible government was introduced in the United Kingdom the electorate bore but a small proportion to the population; forgetting that in the initial stages only a small proportion of the electorates goes to the poll,—forgetting their own past history they level these criticisms against us and say that we are not sufficiently advanced. I emphatically repudiate the charge that our legislatures are not representative. (Cheers.) I venture to claim that they are as representative as possible in the present position of affairs.

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Then again it is said that the sense of responsibility is one which has to be acquired by training, by experience and by opportunities, that the necessary opportunities have now been provided and that these opportunities must be utilised and exploited to the fullest measure before they can count upon a continuance and development of this sense of responsibility. Here again, let me say that I am not among those over-sanguine and over-ardent spirits who say that sense of responsibility is a thing which we all possess at birth or acquire as a natural endowment. I am one of those who think that the art of government requires at least as much practical experience and at least as much training as any other technical vocation. We all commit a serious mistake in supposing that while all other occupations require special training, the art of administration, the art of government, the art of legislation are things which require no experience whatever. I confess I do not belong to that school of thought. At the same time I do think that responsibility is cultivated by the furnishing of opportunities for its exercise. The existing constitution has, no doubt, furnished us with opportunities for the cultivation of a sense of responsibility, but I think the greater the opportunities that are furnished the greater will be the development of the sense of responsibility and I think the experiment may well be made of making further concessions and seeing whether the people do or do not rise to a sense of responsibility.

Now we ask for full autonomy in the provincial Governments at the end of the first term. The most important subjects among those which are now reserved in the provincial Governments are the subjects of law and justice. Naturally our Governments are afraid that the subjects of law and justice being vital to the maintenance of law and order and society itself, we cannot afford to run any risk of failure in that respect. But I have all along felt that the departments of law and justice may well be entrusted to popular control for the reason that if those departments are not administered with a due sense of responsibility, it will recoil upon us far more than upon any other section of the community. I think we shall be quick to realise that we shall suffer more through the miscarriage of justice or the failure of law. Nothing will better bring home to us a due sense of responsibility with regard to these departments than this, and I venture to claim that we are as deeply interested in the maintenance of law and justice and the preservation of peace and order as the officials or as any particular section of the community.

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The other subject is finance. There is no doubt that there will be a strong inducement on the part of representatives of the people not to face the unpopularity or the odium of fiscal measures imposing burdens upon the people. But that is a thing which is bound to pass away soon when people settle down to the working of the constitution and begin to realise that in this world they cannot have anything for nothing and that if they are to secure the blessings of civilized administration, they must pay for them. They will begin to realise that by some means or other they are bound to find the necessary monies for the expenditure. I venture to hope that the representatives of the people will not be so dead to all sense of responsibility as to sacrifice considerations of efficiency of administration. For these reasons, sir, I advocate the grant of full autonomy in the provincial Governments at the end of the first term of the legislatures.

As regards the Central Government, what we ask for is that except the special subjects of defence—Army and the Navy—though the Navy is non-existent just now, foreign affairs, relations with Indian States and ecclesiastical affairs, all other subjects should be transferred to the control of the legislature. We are aware that there are important interests to be safeguarded, and for the purpose of protecting all vested interests we ask such safeguards as may be suitable and necessary for the protection of all vested interests may be provided and that subject to such safeguards the rest of the subjects may be transferred to popular control. The reasons which I have urged for the introduction of responsibility in the provincial Governments apply with as much force to the case of Central Government. In fact, it is more of that Government that I have been speaking with anything like personal experience than of the local Governments. So far as the provincial Governments are concerned, it has been claimed by some of the heads of administration that in accordance with the expectation of the Joint Select Committee, notwithstanding the theoretical division of Governments into two halves, the one in charge of reserved and the other in charge of transferred subjects, the two halves of the Government have been working as a unitary Government. If the two halves of the Government have been working together as a unitary Government, then this resolution asks that that procedure should be continued and formally recognized and legalised. If, on the other hand, they have not been working as a unitary Government then we urge that they should work as a unitary Government in theory and in practice.

These, in brief, are the reasons why we put forward this demand for a further advance in both the provincial and central legislatures. I have no doubt others will be brought forward by speakers who will follow me. I have exceeded the time-limit and I do not wish to trespass upon your patience much longer.

With these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance. (Loud cheers.)

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (Allahabad) seconded the resolution in a Hindi speech.

Dr. D. C. MITTER

Dr. D. C. Mitter (Bengal) in supporting the resolution said :—Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution which has been so ably proposed by our distinguished and veteran political leader Sir Sivaswami Iyer of Madras and so eloquently seconded in the vernacular by the rising star on the political firmament of the United Provinces (cheers) whom you all know. Both these gentlemen have formulated in the most explicit terms the demand which we make in this resolution and the reasons for that demand. The substance of the resolution is that we want the abolition of diarchy in the provincial Governments and the transfer to popular control of all departments in the Central Government except the departments which relate to defence, foreign affairs, relations with Indian states and ecclesiastical affairs.

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Ladies and gentlemen, among the reasons urged for giving effect to this demand at an early date the growth of national consciousness is stated to be one. That there has been this growth of national consciousness is a statement on which there can be no two opinions. The depth and intensity of national feeling in the popular mind is apparent to every one, and any one who runs may read that feeling. India is no longer a merely geographical expression consisting of a congeries of nations; it consists of one nation, (hear, hear) throbbing with the pulse of a new national life. The depth and intensity of national feeling has at least led one section of my countrymen—I think it is a considerable section who are the followers of Mahatma Gandhi—to support a programme, an unconstitutional programme, of civil disobedience which we all condemned here yesterday, for the purpose of obtaining *Swaraj*. A little reflection ought to have warned the followers of the Mahatma that they are playing with the people of the British Isles, who are quickly roused even against the shadow of a concession when the greatness and power of Britain is openly assailed and an attitude of hostility is taken, at the same time ready and willing to come into fairplay and conciliation and even to the position of pacific truce if we do not attack their greatness. Ladies and gentlemen, our method is a method of constitutional agitation. We are appealing to the fair instincts of the British people. Mr. Montagu has promised to give us complete responsible government at the end of ten years. From out of the mouth of the King-Emperor we have got a promise of *Swaraj*. The question is whether we shall have to wait for ten years or whether there should be a further instalment of reform before the expiry of that time. You may remember, ladies and gentlemen, that during the last Simla session of the Legislative Assembly the representatives of the people in that Assembly recommended to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India the possibility of a further instalment of reform before the end of ten years. Mr. Montagu has declared that it is not possible to grant a further instalment before the Commission visits this country at the end of the period of ten years. At the same time, his Under-Secretary of State Lord Lytton has said that notwithstanding that declaration, if it is found in the working of the Reforms Act that there have been any defects in the machinery, there is no reason why any Secretary of State should be debarred from remedying those defects. Ladies and gentlemen, Lord Lytton's view is in consonance with the feeling of the majority of our countrymen, and if defects are to be found in

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the machinery, they must be removed. I have great faith in the British people. As you know, the British people are most flexible in the world, and that is the reason for their vitality, and I trust that with a little good-will and imagination the problem of self-government in India, which indeed is a delicate and difficult problem, will be solved, and British statesmanship will be able to concede us even within a very short time the demand which we have formulated in this resolution. With these few words, ladies and gentlemen, I commend this resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put to the Conference and carried.

The President :—Ladies and gentlemen, with reference to the next resolution (that relating to the political situation) there is some difference of opinion and it has therefore been considered desirable that the Subjects Committee should now be called to meet with a view to consider whether it is possible to secure an agreement with reference to the wording of the resolution. The Federation will now adjourn for half an hour, and the members of the Subjects Committee will meet upstairs at once, and it is only they that will be allowed to take part in the proceedings of the Committee.

The Federation then adjourned for half an hour.

The Federation reassembled at 2 p. m., with Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer in the chair.

The President :—Fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am happy to say that the difference of opinion which threatened to be serious has been completely composed and the result of it is that the resolution standing as No. 7 on the agenda paper relating to the new policy has been slightly modified. You will notice when I read the resolution that it fully keeps up the spirit of it and adds to it things which are perfectly necessary and which are quite consistent with the resolution. The resolution as finally accepted by the Subjects Committee runs as follows and I would ask your careful attention to it :—

"7 (1) This Federation fully realises the difficulties of the Government in dealing with the present critical situation, the inevitable dangers to the country of a campaign of civil disobedience, and the necessity for the protection of peaceful and law-abiding citizens against any interference with their liberties, and it recognises the duty of all patriotic citizens to support the Government in all measures necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. But it views with great concern the inauguration of a policy of indiscriminate arrests and extensive application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and is strongly of opinion that such a policy defeats its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating general unrest. It also draws pointed attention to the fact that some Local Governments and local authorities have acted with an excess of zeal and want of discretion in the matter of arrests and with harshness and severity in regard to sentences of which the Federation strongly disapproves. It therefore strongly urges on the Government an immediate reconsideration of its policy in order to ease the present situation.

"(2) This Federation urges the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee and to withdraw the notifications

under the Criminal Law Amendment Act as early as possible, making such amendments of the ordinary law relating to intimidation as may be suitable and necessary for the effective protection of law-abiding citizens."

This was the resolution that met with the acceptance of by far a very large majority in the Subjects Committee. I now ask Mr. G. A. Natesan to move the resolution.

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MR. G. A. NATESAN.

Mr. G. A. Natesan (Madras) in proposing the resolution said:—

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—By the courtesy of the Subjects Committee I have now the privilege of placing before you the resolution the terms of which have been read out to you by our distinguished President. I should like to say at once how grateful I am to the Subjects Committee for having considerably lightened my task, and, if I may add, the responsibility that attaches to the mover of the resolution by the unanimity and the hearty spirit which they have displayed in arriving at a verdict which is acceptable to all of us.

Sir, we are now face to face with a crisis of the gravest magnitude in the history of this country. It therefore behoves all of us, including the authorities in this country, to see that in taking measures to eradicate the evil which is now threatening us we do not do anything that may defeat the very object which all of us have in view. This resolution, if I may say so, has been drafted very carefully, after anxious deliberation, with this end in view. It will be wrong for any citizen who realises the responsibility to deny that the non-cooperation movement which has now developed into the form of civil disobedience, in witness whereof is the resolution of the Congress which has now been published, is more or less a revolt not only against the authority of the Government, but against authority of all kinds. It is in my opinion, besides being a revolt against all law and order, a means which enables a son to revolt against the father, brother against brother, pupil against his teacher and servant against his master. It will certainly bring paralysis and the worst evils attendant on it in the Government, but ultimately the chief sufferers will be we the people of India. It is therefore our solemn duty to recognise the gravity of the situation. We acknowledge that in the campaign in bringing about *hartals*, as they are called—Mr. Gandhi himself in some instances has acknowledged this—there has been a certain amount of intimidation. While I am willing to concede, and many here may be willing to concede, that in many cases the *hartals* have been voluntary, it would be untrue to deny that there have been cases where there has been intimidation, where the natural rights and liberties of citizens have been seriously and scandalously interfered with. We say therefore that it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to support the Government in all necessary measures that it may take. At the same time, we take care to point out that the measures that the Government may take should be reasonable and should be calculated to achieve the end in view and not defeat the objects which we are most anxious to attain. It is because we realise the necessity of this also that the latter part of the resolution has been worded in the terms which have been

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read out to you. I fully realise, as I trust most others here do, that having said all this I must state here that in attempting to put down this evil, about which we are all agreed, the Government have over-stepped the mark of discretion and have to some extent committed a blunder which has resulted in defeating the very object it has in view. I should like to state at once that I am strongly of the opinion that the application of Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, at least in some provinces, was unnecessary and was a blunder of the gravest magnitude. I should like to ask you to remember that Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and other repressive measures have long been a source of irritation to the people and everybody recognises that the sooner they are removed from the statute-book the sooner shall we be able to advance a step towards peace and freedom in this country. It was because this was fully and strongly realised that our distinguished friend Mr. Srinivasa Sastri brought forward a motion in the Council of State recommending that a committee of officials and non-officials should be appointed to examine all these repressive measures and to report whether they should be done away with if necessary suitable safeguards are provided. In pursuance of that resolution a committee was appointed and I had the privilege of giving evidence before it. I may tell you that witness after witness told the Committee that it was undesirable that these repressive laws should continue to exist on the statute-book and that the earliest opportunity should be taken to repeal them. The Committee came to a decision almost unanimously on the point, if I may say so. They said:—"We are for the repeal of these repressive laws, but, in the case of the Seditious Meetings Act and Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, decision should be reserved on the question till the March session of the Legislative Assembly when it will be within the discretion of that Assembly to tell us whether they should be repealed or not." They said and they put this down in their report that they did so in view of the seriousness of the situation at the time and further developments that might take place thereafter. Since then a proclamation under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, Part II, has been issued. I have given my most anxious consideration to this question. I have had the privilege of talking over the matter to several officials and non-officials in Bengal in company of our distinguished President. I have also had the privilege of talking to friends at Allahabad when I came over here. As a result of these talks my original conviction has been confirmed, that taking into consideration the provocation that has been offered, in some respects it has been very grave, the circumstances have not warranted the application of Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, (Hear, hear.) The more so, ladies and gentlemen, when it is avowed by Lord Reading, the Governor-General, one of the best Viceroys we have ever had, one who is striving honestly to grapple with the situation, when it is avowed by Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal and also by the Governor of the United Provinces—they have stated it frankly—that they applied this provision particularly because they found that the *hartals*, the arrangements for the *hartals* and the campaign of the volunteers, were carried out in such a manner that they felt that it was high time that they were stopped. I hope I am not wrong and I am not trying to misread the situation, when I say that in their anxiety to put a stop to the *hartals* they have to some extent lost their heads and by their measures, by their indiscretion,

they have contributed to what would have been unsuccessful or perhaps partial, *hartals* becoming complete *hartals*. So as you see, the authorities have failed in achieving the immediate object, and I am personally sorry for it, because I believe that it is the duty of every citizen to accord his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales a reception worthy of his exalted position, as has been pointed out by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and I believe, too, it is a great mistake to organise a campaign against him, to make every *Jaikawalla* and every shop-keeper to behave and treat him as though he were an enemy of our constitution. Having said this, I wish at the same time to state that it was a mistake on the part of the authorities to have tried to introduce Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act to suppress this movement. They have achieved nothing by this. It has made *hartals* everywhere complete. Imprisonment of leaders has not frightened the people. Is it a good policy on the part of Government to haul up distinguished leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Motilal Nehru, when thousands of young men are ready to follow them to jail making it inconvenient for the authorities to find accommodation for them. I do think that this policy is wrong. I put this matter so strongly and emphatically because I believe that on the continuance of this Government will depend our future and that we should be in a position to obtain dominion status, as most of us are anxious, within the Empire only with the help of the British Government, and also that the non-cooperation movement with its subsequent development into that unfortunate and tragic drama, civil disobedience, is calculated to bring the greatest disaster to this country. I am more than anxious that the Reforms Act, however imperfect it might be—and we are anxious to improve it—should be given a fair chance in this country. It is because of that and because I feel that by their blunders the authorities have contributed to the present situation which makes the realisation of this object so difficult that I have felt it my duty to put the case in the fashion in which I have done. We therefore ask Government now to reconsider its policy and to ease the situation.

Having condemned the attitude of the Government I should like also to say in fairness to them and common honesty requires us to say that it was very good of His Excellency Lord Reading to have readily accepted the suggestion of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to call a truce. It has been stated that the Government were anxious to have a truce, that they were quite willing to revoke the extension of Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and to release all the prisoners under the Act. But I regret, and I say that the greatest disservice has been done to the country by Mr. Gandhi by refusing to take this golden opportunity to make peace, a peace which, if it had been accepted, would perhaps have brought us better terms than we ever are likely to get. I regret that Mr. Gandhi has chosen to adopt this attitude. I have every respect for Mr. Gandhi. In fact, he has great affection for me, and I consider it as one of the privileges of my life that I am his friend and always think of it with particular pride. But, while I value his high character, his saintliness, his sincerity of purpose, his undoubted love for our country, perhaps more than most of us have, I still feel it my duty to offer the greatest amount of opposition to his propaganda. This is the view of all of us, of men senior to me in age and experience, men who have laboured long for this country, for over quarter of a century, men who have built up the edifice of the

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Congress, men who have seen two instalments of reforms and are looking forward to having a brighter day, not within the ten years prescribed by the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme but even earlier—I feel all these hopes are being dashed—I hope they will not be at any rate, the attainment of these is being put off by the difficulties thrown in our way by Mr. Gandhi and his programme. It is because that I feel this that I ask you to give your cordial support to this resolution. As I said before, I feel happy that the little differences we had about the wording of the resolution no longer exists and that there will be representatives from the various provinces who will give their support to this resolution. I feel therefore I shall not be justified in standing between you and them for a minute longer. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. T. N. Chaddha:—Mr. President, with your permission may I say a few words? I wish to make a short amendment.

The President:—I cannot allow you now to do so. We shall see after the speakers have finished. You may send notice of the amendment.

Mr. Chaddha:—I have already sent notice.

Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu.

MR. SACHINDRA PRASAD BASU.

Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu (Bengal) in seconding the resolution said:—

Dewan Bahadur, ladies and gentlemen, I confess I feel greatly embarrassed in rising to second this resolution for the very simple reason that we, the Liberal party in India, are as it were between two fires. On the one hand, we cannot conscientiously follow the course that is now being followed by the Non-Cooperators in our country, a course which has very nearly brought us to the verge of a revolution. On the other hand, we cannot conscientiously approve of the methods and policy that are now being pursued by the Government for the very simple reason that wholesale repression and indiscriminate arrests are foredoomed to failure.

Ladies and gentlemen, if we go into the etiology of the non-cooperation movement, the whole movement now reduces itself to the determination of one point and one point alone, and it is this; whether we are to achieve our goal by the peaceful methods of evolution or by revolution, a revolution which, if it is the misfortune of our country to witness, will be one of the bloodiest revolutions history has ever known, whether we are to achieve our goal by constitutional agitation or by methods of non-violent non-cooperation. Fellow Liberals, I draw pointed attention to the word "non-violent," because you must have seen in the papers that what is non-violent to-day may be violent as soon as it pleases its authors to choose that course, as has been clearly indicated by Hasrat Mohani and his party in the Congress—whether we are to achieve our goal by cooperation or non-cooperation; whether we are to achieve our goal by the approved lines of agitation which have been followed by leaders of the Congress in the past or by dubious methods or by launching a wholesale campaign of civil disobedience which is now going to take the form of non-payment of taxes—these are really the broad points at issue on which the whole country has been divided. We are now at the parting of ways. We must make our choice. We must choose this course or the other. Under these circumstances, we the Liberal

party of India have husbanded our resources, and since we have been grouped in this party we have been opposed and insulted right and left; but that is altogether a different matter at present. On this question which has been freely discussed, namely, whether intimidation is being practised by the non-cooperators, whether the non-cooperators are really non-violent or whether they are using methods whereby people have been prevented from following the dictates of their conscience—on this point there have been heated discussions not only in the Subjects Committee but here and everywhere. For this reason it is only reasonable and fair that we should state our point of view. I have no quarrel with those men in our party who have adopted an attitude different from ours, because their angle of vision has been shaped and moulded according to what they have seen in their particular province. But we coming from Bengal, as has been said by some of our leaders, say that it is our firm conviction that intimidation was largely practised in Bengal in connection with the *hartal* of the 17th November and the 24th December and but for the Government measures things might have turned in a different light as we noticed in Bombay.

Now, sir, the times are critical, the days are critical, and we are passing through a crisis. No body likes such a situation in one's own country. No body likes that the country should be brought to the verge of a revolution. Under these circumstances I am firmly of opinion that Government was thoroughly justified in introducing the measure that they have done. (Ironical laughter from the visitors' gallery.) I am firmly convinced that the Government, so far as Bengal is concerned—I have no quarrel with the United Provinces, I have no quarrel with the other parts of India where the people feel honestly that the application of the measure was absolutely uncalled for and unnecessary—but so far as my province is concerned, Fellow Liberals, I remind you, a province where anarchism had its sway, where people dissatisfied with their machinery of law had taken to the bomb and the revolver, the weapons of the assassin, I remind you of Bengal and I tell you honestly and frankly that it is our sincere conviction that the Government was fully justified in its action. (Ironical laughter.) You may laugh, you may cry, I say nothing. Have patience as long as I am on the platform. We are thoroughly convinced that the Government was justified in introducing some measure to put down the mad course which is now being followed, not by the educated people, but by the illiterate masses who have been engaged for daily hire for purpose of intimidation. (Ironical laughter again.) I say the times are critical, but the measures that the Government has adopted and the policy that it is following, I must say, are foredoomed to failure. (Hear, hear.) It is only for this reason that I say that the Criminal Law Amendment Act—I am not a lawyer and therefore I do not hazard any opinion on that point—that the repressive policy should be abandoned. Why? For the very simple reason that history has shown times without number that repression is a rusty weapon which can never be used against anything under the sun. (Cheers and hear, hear.) If I am convinced that the policy which the Government is now pursuing would be sufficient to cope with the situation that has been created by the non-cooperators in our country and if I am absolutely convinced that the weapons that the Government is now using would be able to kill the monster of non-cooperation, which is bound to create havoc in the country, I would be the first man to vote for

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them and I would be the last man to vote against any measure which Government might introduce in the legislature for the purpose ; and in these circumstances I would not be prepared to ask Government to deplete its armoury of any weapon which it successfully uses against non-cooperation. As for the policy of repression it is foredoomed to failure and I appeal to Government to abandon it. (Loud cheers.)

DR. N. N. SIRCAR.

Dr. N. N. Sircar.

Dr. N. N. Sircar (Bengal) in supporting the resolution said :—

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,—I fully support the resolution which has been moved by my friend Mr. Natesan. I do not think that any useful purpose is served by going into the past history and to consider province by province whether the introduction of this law was justified or not. I accept fully the statements which have been made to me by gentlemen from the United Provinces that the introduction of this law was wholly unjustified here. I value their opinion far more than my own and I bow to it and accept it fully—their considered opinion that there was no justification whatsoever for the introduction of the measure here. I do not like to go into the question as to the necessity or otherwise of the introduction of the measure in Bengal. You may take it from me—whether that statement is palatable to you or not I do not care—that the truth is that there is a large body of people in Bengal who think that the introduction was justified. But I ask you to consider this question: Is it necessary in the face of this resolution which meets with the wishes of everybody, is it necessary now to discuss the situation province by province or to ascertain individual opinion as to whether the introduction of the Criminal Law Amendment Act was necessary or not. After all, what are the principles which this resolution avows—the question of the right of the Government and the expediency of Government introducing these notifications. The right to introduce and the expediency of introducing the measure are two different questions. It may be that the Government was right in introducing it, but what the Federation draws pointed attention to is the inexpediency of doing this thing because, as the resolution says, the very object for which it is introduced is defeated by these arrests. I am therefore not going to say that the introduction of the measure was or was not justified in Bengal. I think the resolution fully expresses what I understand from the discussion in the Subjects Committee to be the opinion of the majority, and we recognise that the Government has a duty not merely to consider its strict rights under the law but also to consider the feelings of the people, the question of expediency and whether, if its strict legal right is enforced it will be to the advantage of the people at large or whether it will recoil and will have exactly the opposite effect. That is what the resolution says, and I do not think I need raise a discordant note here. I fully support the resolution.

Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul (Lucknow) supported the resolution in an Urdu speech.

Mrs. Annie
Besant.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

Mrs. Besant who on rising was received with cheers said :—

Friends and Fellow Delegates,—I suppose the privilege of speaking to you here to-day is given to me partly because for 48 years I have been

engaged in the work of politics and four years after I entered that arena I began my protests on behalf of India and claimed that India should be free. That of course was in England, the country of my birth, and in Ireland, the country of my descent. Coming over here as I did in 1893 I identified myself with this, which is the country of my choice and my adoption. (Cheers.) And for that reason I think, and because I love this country above every other country in the world (cheers) and would fain serve her because I believe that in India lies the hope not only of the Indo-British Federation but of humanity at large for the opening of a new and better civilization,—it is because of that that I ask you to bear with me this morning if in some things that I say I cannot be with many of you now. There is, I think, in India a tradition, inevitable and natural, a tradition which has grown out of the fact that India has been living under a foreign Government which has exercised its powers of rule unduly to check political life and political self-expression—there has grown up a tradition that when the Government interferes with speech or association, Indians ought to stand against the Government and with their people. I agree that until lately that view has had justification and I held it with them, as you know being largely concerned in the building up of the Home Rule movement and working for that and suffering for that. But I submit that the conditions to-day are changed. You are partly governors in your own land, and before many years are over India will be to Indians what England is to Englishmen. You will be the rulers, you the Governors, you the politicians and the statesmen who will guide the ship of state of India. And how are you going to guide it? I ask this because that question is very much in my thought and in my mind and I fear there is a fascination which does not belong to India alone—you find it in England as well—the fascination of direct action on the Government by agitation, by crowds—the only voices that you heard lately more than a year ago—but now you are able to represent your wishes in Councils which have an elected majority in every case, and if any of you have abstained from voting for the Councils, yours is the fault and not the fault of the system which has been established in this land. Under these conditions I would ask you to revise your views as to the relations between a Government and the nation over which it rules. If in these last day of the rule—the half rule of the foreign Government—you set yourself against it whenever enthusiasm and misguided zeal forces you into the path of lawlessness and is guiding the country to revolution, if because of that difference of blood and colour you set yourself against every attempt of the Government to proceed by peace and constitution and not by agitation and intimidation, what will you say to that Government a few years hence if it hands over to you a country pre-disposed to lawlessness willing to break laws when some one thinks that they ought to be broken? Is it not your duty towards the present Government, influenced as it is by Indian opinion, to support it so that you may have a country when it comes into your hands where law is revered and where the disciplined obedience of the citizen takes the place of the agitator and the fighter for elementary rights. That is the point I want to ask you to consider. That is why in this resolution we have said it is the duty of good citizens to support the Government in measures necessary for the preservation of law and order.

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Let us for a moment look at the country as it was before the so-called repressive action, I use the popular word began. An agitation was going on; it began with the *Satyagraha* movement in 1919. It was then given up by its author because he saw that it had led to danger, and he very honestly said so. Then at the beginning of last year a new agitation began, the agitation of non-cooperation. Now, I think I have the right to say to you that from the beginning of that movement I set my face against it because I saw, with the long experience of nearly fifty years behind me, that wherever such a line was taken it inevitably led to revolution and from revolution to anarchy. If you want something outside history, the story of our own days, we have Russia as an example. There we have seen the result of masses of ignorant people, poor and illiterate, as India in her great masses is illiterate and poor—we have seen there how a small and well organised minority has been able to seize the reins of power by massacre, by cruelty, by killing all expression of opinion save that which the minority permitted. A hundred thousand in Russia are the Bolsheviki as they call themselves and the millions of Russia are under the tyranny they impose. They took away the land from the landlords, they made a new code of laws for the people with the result that Russia is starving, Russia is ruined and those who ruined her are in the markets of Europe to help the capitalism, to work for the capitalism which they destroyed by their movement. I have no time to go into the whole question now and I do not wish to labour the point or to mislead you. I am myself a socialist. I believe in socialism, socialism of land and capital. But that is a question apart. You may change a thing gradually by argument and reason, but if you try to change it by force, then it is the crowd that gets the rule of the country and their tyranny is a thousand times worse than any form of bureaucratic oppression. I think you are in that kind of danger to-day. You have a minority, not a majority of the nation with you. The majority of the nation are silent. The majority of the nation are uninterested in politics. The majority of the nation think of their livelihood and not the question of rule, and they are only awakening to-day partly by the wave for Home Rule which swept the country and partly because of the tyranny of the organised minority that is beginning to make life intolerable for them in some of the cities of the land.

What has happened during the last few months? You may take Malabar for instance if you like. We have there what they call the *Khilafat Raj*. Let us take Bombay for a moment. There in Bombay this tyranny had been going on for many, many weeks before the *hartal* to welcome the Prince of Wales and the consequent riot. In the streets of Bombay people who wore foreign cloths were insulted, and in many cases had them torn from off their bodies. A brave young fellow, the son of a gentleman who is here to-day, objected, when they took away from him his Swadeshi cap because it was not of the particular shape and kind which the young rulers wished to have people wear. The young man saw the people molesting an old Parsi gentleman who put on a Parsi coat and throwing it in the mud, and when the Parsi gentleman threatened them with prosecution and they jeered at him saying, "There is no witness for you," this young lad said, "I will be a witness for you." Then they took his cap and threw it away. The result of it was that he prosecuted

the man who did it, and the magistrate very properly explained that while he might take away a cap of his own he had no right to take away the cap of his neighbour, which was practically stealing it, against the wishes of the owner. Things like that went on for weeks, bonfires of foreign cloth, insults to those who would not allow their foreign cloth to be taken away and burnt. But Sir George Lloyd let the people have their way. He desired not to interfere; he desired not to put pressure upon them. What was the result? The result was that a *hartal* took place and the people thought that they could do as they had done before; they had a great bonfire of *videshi* cloth, and then meeting people coming back from the Prince of Wales' reception attacked them and the riots, as you know, took place. In Calcutta the same thing was going on. There was a complete *hartal* on the 17th November. I heard from people living there that they could not get any form of conveyance to go to their businesses and that those who drove their own had the danger of being pulled out and hurt. Just the same thing in Benares the other day when I wanted to go to the Hindu University. My friend told me that my coachman would not get ready my horses and that my syce would not put on the harness. When I asked why, I was told, "If we do, we would be beaten and outcasted." I call that intimidation. I do not know what you call it. You may call it public opinion. The Government saw the same thing beginning in Calcutta, but the Calcutta people growing angry organised a civil guard; their patience was wearing out; they refused to submit any longer to the tyranny of those crowds of students. The police would not act; they have been corrupted; and the Government had to call out soldiers; and what was the result? The result was that Mr. Gandhi ordered people to sit in their homes if they did not want to see the Prince of Wales. Those who did not want to see the Prince stayed in their homes and the rest of the people were free and gave a welcome to the Prince of Wales. No one objects to people staying in their homes. If they want to be rude to the Royal guest it is their business; not the business of anybody else. Sitting at homes is quite fair; but going about and bullying your neighbours who do not want to stay at home is tyranny, and I submit that Government was justified in saying. "We will not allow this tyranny to go on". For merchants and men of all ranks had appealed to them to save them from the tyranny to which they were being subjected in Calcutta. Was the Government to be silent in the face of such appeals? Was the Government not to do its primary duty to preserve law and order and liberty and the free right of citizens to follow their vocations? You will never have freedom if you do not also have order. You will never have freedom if you allow a man to be a dictator over you and thousands of young men who obey him, to impose his will upon you against your own. I have been a soldier of Liberty all my life. Never have I bowed to tyranny; and because I love Liberty I hate the tyranny of the non-cooperation movement and the way in which it is destroying the public life of India—intimidation everywhere, sometimes for good objects—but you have no right to intimidate your neighbour because his mind does not go with yours. I have been temperate for more than forty years, but I would not move my finger to use force against a liquor seller. Use of force is bad in all moral questions, and it is because of that that, without making any sort of excuses, I say that I stand by the Government in what it is doing. If you ask: Was it politic, I say I do not

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think it was. I would rather that the Government had held its hand as it did for two years until the 31st December, because then everyone would have said to Mr. Gandhi, "You promised us *Swaraj* by the 31st December. Give it to us as you promised." And the result of it would have been he would have been discredited. But the Government know more than I do. They may see reasons which I cannot see. And I therefore urge, if you care for the future of the country, if you care for liberty, to stand by the man who has loved Liberty all his life, who is grieving because he is obliged for the sake of his duty to defend the orderly people of the country, and you will find very soon the agitation will die down and by ordered liberty India would be free among the nations of the world. (Loud Cheers.)

Mr. B. S. Kamat.

Mr. B. S. Kamat (Bombay) in supporting the resolution said :—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—Mrs. Besant has been pleased to place before you her point of view in regard to this question. In supporting this resolution I shall endeavour, with your permission, to place before you a few considerations according to my own humble light. The two or three special points to which I wish to draw your attention are, firstly, the precise attitude from which we the Liberals look at this question and the policy which the Government have inaugurated; secondly, the reasons why we cannot approve of the course of action which Government have thought fit to take and; thirdly, the things which Government should do so far as their future action is concerned. The way in which I look at this question is this that it is after all a very painful duty for the Liberals to come forward at this juncture and to tell Government that taking the totality of circumstances, the advantages and disadvantages on both sides, it is not advisable to pursue the policy which they have been pursuing. I say it is our painful duty for one or two reasons. I am aware that we must try to realise the situation of the Government. I not only realise the situation in which the Government are placed, I go further and say that we sympathise with the Government. I go still further and say that when I sympathise with the Government it is not only with the foreign element in that Government with which I sympathise, but there are in that Government my own countrymen and I sympathise with and realise their position more than any thing else. That is precisely the attitude in which I look at this question. Mrs. Besant has told us that we have a tradition in this country whereby we look at every political question as if any action taken by the foreign rulers is always against our interests. That is not my attitude at all. Whether it is a Government by Europeans or a Government by Europeans and Indians mixed together, after all partially at any rate, it is my Government and therefore I come forward in a friendly spirit, in the spirit of a cooperator, in the spirit of one who has tried to help Government since last year to make this constitutional reform a success, in that friendly spirit and with due deference to Lord Reading I say that the action which he has taken is not the action that a statesman ought to have taken. I do not look at this question from the point of view of a magistrate. Although Lord Reading coming as he does fresh from the traditions of England and imbued as he is with the ideas of law and justice which he is so very manfully trying to carry out in this country—although he is imbued with all these ideas,

still the point of view from which he has to look at this question is not the point of view of a lawyer, or the point of a view of a magistrate, but the point of view of a statesman, and it is from that point of view that I would urge his Lordship to look at this question. We have been told that the Government since last year or rather from the early part of this year have shown a great deal of tolerance and forbearance towards the movement. I admit. The Government of India throughout the year 1921 have been actuated by motives of tolerance and forbearance towards that mischievous non-cooperation movement which we are all agreed in condemning. But I must say in the light of events I do not wish to be wise after the event—but I must say in the light of events that that patience and forbearance have proved to be fatal patience and forbearance. If the whole movement had been nipped in the bud, probably Lord Reading and his Government would not have landed us in the predicament in which we find ourselves to-day. Every Liberal, if he is true to his name and traditions, must be a lover of liberty and freedom. I consider it shall be ever our duty to maintain law and personal liberty. I do not think there is anybody in this hall who can yield to any one so far as his reverence for law and liberty is concerned. Some people believe that we have been tender in our protests on the ground that some prominent leaders either in the Punjab or the United Provinces have been sent to jail. I do not take my stand on persons and personalities. I am a lover of Liberty and therefore I say that even supposing my son, my dearest son, had deliberately broken the law, I for one would have said: "Let the law take its own course and let him go to the jail." My consideration is not that Lala Lajpat Rai has been made the victim or Pandit Motilal Nehru has been made the victim. I do not take my stand on personalities. Whether it is a dearest son of mine or a leader of the Punjab or U. P. who has been made the victim makes very little difference in the view I take of the situation. Taking the collective circumstances of the country I ask: Was it wise during the Prince of Wales' visit to come down, to swoop down, if I may say so, all of a sudden within a week and reverse the former policy of fatal patience and forbearance, and haul up every big person, and thereby exasperate the country? That precisely is the point of view from which I look at the question. I judge by results. I do not judge by theoretical law. And what are the results? Have the Government, I ask, in the name of Liberty, in the name of law, have they enhanced respect for that Law so far as the man in the street is concerned? Government say that they are for the maintenance of law and order. I grant that that is a perfectly correct view and I shall be the first man to help the Government of India in the maintenance of law and order. But what I say is: Did the situation in the country justify the application of an extraordinary law in order to vindicate the principle of law? That is the point.

Mrs. Besant referred to the conditions in Bombay. Let me tell you, if it is pardonable to refer to a personal incident, I myself was a victim of jeering and molestation on the part of the Bombay crowd on the day the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay. Such incidents have been going on there, as every one knows, long before the Prince arrived. But from this incident Mrs. Besant went forward to argue that this sort of thing ought not to be tolerated. If the conditions have been so bad why is it that the Bombay Government

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have not proclaimed Bombay a proclaimed area? I go further and ask why the Bombay Government have not applied the Seditious Meetings Act to Bombay? There precisely lies the moral of the whole situation. In Bombay there have been no less than fifty-three murders at the hands of the crowds during the days the Prince was there. But has Sir George Lloyd lost his head and has he launched upon a policy of hauling up people indiscriminately so as to secure respect for law? I am asked what are the Government to do? I point my finger to the province of Bombay and the Governor there and say that if Sir George Lloyd had launched on the same policy as some of the other provincial Governors had done, he would have precipitated a state of things which would have been worse than the conditions in any province and there would have been a greater disaster than that which Mrs. Besant has been foreshadowing from the example of Russia. And I say that Government of other provinces ought to observe the same policy as the Government of Bombay. In Bombay there were riots for three days and immediately there was an understanding between the various sections of the population and I believe on the last day when the Prince left Bombay there was a huge crowd coming out and showing every respect to the Prince. I recall this incident simply to show that once people are left to themselves for a short time temporary ebullitions of temper will subside and people will compose themselves to the ordinary normal life.

We further say why the application of this Act is ill-advised. My own reading of the situation tells me that if, as Mrs. Besant hinted, Government had stayed their hands till the 31st December and if they had not been in a state of panic, things in the Congress would not have been as they are to-day. Certainly if owing to this thing and the precipitate manner in which the Congress has come to the very objectionable resolution on civil disobedience the results are, as Mrs. Besant described, *viz.*, actual Bolshevism and Russian terrors, I shall be the first man to go to the Government of India and say, "Now has arisen an extraordinary situation demanding extraordinary remedy." But today, taking a general survey of the conditions in all the provinces, I am not prepared to say that such a situation has arisen and I therefore say that they ought to reverse their policy. If such a situation arises and if India finds herself in the throes of anarchy and Bolshevism, certainly as law-abiding citizens, I think we should be the first, we the Liberals, we the members of the Legislative Assembly, shall be the first to go to the Government of India and say, "Now the situation is out of hand. And we on behalf of the country urge the Government to adopt such measures as shall put down this movement." But let us not be premature in our panic. Let us not be unnecessarily nervous. Let us not exasperate the country. Taking all the circumstances together into our consideration the only conclusion to which I can come in regard to this matter is that Government's action is inexpedient and unstatesmanlike and it ought to be reversed. I appeal to Lord Reading, the best friend of India, the best Governor-General we ever had, a man who has got the best good-will towards this country, to reconsider the matter and take our advice for whatever it is worth, given in the spirit of friends, in the spirit of cooperators, who are willing to help the Government in restoring this country to peace with honour. (Loud Cheers.)

Mr. Fakir Chand (Punjab) supported the resolution in an Urdu speech.

MR. JAMNADAS DWARKADAS.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas (Bombay) in supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. President, fellow-Delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—

I rise once more to give my support to the resolution which has been placed before you by my friend Mr. Natesan, and in doing so I wish to place before you a few considerations which I hope you will have the patience to hear.

When the speeches on this resolution were going on I was trying to think for myself as to how on the one hand the non-cooperator from his own point of view would look at the situation that had arisen; as to how, on the other hand, the Government from its own point of view would look at the situation that had arisen; as to how we, who neither formed part of the Government nor followed the non-cooperation movement, would from our own point of view look at the situation that had arisen. Coming to the non-cooperator's standpoint, if we believe in all that the non-cooperators have been saying ever since the movement started, then I say that to them nothing gives greater joy than the existence of the present situation in which they have got exactly what they have been trying for. All along it has been stated by them, "Jails should be filled. The Government should send us to prison; and if the Government does not send us to prison, we shall devise means whereby we shall compel the Government to send us to the place which is the only place that we would welcome." That is the non-cooperator's standpoint. So far as the present position is concerned, if any man comes out to protest against the situation that has arisen, to complain of the situation that has arisen, I take it for granted that he does not belong to that class of people who are called non-cooperators.

Then comes the Government. Here I tried to put myself, if you permit me to say so, in the shoes of the Government. I said to myself that for the moment I should forget that there existed in this country a Government which consisted partially of Englishmen and partially of Indians. Assuming for a moment that the Government consisted wholly of Indians and taking that for granted I tried to think what I would do if I were in the Government and if a situation like the present had arisen. And I said to myself—and I am sure you will sympathise with the view that I took—that if in India where the Government was, as I assumed for the moment, wholly Indian, managed entirely by Indians, a spirit of lawlessness went abroad, if I knew that preparations were being made to bring about a situation which would create nothing but a state of chaos and disaster in the country, then I for one would leave no stone unturned to prevent that situation from coming into existence, a situation which would place the whole country in a state of chaos and perpetual danger. I do not say for one moment that I agree with the policy that has been adopted by the various local Governments. I agree with Mrs. Besant in the view that she has taken that perhaps as a matter of policy it would have been much better for the local Governments to leave this movement alone till the 31st December, when either the people would have demanded of Mr. Gandhi *Swaraj* and not having got it would have revolted against him or they would have agreed to civil disobedience, and if they did that, law-abiding citizens would have supported Government in their action of putting down the movement which threatens to destroy society. I take that

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view myself ; but at the same time on principle I cannot help supporting the Government in the steps that they have taken. For I am sure you will agree with me when I say that if in the history of British rule in India on any occasion and with regard to any movement the tolerance that has been shown at present has ever been shown, it is only on this occasion. Practically every day we read papers representing the non-cooperation standpoint, and what are the phrases that we come across uttered by the very leader of the non-cooperation movement ? "We are at war with the Government ; we want to fight with the Government ; we want to overthrow the Government ; we want revolution, a bloodless revolution ; we want to bring the Government to their knees." Never before I think have the Government tolerated things much milder than those that are being expressed to-day ; and yet, I am sure you will agree, that so far as the non-cooperation movement is concerned the Government have shown extraordinary patience and forbearance.

What was it that compelled them to resort to the policy which we are now met to criticise ? The events in Bombay. So long as the riots in Bombay had not taken place, although there was some justification for the Government taking effective measures to check this movement, although there were some troubles in places like Malabar, Malegaon and Dharwar, the Government had stayed their hands believing that the work of the new Councils and the efforts of those who, although they stand for the highest goal that can be imagined for this country, respect the constitution and would do their level best to put down the forces of disaster that were prevailing in the country—I say that Government had stayed their hands in spite of the fact that there would have been some justification for their taking some steps to check the movement. No one ever dreamt—I for one, I am free to admit never dreamt—that in Bombay riots would take place, and yet we saw things with our own eyes which we never dreamt would happen ; as soon as the forces of disorder are let loose and the liberty of citizens is at stake, it is not the noncooperators nor the cooperators who take possession of the situation, but it is the hooligans, even men who belong to the criminal classes, who are always longing for an opportunity to take advantage of a situation like this—it was these people that had come out and held the city for two days in their own hands. So, you will pardon me when I say that having experienced this in Bombay, the Government of India and the local Governments were perfectly justified in entertaining the fear that perhaps if they did not take any preventive measures a similar situation would arise in other provinces. (Ironical laughter from the gallery.) However much you may disagree with the policy of the various local Governments, I am sure that none of you who is a law-abiding citizen and who is sensible enough will come forward and say that there is no justification for Government to take preventive measures in order that the scenes that had taken place in Bombay may not be repeated in other provinces. That being the case, I repeat, there was some justification for the Government in taking some of the preventive measures that they did take. And I said to myself, "We are candidates for full responsible Government, we are longing for the day—and the sooner the day comes the better for this country—we are longing for the day when the reins of Government would be entirely in our own hands." And I asked myself "if we are sincerely longing for that day when we should have full control of Government in our own hands, if we want to be adminis-

trators of this country so that the people of this country may live in peace and prosperity, so that their lives and liberty may not be in perpetual danger, then we ought to have the courage to say, and to say openly, that if a spirit of lawlessness is spread about, if there is the danger of a situation being created when life in India would be impossible, Indians as we are, however painful it would be for us to take steps against eminent Indians whom we would otherwise respect, however painful it would be for us to witness this spectacle of man after man going to prison for having defied the law, as administrators, as lovers of the country, as men who want to attain Swaraj at the earliest possible date, we would not refrain from resorting to action which would prevent the existence of such a movement."

Now, when we have met here to apportion the blame between the non-cooperators and the Government, the thought also comes to me that this situation would not have arisen if Mr. Gandhi had condescended by a gesture to proclaim a truce and to meet the Government and the leaders of all political parties in a conference with the sole object of settling the differences that have caused so much agitation in the country. I claim that I was one of those who, at the instance of my chief Mrs. Besant, went to Mr. Gandhi to obtain from him his consent to the proposal of a round-table conference. We have already published a statement in which we said that when we left Ahmedabad, my friend Mr. Kunzru and myself, we had reason to hope—and I am sure Mr. Gandhi will not deny that there was justification for that hope—we had reason to hope that so far as Mr. Gandhi was concerned there would be no difficulty in getting up this round-table conference. But to our misfortune when we reached Calcutta we found that all our hopes had been shattered by the subsequent telegrams that Mr. Gandhi had sent to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others. And yet we waited in deputation on the Viceroy and so far as we are concerned we are convinced that if Mr. Gandhi had proclaimed truce there would have been no difficulty on the part of the Viceroy not only to call a round-table conference but to create a favourable atmosphere, by the release of the prisoners and by other measures—suitable for the holding of such a conference. High patriotism demanded that such an offer should have been accepted. It is our misfortune that Mr. Gandhi should have failed at a moment of crisis to display that high patriotism which would have conquered all desire for credit and embraced this opportunity of meeting at a round-table conference for the sole purpose of settling differences in order that peace may be restored in this country. The door has yet been left open by the Viceroy. The Viceroy openly declared that blame should attach to no party, that no party should take credit, that no party should reproach the other for having yielded and that they would meet on equal terms and honestly put their heads together for the purpose of settling their—

Mr. Prakash Narayan Sapru:—Mr. President, I rise to a point of order. Is the hon'ble speaker relevant at all in the remarks he is making? We are not at present discussing the question of a round-table conference.

The President:—I cannot say that the remarks are out of order and that they are irrelevant. At the same time, I trust that speakers would observe a sense of proportion in bringing in matters in their speeches.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas continuing said:—I am grateful to you, Sir, for the ruling that the point to which I was referring was not out of

Political situation.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas.

Political situation.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas.

order. I wanted to say that if the opportunity had been embraced by Mr. Gandhi this conference would have been possible and probably we would have been saved the occasion of meeting to apportion blame between this party or that party. But that was not to be. Now Civil Disobedience has been adopted. Leave aside the past. We have also to think of what is coming, in the future and I place before you, fellow-delegates, in all humility what should be our clear duty. Between the ordered Government on the one hand and the prospect of anarchy on the other what is the attitude that we who claim to be administrators in not very remote future are going to adopt? I do not know what your decision will be, but I am sure it will be in favour of Government, for if your decision goes on the other side, then I am afraid there will be no Government left in this country. But so far as the decision of some of us is concerned, it is clearly to be at any cost on the side of law and order, on the side of Government, without which society would be an impossibility even for a minute. (Loud cheers.)

Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul:—Sir, I want to know whether the learned speaker was supporting or opposing the resolution.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas:—I supported the wording of the resolution.

Mr. Kismat Rai Jagdhari:—We were under the impression that he was opposing the resolution.

The President:—That is left to each individual's opinion.

Mr. Mohan Singh Mehta (...ahabad) supported the resolution in a Hindi speech.

MR. GADGILL.

Mr. Gadgill.

Mr. Gadgill (Bombay) in supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. President, brother and sister, delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution that has been agreed to has been placed before you. You have heard several speeches on it. It is a fitting compromise of the feelings that are agitating the different provinces in the country at the present moment. As Liberals we could not possibly do anything else. You are all well aware that we hold no brief for the Government; we do not support the Government when it goes wrong. It is one of our fundamental principles that we support the Government wherever possible and oppose it whenever necessary, and that principle has been fully reflected in the resolution which you are called upon to adopt. What are the two fundamental principles as reflected in this resolution? First, as responsible citizens, as men who proclaim that we are fit for *Swaraj*, we say that as in every country so in India responsibility must be shouldered when you have to administer the law of the country, and in the difficult situation in which the Government has found itself when non-cooperators are willing to go to jail and say "We have obtained *Swaraj* by going to jail", even then we say, "If it is in consequence of the breach of the law of the land, the Government requires support." But if the Government is going to abuse its powers, then the Liberals are up and will say, "Government is going wrong here and here the necessary amendment of their position must come in." That is the position that has been taken up in this resolution. In the first part of the resolution the Liberals support the Government and say that it is

the primary function of the Government to maintain law and order, to guarantee to the people their belongings and their lives; and wherever there has been an attack on lives and property Government can properly come in, and has come in, to protect lives and property.

Political situation.

Mr. Gadgil:

As regards the second part of the resolution, you have heard the opinions of Bengal delegates. Some of them think that the situation calls for drastic measures. Here in these provinces our friends, the best friends on whose judgment we can rely, who are true Liberals, think that the position in the United Provinces did not call for the drastic measures taken. For example, in Poona if the district magistrate had consulted some of the prominent Liberals there it is possible that the prohibition of picketing would not have been enforced. What has happened owing to the tactless way in which certain Governments and local authorities have gone on about this work? The ranks of non-cooperators have been closed. Actually in Poona there were differences between the Maharashtra camp and the Gandhi party; but the picketing order gave them an opportunity of going to jail and becoming heroes. Therefore, we say to Government that by its tactlessness in certain places it has given a fillip to the non-cooperation movement. At the same time, we have to recognise that whatever be the position in which the Liberals are called upon to support the Government we have to see that there is no indiscriminate action taken. That is why indiscriminate arrests have been condemned in this resolution.

The only point to which reference has not been made in the speeches is the second clause of the resolution, that this Federation urges Government to carry out the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee and withdraw the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act as early as possible. I submit that in this hall there is no one who would not support this. And further it says, "making such amendment in the ordinary law relating to intimidation as may be suitable and necessary for the effective protection of law-abiding citizens". If this power is suitably taken it is very difficult to say if the people will complain to the police or not—supposing it is made a cognizable offence, instead of Government applying the Criminal Law Amendment Act to particular provinces, the power is given to the police to arrest any one on the ground that that man has criminally intimidated somebody—whether that power can suitably be given to the police is a question which the Legislature has to consider. At any rate, instead of having this wholesale application of this legislation to provinces it is desirable that we should suggest to Government that the law may be amended as suggested in the resolution. I trust that this proposition will commend itself to you. (Cheers.)

MR. A. P. SEN.

Mr. A. P. Sen,

Mr. A. P. Sen (Lucknow) in further supporting the resolution said —

Mr. President and Fellow-Liberals,—When I was listening to some of the speeches I was wondering whether we were really supporting the resolution or opposing it. The resolution speaks for itself. The situation demands us to say that while we are prepared to support Government in all reasonable and legitimate measures to put down lawlessness and disorder it is also our duty to oppose Government if necessary when they adopt a policy which we consider to be detrimental to the best interests of the country.

Political situation.

Mr. A. P. Sen.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have heard a great deal about lawlessness and disorder in the country. I admit that there have been exhibitions of temper which are highly reprehensible. I admit that there has been intimidation in the country. I admit that there have been disorders in some parts of the country ; and I also admit that there is some necessity for dealing with that situation in a manner commensurate with the necessities of the case. It is not enough to say that because there is lawlessness in the country, something ought to be done to prevent it. We are all agreed as to that. May I take an extreme example ? We all know that there was lawlessness and disorder in the Punjab ; but is there any one who is here who will support the measures that were adopted in the Punjab in the name of law and order ? (Cries of ' No, no. ') Now the question is not whether lawlessness and disorder should be put down. The question before you is this ; whether the measures and policy which the Government have adopted are the right measures and policy in the present situation. (Hear, hear.) I say that the measures that have been adopted are wholly wrong and wholly inexpedient in the best interests of the country as we understand them.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is said that the maintenance of law and order is the primary duty of Government. No one here will deny that. But may I also point out to the Government that there is a higher duty for the Government to perform, *viz.*, the maintenance of contentment and happiness of the people ? (Cheers.) Towards that end you must direct all your efforts. Law and order are only good so far as they contribute to the happiness of the people. Therefore, if you adopt any measure which creates greater discontent and greater unrest in the country, I am bound to say that that measure is wrong. (A voice : " Of course ".) Judged by that test I say this measure does not attain the object for which it is adopted. The Criminal Law Amendment Act has been adopted for the purpose of doing away with the volunteers movement which is supposed to be a menace to the peace of the country. The measure did not do away with the movement in the country. On the other hand, it has doubled the efforts of non-cooperators ; it has brought to their ranks people who were wavering and who would otherwise never have joined the movement. Judging from that standard, I say this measure is wholly indefensible.

Gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you further, but I only wish to conclude by saying one thing and that is this, that the non-cooperation movement feeds on discontent and dissatisfaction, and if you want to do away with the movement these legal measures will not do ; you have to apply a remedy to the sore, the fostering sore, with which the country is affected ; you have to remove the discontent and dissatisfaction and Government should adopt large and generous measures towards that end. Only that will cure the country of all the ills of which we are complaining at the present moment.

With these words I support the resolution. (Cheers).

Mr. T. N. Chadda:—Mr. President, I want to know if I would be allowed to move my amendment now. The amendment is :—"If the Government unfortunately persists in its policy"—I have already sent the amendment.

The President :—I am afraid it is too late.

Mr. Chadda :—I could never have sent it to the subjects committee because the subjects committee decided on the resolution just now.

The President :—I am sorry I cannot enter into any argument. For the present you must take my ruling that the amendment is too late and I cannot allow you to go on.

Mr. Chadda :—May I say a few words in support of the resolution as it stands ?

The President :—Mr. Kunzru is now in possession of the House. I shall think over the matter.

PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (Allahabad) in supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—It is not to be expected that unanimity will prevail on any question in any assembly. It is only natural that all people could not take the same view either of the situation in the country or of the measures adopted by Government to cope with it. But I think it is legitimate to expect that when a resolution has been passed by the subjects committee with unanimity, when a decision has been arrived at after taking into account the various and possible conflicting views, the speakers will abide loyally by the decision of the subjects committee. I have, much to my regret, found prevailing to-day a spirit contrary to what I thought would prevail. Some of the speakers have given the resolution before the House a support which is more embarrassing than opposition would have been. I confess frankly I would much rather have wished they had come into the open conference to repudiate this resolution and taken the bolder course of voting against the resolution and speaking against it. It is no good according to it a feeble support which is worse than downright opposition. Yesterday we passed a resolution dealing with Civil Disobedience. I think we were not guilty of mincing matters then, and nobody could accuse us that we were in favour of non-cooperation and that we had shown ourselves to be tender to those who were breaking the laws of the land. We have for two years been making it clear to the country that we are strongly and firmly opposed to the movement of non-cooperation. We have expressed our views in regard to Civil Disobedience, which is the latest development of the non-cooperation movement, in no uncertain terms. Would it therefore have been too much to expect that speakers to-day, instead of emphasising the desirability of maintaining law and order, should have devoted their attention to considering whether the methods that have been taken by Government are warranted by the necessities of the case and whether they are sound in policy ? Nobody denies that *hartals* are brought about to a certain extent by intimidation. Nobody denies that picketing does not always stop with moral persuasion. But has the evil reached to such an extent throughout the country as to justify the adoption of the measures which Government have taken ? And what is after all the effect of these measures ? Have they succeeded in allaying unrest ? Have they arrested the course of evil which they were meant to arrest ? Have they enabled public opinion to rally in support of law and order ? I find, on the contrary, that there is a much greater spirit of insurrection prevailing in the country than before the measures which we are condemning to-day were adopted by Government.

Political situation.

Mr. H. N. Kunzru.

Political situa-
tion.

Mr. H. N.
Kunzru.

Several speakers have referred to the fact that the disturbances emanated from Bombay and said that it was therefore reasonable to think that stern measures, if they were needed anywhere, would be needed first of all in the Presidency of Bombay. The Government there has followed a policy of masterly inactivity, and who, looking at the situation in the country to-day, will deny that it has adopted a course of statesmanship and wisdom? Take the Central Provinces. Has the Government there adopted the course which has commended itself, for instance, to the Government of the United Provinces or the Government of the Punjab? Take the Presidency of Madras which has been proclaimed under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. We were told yesterday that it was in force only in the area under Martial Law; the rest of the Presidency did not in practice, though not in theory, come within its operation. We have thus the Governments of three provinces in India, two of them the premier provinces, staying their hands. Are they not as anxious to maintain respect for authority as any of the other Governments? Are they inimical to British rule in India? Do they wish that the party of force should grow in the country and subvert the present Government? None of these questions, I am perfectly certain, can be answered in the affirmative. What is then the reason which has impelled them not to follow the course on which the other Governments have embarked. They say that "it is a blind valley, that it could lead to nowhere, that coercion alone will not do." It is true that a spirit of lawlessness prevails to-day in Russia. We know what has happened recently in Russia? We know what has happened recently in Ireland? But what is the experience of these two countries? Was the course of violence stopped in Ireland by the coercion Acts? Has the rod and iron made people more submissive in Russia? The very excesses that were committed by Government, the very exercise of authority which was meant to check the spirit of insubordination, made it spring forth with a vigour of which the people who live in this country can scarcely have any idea. If therefore we bring this resolution before the House to-day, it is not because we want that insubordination should prevail in the country, that laws should be broken, that a spirit should be allowed to develop which would be inimical not only to the present Government but to all Governments. We rather pass this resolution in order to tell Government that the action which it has taken exceeded what the situation warranted. And, in the next place, that no action which it may take, howsoever severe, can suffice to stop the spirit which to-day prevails in the country. There was a time about a century and a quarter ago when England was about to go to war with one of her colonies, and one of her greatest men, in that hour of danger, when it would have been thought patriotic by every citizen not to give expression to his individual difference of view but to sink his own opinion with the majority, thought it absolutely necessary in the interests of the country, in the interests of humanity at large, to protest against the course which his country was adopting. He recognised that apart from force, men can be governed only in accordance with certain considerations. There are certain immutable laws relating to human nature as a whole which have to be borne in mind when you deal with large masses of men. If you ignore them you cannot merely not govern men, you may even find it impossible to keep them under subjection. Force may temporarily be used as a measure of restraint, but it cannot provide a permanent remedy. That is why to-day we have been

condemning the policy followed by Government and ask that all notifications issued under the Criminal Law Amendment Act should be withdrawn. It may be difficult for Government to do it. Governments are, after all, human. It is not very easy for them to climb down as in the case of individuals. I must say in favour of Government that during the last year and half they have adopted a policy which has not provided the atmosphere in which non-cooperation can grow. They have gone further and given their assent to the proposal of a round-table conference provided it could be held in an atmosphere favourable to friendly discussion and good-will. It is a matter of the greatest regret to me that that opportunity has wantonly been thrown away. It is perfectly true, as my friend Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas has pointed out, that when we left Ahmedabad we thought that the conference would take place. But let me correct a misapprehension, for it may be that some of you think so—it is far from my mind and of that of my friend Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas to suggest that Mr. Gandhi went back on anything that he had said explicitly. It was a question of mood, of temper, of attitude. When we left Ahmedabad we thought that Mr. Gandhi's attitude was such as to give us hope that a conference would take place, and when we reached Calcutta we found, much to our regret, that he adopted an attitude which, I say with all respect to him, made the convening of a round-table conference a futility. But what is the result of the wise restraint that Government had adopted till recently, of their willingness to convene a conference so that old differences might be settled by means of an amicable discussion? Has their prestige been lowered? On the contrary, there was a flutter in the dovecots of non-cooperators. They were afraid lest, if Government went on following a policy of non-interference, non-cooperation should die of inanition. Such a statement does not rest merely on our survey of the facts as we see them. I base that opinion on what has been said to me by those who hold the highest position as leaders of the non-cooperation movement. As previous speakers have pointed out to you, if Government had followed the policy of restraint for a short time more, the indications were that they would have won, that public opinion would have seen in the end the futility of adopting measures which are inimical to constitutional agitation as we understand it. It is a matter of the deepest regret to us that as a result of the disturbances which occurred recently in Bombay, Government were temporarily thrown off their balance and in the excitement occasioned by these disturbances adopted a policy which I am sure they now regret.

May I say once more, to remove a misapprehension, that we are not by any means against the maintenance of law and order, we have made our view unmistakably clear on that point. Not merely to-day but during the last two years. But we cannot support Government blindly, we cannot ignore the fact that Government is not concerned merely with the administration of laws. We have to bear in mind that there is such a thing as policy and that unless this higher consideration, unless what Mr. Gokhale used to call the higher purpose of British rule in India is kept in view, no law, no exercise of authority, no repression would avail to alleviate the discontent which exists in the country to-day. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Kunzru then spoke in Hindi explaining what he had said in English at the request of some of the Kisan delegates.

Mr. Chadda :—Mr. President, the amendment which I wanted to move is as follows :—

Political situa-
tion.

Mr. H. N.
Kunzru.

Political Situation.

"If the Government unfortunately persists in its policy, there is a danger of the cooperators being also drawn into the struggle."

Mr. Chadda.

Mr. Chaddha then spoke in Hindi, and he had not proceeded long when the President rang the bell and asked him to stop. But the speaker continued speaking and there were cries of "Go on, go on," on one side and "Obey the chair" on the other. After some time, however, the speaker stopped and resumed his seat.

A delegate:—Mr. President, I move that the further discussion on this resolution be postponed till tomorrow. (Laughter.)

The President:—I take it that the House is wholly not in favour of the motion—the motion for adjournment. (Cries of "No, no.")

The resolution was then put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

Other Resolutions.

Other Resolutions.

The President:—At this late hour of the day, especially when we have not adjourned for lunch, it has been considered desirable that the other resolutions on the paper now waiting to be moved for your acceptance should be put from the chair. I hope I shall have your support as I place these resolutions before you.

The following resolutions were then put from the chair and carried unanimously:—

Railway Management.

RAILWAY MANAGEMENT.

"This Federation expresses its entire approval of the recommendations of the Chairman and four other members of the Railway Committee, that the undertakings of the Guaranteed Railway companies as when the contracts fall in, should be entrusted to the direct management of the state and trusts that this policy will be accepted by the Government."

Moplah Outrages.

MOPLAH OUTRAGES.

"That this Federation condemns the Moplah rebellion and expresses its profound abhorrence of the atrocities committed by the Moplahs in the course of the rebellion and feels it its duty to support the measures taken by the Government to suppress the rebellion and to protect the lives and the properties of the peaceful citizens in the area affected. It further appeals to the people to show their practical sympathies to the sufferers by liberally subscribing to the Malabar Relief Fund. This Federation expresses its horror at the train tragedy at Podanur and trusts that those responsible for it will be early brought to punishment."

Punjab Question.

PUNJAB QUESTION.

"This Federation expresses its dissatisfaction at the inadequacy of the action taken by his Excellency the Viceroy as a result of reviewing the cases of martial law prisoners in the Punjab and reiterates its opinion that full satisfaction cannot be afforded until the officers guilty of acts of cruelty, oppression and humiliation during the period of martial law administration are suitably punished."

KHILAFAT QUESTION.

"The National Liberal Federation of India regrets that the Prime Minister's pledge to the Mussalmans of India made in January, 1918 has not been redeemed and strongly urges his Majesty's Government suitably to revise the treaty with Turkey."

Khilafat Question.

RT. HON. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

"This Federation congratulates the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri on his able and bold advocacy in urging the claims of India's equality of status in the Empire at the Imperial Conference and places on record its warm appreciation of the great service rendered by him in obtaining recognition of the same."

Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri.

INDIANS ABROAD.

"(a) This Federation while welcoming the resolution passed by the Imperial Conference regarding the status of Indians in the Empire as marking a distinct advance on the existing state of things, urges the British Government to induce the Union of South Africa, where the position of Indians is steadily deteriorating, to give effect to the resolution.

Indians Abroad.

"(b) The Federation trusts that the position of Indians in East Africa will be determined in accordance with the policy approved by the Imperial Conference."

NON-COOPERATION.

"This Federation requests the various Liberal Leagues and other organizations with allied objects to take early and effective steps for combating the non-cooperation movement by a systematic propaganda by lectures and leaflets and in such other ways as may be found practicable."

Non-Cooperation.

WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.

"That this Conference notes with pleasure that Madras, and Bombay, have given the vote to duly qualified women and calls on the other provinces to remove the disqualification of sex in the franchise as soon as possible."

Women's Franchise.

GENERAL SECRETARIES FOR 1922.

"Resolved that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, 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 1922."

General Secretaries for 1922.

COUNCIL FOR 1922.

"That the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India for 1922, shall be constituted as suggested by the various Liberal organizations, the list of members elected to the Council to be submitted to the General Secretaries by the 1st February, 1922."

Council for 1922.

Next Session of the Federation.

MR. JAYAWANT.

Mr. Jayawant (Central Provinces) in inviting the Federation to Nagpur next year, said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am standing before you to give you an invitation to come over next year to the place where I reside, viz., Nagpur. I am authorised by the Liberal Association of the Cen-

Next Session of Federation.

Mr. Jayawant.

Next Session of
Federation.

Mr. Jayawant.

tral Provinces and Berar to extend this invitation to you on their behalf and I hope that you will come there in larger numbers. We at Nagpur, as everywhere else, are few in number, and though we cannot bring crowds to receive you, I am quite sure that those of us who will be there will receive you most cordially. (Cheers.)

Mr. Mundle.

MR. MUNDLE.

Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle (Berar) in seconding the proposal said:— Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I support this invitation most cordially on behalf of Berar. I am sure that all of you will go to Nagpur as Nagpur is a central place; specially our friends from Madras will find it more easy to go there than to any other place. We shall try our best to make your stay there as comfortable as possible. I hope therefore that you will all accept our invitation.

The President:—I may add that if for any reason the Conference is not held there the All-India Council has powers to fix a place. With these words I shall put the proposal before you.

The proposal was accepted.

Vote of Thanks.

Vote of Thanks.

SIR K. G. GUPTA.

Sir K. G. Gupta.

Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta (Calcutta), in proposing a vote of thanks to the chair said:—

Fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have now a very pleasant duty to perform—to propose a vote of thanks to the chair. I am sure I am voicing the sentiments of every one of you present here when I say that the reasonableness, the amiable temper and the able conduct of business of the chairman have extorted our admiration. I am sure he has had at times a trying duty to perform which he has done with an amount of tact for which we are greatly beholden to him. He came here with a great reputation, and I feel sure that he goes away from us with that reputation greatly enhanced. (Cheers.) I do not think I should detain you long at this late hour, but as a concluding ceremony and as a mark of esteem on our part I put the garland round his neck. (Loud cheers.)

With these words Sir K. G. Gupta garlanded the President amid loud applause.

MR. ASTHANA.

Mr. Asthana.

M. Narayan Prasad Asthana (Allahabad) in seconding the vote said:— On behalf of the delegates of the United Provinces and on behalf of the Reception Committee I second the vote of thanks and associate myself with the remarks made by Sir K. G. Gupta. As you know, the Bombay and Madras Liberal Leagues had proposed a postponement of the session, but the Reception Committee made insistent requests that the session should be held here at this time; and we cannot but be beholden to our President for the kind way in which he treated our request and the excellent way in which he conducted the proceedings of this session.

On behalf of the Reception Committee I have also to tender thanks to all those delegates who have come from other provinces. We have not been able to accommodate them as well and to give them as much comfort as we desired, and we can only hope that our shortcomings will be overlooked. Although the climate has been very cold the warmth of our hearts must have been felt by them.

Vote of Thanks.
Mr. Asthana.

I have nothing more to say. On behalf of the Reception Committee I tender our thanks once more to the chair for the masterly way in which the proceedings of this session have been regulated by him and the thanks of the Reception Committee are also due to those who have come here and have helped us in the deliberations. The times are critical and in this small world of the Mayo Hall we have had our critical hours and these critical hours have been tided over by the tact and suavity of manners which the chair has shown.

MR. A. P. SEN.

Mr. A. P. Sen.

Mr. A. P. Sen (Lucknow) in supporting said:—I beg to offer my warmest support to this resolution. I need only add that with such distinguished leaders as our President, we, the Liberal Party, need not despair. (Cheers.)

The vote of thanks was passed enthusiastically and with acclamation.

President's Concluding Speech.

President's Concluding Speech.

The President in acknowledging the vote, made the following speech:—

Fellow Delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—You will excuse me if I say that I feel this as the most trying moment in my life; and the reason is not far to seek. I am overwhelmed by the expressions of your kindness and by your recognition of what little I have been able to do as President of this Federation. It was with great trepidation of heart indeed that I came over here, and I must add that such a review of the situation as I was able to make for myself when I came over here had not in any way tended to lessen that trepidation. You will therefore recognise how greatly I felt the responsibility that was thrown upon me by my being asked to preside over the deliberations of this Federation. But I feel proud to acknowledge that the fear that I felt and the trepidation that oppressed me were altogether due to my own imagination and they were not justified by the turn events have taken. I was prepared, if I may say so, for much greater opposition to me, in the discharge of the duties that by your kindness I was called upon to do.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am not so vain as to believe that in the discharge of this duty I have committed no error. I am afraid I may have caused some amount of irritation in the hearts of some of those here. ("Cries of No, no".) But, believe me when I say that nothing but a stern sense of what, in my humble opinion, was required by the needs of the case has impelled me to do what I have done and I beg your forgiveness for the same.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it is now my pleasant task to refer to the kind reception that you have given us. Mr. Asthana has told you that

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there was at one time some doubt as to whether the Federation be held at all this year. I am afraid that we in Madras have contributed in a large measure to that uncertainty and to that anxiety. I have no doubt that the Reception Committee must have felt considerably embarrassed in the discharge of their duties, in making arrangements for the accommodation of the delegates, and in other respects. But I am glad that even the amount of embarrassment that we unintentionally caused the Committee has not stood in the way of their giving us a great reception and in looking to our comforts in the way we desired. I think it is unnecessary for them to feel any anxiety, for although they may not have attended to our comforts as much as they wished, yet I am sure I am speaking for you, as I certainly speak for myself when I say that we have had a most hearty reception from them and we shall always feel obliged to them for the kind treatment that has been accorded to us.

In trying to tender our thanks to the Reception Committee it would perhaps be invidious to single out any names. But with your permission and with the permission of the friends to whom I propose to refer, I just want to mention two names. I would, in the first place, refer to Mr. Hirdaynath Kunzru, Chairman of the Reception Committee. He has in a large measure contributed to the successful holding of this session of the Federation. I wish also to refer to Mr. Krishna Ram on whom the brunt of the work has fallen and who has done it in the silent and unostentatious manner so characteristic of him.

Ladies and gentlemen, perhaps you will pardon, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, my reference to the work that this Federation has accomplished. We have met here, as we have been again and again reminded, in very critical times indeed. The Liberal Party has been looked forward to as the one party which will give the lead to the country—so far as those who profess Liberalism are concerned. There was therefore a most onerous duty cast upon this Federation at this session—to decide as to what should be the lead which we should give to the nation. The amount of difference of opinion that you might have observed both in the subjects committee and in the discussions here would have shown that it was not an easy thing for us to arrive at an agreement. It must be a matter of great satisfaction to every one interested in the progress of Liberalism that at last we have been able to put forward a resolution, by no means unimportant in character, a resolution which secured the unanimous consent of those who took part in the deliberations of this Federation.

Now it is possible for the Federation to say that it has given the lead to the country, that it has shown what the methods of work are that it has to pursue, that it has shown what the primary duties are that devolve upon us. We have shown, in the first place, that the country has arrived at a state of self-consciousness, when it is impossible for it to be satisfied with things as they stand, that we must have complete provincial autonomy and that so far as the Central Government is concerned there ought to be a large measure of responsibility in it, only such subjects as are absolutely indispensable, according to the British Government and the British people, for the safety of the British Empire, being reserved. We have made that perfectly clear.

We have also made it perfectly clear that these are merely steps to complete Responsible Government.

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We have also not minced matters when we spoke on the present situation and the policy that has been adopted with reference to that situation. You know the resolution that has evoked a large amount of discussion and to some extent difference of opinion. It is but natural that there should have been this difference of opinion; for you will remember that there are a number of complicated considerations that have to be brought to bear upon the consideration of this question before one can arrive at a conclusion satisfactory to oneself, much more so to others. Now the position stands thus: If it were merely the administration of the ordinary law of the land, sometimes with rigour and sometimes not with rigour, according to the exigencies of the situation, there would not have been this large amount of criticism to which the Government has been subjected and this wave of indignation that has spread from one end of the country to the other. But the misfortune was this, that in the application of the measures that the Government has resolved upon to enforce, it invoked the aid not of the ordinary law of the land but of certain provisions which have been reserved for extraordinary occasions, provisions which are considered to be necessary in circumstances altogether different from those that are now being dealt with. And no wonder, therefore, particularly when a committee has sat to consider the question and has recommended the repeal of these provisions as early as possible, that the country felt indignant that such provisions as these should have been enforced at a time when the people expected a policy of conciliation to be adopted in respect of them, and this indignation was in no way lessened when it was found that the actual application of the measures in no way tended to bring about the result which was expected. Therefore it is that we find that for the moment perhaps an undue importance is given to this side of the question, forgetting that after all Governments justify their existence only because they are the custodians of law and order. If by one stroke you take them away, the fundamental principles on which Governments are based, even the Government that the Mahatma is proposing for us, *even that Government*, cannot stand for one minute. In these circumstances, we must also sympathise with the Government. It may be that they have made errors, and I believe that the temper of the Government on the whole, and particularly of the Government of India, is such that they would not hesitate to acknowledge their error, once that error has been properly and prominently pointed out to them.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that you have been asked, to accept and that has been accepted almost unanimously, if not unanimously lays stress upon both the aspects to which I have ventured to draw your attention. It sympathises with the difficulties of the Government, but at the same time, it points out that there has been a liability to excesses, not merely a liability to excesses but there have actually been excesses, with the result that the country is greatly alarmed at the policy that has been adopted; and we also ask that that policy should be reversed; that measures should be taken by all means, and the Government will have the support of every loyal and patriotic citizen who is able and far-sighted enough to see that it is not the needs of tomorrow or the day after tomorrow that have to be looked to but it is the continuity of progress and the attainment

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of the goal that have to be secured within as short a time as possible. I say everybody who recognises these aims would be the first to support the Government in any legitimate measure that may be taken. Only what he insists upon is this. He says:—"Let it not be harsher than the needs of the situation require. Trust yourself as far as possible to the ordinary law of the land, and if you think that the ordinary law is not sufficient, there are the constituted representatives of the people, constituted by your own constitution; go to them, put the position before them and get their consent and then you will have a larger measure of support in the country." That is the meaning of the resolution on the present situation.

There is one other resolution to which I am bound to refer and that is the resolution which relates to Civil Disobedience. I ask every one of us calmly to consider what is it that he is being asked to do. We are, if I may be permitted to say so, on the brink of a precipice and the brink is not less in its danger because of the seductive and attractive manner in which we are attracted to it. In the first place, the movement is directed by one whose character is unimpeachable, by one who will take the first place in any society so far as integrity of character, sincerity of purpose and self-abnegation are concerned. But those are the attributes of saints, persons whom we can try to approximate to but shall not be able to imitate. But in this hard work-a-day world there are other influences at work. There are the lower strata of society that will also have to be reckoned with. They are people who are not so free from passions and imperfections as Mahatma Gandhi is. He can only tell us what the goal is that we might attain, but he cannot take part in helping us to reach it, for a man situated as he is will always think of the perfect side of the human nature. He will forgive me, and those who sympathise with him will forgive me, when I say that he has not been able to enter so fully and so correctly into the hearts of ordinary men whom he is asking to follow him.

By way of illustration I would refer to two or three matters with which I shall close my remarks. One point that Mr. Gandhi has insisted upon is this, that there ought to be no violence in bringing about the aims that he has put before the country; and it is more or less the attractiveness of that point that has given him a number of followers. But as a matter of fact, you will find that the recent resolutions that were adopted at Ahmedabad, the views of the Congress at Ahmedabad and the utterances of responsible persons at Ahmedabad throw considerable doubt and cause great misgivings as to whether this assurance is to be kept up. You will find, in the first place that Mr. Gandhi has stated—I use the words that are quoted in the papers—"Either we step into the new year with a full belief in this programme and finish it with lightning speed or we dissolve this pact of non-violence. So, it is a fight to the finish with the Government in our own special manner." Now, ladies and gentlemen, lightning speed is not a thing which you can expect, much less when you want to change constitutions. To say that unless a thing is effected with lightning speed the pact of non-violence would be dissolved is indeed a most dangerous statement. I venture to appeal to every one of you, whether you belong to the ranks of Liberals or to the ranks of Non-cooperators, to think as to what the policy of following violence means. If you are going to dissolve the pact of non-violence, you may take it that revolution, commotion, bloodshed and all the horrors to which the worst passions of human

mind impel one, all these horrors will be accomplished facts. And we have had recently put before us this policy in a light-hearted manner. In these circumstances, I would ask you to consider this question carefully. That is not the only ground for me for saying so. Even the leaders of the movement have now begun to suspect that it is possible that a stage may be reached when the pact of non-violence could no longer be kept up. I would ask you to consider this and the pledge that the volunteers are asked to take. The pledge is as follows:—"With God as witness I solemnly declare that I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps. So long as I remain a member of the corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be in intent since I believe that as India is circumstanced non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj" and so on now Ladies and gentlemen, you will all see that it is a very carefully thought-out pledge that has been put before the country. What does it say? This obligation to keep this non-violence is only so long as the volunteer continues to be a member of the corps. It is not a pledge that he gives that he is bound to carry out wherever he may be, whatever may be his avocation and whatever he is called upon to do. The only thing he is to do is to keep up the pledge so long as he continues to be a member of the volunteer corps. That merely means that he will get himself trained in the volunteer corps, acquire all the virtues which are the characteristics of the volunteer corps, but if it is felt necessary that the volunteer should take to violence, all he has to do is to secede from the corps and then he is at liberty to practise violence. I do not think that can be said to be at all a satisfactory state of affairs.

Then again I would ask you to note that at the present moment you find the Khilafat Conference, the Muslim League and the Congress, all practically moving with the same object. They are, if I may say so, in unison with one another. Yet you find that in the Congress, the Khilafat Conference and the Muslim League there is a large body, though for the time being it is in a minority, which insists upon no condition of non-violence. That again, I say, points to a state of affairs in the near future which it is not possible for us to contemplate with equanimity. If you consider this aspect of the question, you will find there can be but one end when civil disobedience is practised on a large scale with the people situated as they are, and I am prepared to say that for a short time—it may be for a few days—they may be able to restrain themselves and may be bound by the pledge of civil disobedience. But when they are asked to practise it on a large scale for a number of days, then you will find that it is impossible that it could be practised. And what will be the result except violence on a large scale? We also find that the numbers in India is also appealed to. We are told that there are three hundred millions of Indians who are being down-trodden. And if this three hundred million population take part in civil disobedience what shall be the condition of this country? That is a point that I am sure must appeal to every one who has not already made up his mind irrevocably as to what his course of conduct ought to be.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we shall be false to ourselves if we overlook this aspect of the matter. India has a mission in the world. It is not for nothing that the Almighty in his wisdom allowed India to live while

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other nations have perished. We have a mission to execute in the world. And that mission remains yet unfulfilled. We shall fulfil that mission only when we have risen to our proper place, when we have risen to the fullest capacity that we possess. Unless we are able to do that, this mission cannot be achieved. Now, what is that mission? It is a spiritualising mission that India has among the nations of the world, and we have to work upon the mind and character of our sister nations, not so much upon their material resources. Shall we be best enabled to carry out that mission by embarking on a course whose objective, whatever may be said by its authors, cannot but lead to violence? This is a matter that I would ask you to consider.

There is another point again tending to the same conclusion which I venture to submit before you, and that is this. We shall take it that we are going to have violence. What is our objective? To obtain *Swaraj*, independence. Now, you may depend upon it that it is characteristic of the Britisher that when he is pushed to the wall he will do everything in his power to achieve his purpose and no considerations of money, men or material will stand in the way of his executing his object. The result will be, whether we will it or not, we shall have to go to war with him. And that of necessity must take time. And after that there will be the after-effects of war. And when you get *Swaraj* after all this, it could not be with lightning speed; it must be after a considerable interval of time.

What is it that we Liberals suggest? We say that in the same period you will get *Swaraj*, but in a very different manner indeed. We insist upon provincial autonomy being given. You train yourselves and make yourselves fit for it, and depend upon it that once you have shown unmistakable fitness for a thing it will come to you probably late, probably shortly, but there is absolutely no doubt that you shall get it. Now what the Liberals point out is this. We have these opportunities. Let us work them out. Let us not mitigate in any way our efforts for the purpose of attaining all that we think proper. Let us agitate, agitate only constitutionally, fearlessly, strenuously and unceasingly and we are sure to attain what we want. But let us be within the limits of constitutional agitation. I submit that of the two courses open to us the one that I have suggested is the better one. It is not that I wish to suggest for a moment that we are not fit for complete self-government. It is one thing to say that we are fit, but it is another thing to say that the capacity which goes to make up that fitness is being disciplined and put into working order so that when self-government is completely gained we shall take care that we shall not make mistakes, or at least that the number of mistakes we may make shall be as few as possible. Both on principle and policy and in view of the past civilization of India and what she is capable of doing, we say that the policy which is put forward by the Liberals is *the* policy that the country should adopt. It may be that at present we have not got a large following; It is because we have not been able to make attractive promises to the people. We have not done so because of the sense of difficulty of realising those promise.

There is only one other matter that I have to refer to and it is this. An appeal has been made to the Moderates to join the non-cooperators. That appeal has been made to us by men for whom we have the highest regard so far as their character is concerned, and they will forgive us if we respect-

fully tell them that we are not prepared to listen to their appeal and join our hands with them and join their ranks. What is it that we are told? We are told: "It cannot be that everything in our programme cannot find acceptance with you. There is the *Swaraj* movement; there is the question of eradicating the drink evil; there is the question of untouchability, these are all matters for which we can meet on a common platform. Why don't you join with us and try to advance these causes?" a perfectly reasonable way of putting the case. But you will find that the one thing that is demanded of us when we join our forces with them is that we should accept the fundamental basis of their action and the principles that guide them in their doings. And I for one would hesitate to accept a position which will compromise me, which will really commit me to the original principles on which the non-cooperation movement is based. In these circumstances we are not in a position to comply with the request, which they have made. And they can easily understand the position we are taking. We shall work for the ends we consider proper and necessary. If the ends, some of the ends, happen to be common, so much the better, because you will find here two volumes of forces working for the same ends and their result would be better than if there be only one volume of forces working. We want that the principles which we profess, the principles we act upon, must be made clear to the world and therefore we cannot associate ourselves with any movement which, whatever might be the professions, very sincere, of the leaders, in our humble judgment, is sure to end in violence and the consequences most disastrous to the permanent good of the country which they and we love alike. In these circumstance, ladies and gentlemen, I believe our party has justified its existence.

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There has not been as much propaganda as there should have been and I am sure that the resolution that we have adopted this time will find its echo in the hearts of every one who is in a position to advance the Liberal cause and we shall have a larger and larger number of persons taking to the propaganda of Liberal principles so that the country will be able to know what it is that we are aiming at; they will also know that we are equally sincere like the non-cooperators to achieve the end which we all have in view, namely, the attainment of *Swaraj* as quickly as possible. They will then see that if there is any difference between the non-cooperators and us, it is a difference in method, a difference which is very vital indeed. I have not the slightest hesitation that if we only put forth our efforts, steadily as time goes on, there will be a progressive accession to our ranks until, in the words of Mahatma Gandhi himself, truth will prevail and the country will find what it is that is best for its interests. I join with Mrs. Das in asking the question "Do I stand for India in her present struggle?" A very pertinent question indeed and it requires a very satisfactory and unmistakable answer. The Liberals are as much for India in this struggle as the non-cooperators are, so far as their patriotic instincts go, so far as their anxiety to see that the country gets its proper place in the world is concerned (Hear, hear). In the objects we have in view we are at one with the non-cooperators, but we take leave to doubt the propriety of the methods that they have suggested and after having deliberated the question with all the ability, with all the maturity of understanding that we are able to command we think that the methods that have been suggested

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are not the correct methods and we are as much entitled to our opinion as they are entitled to theirs, and to act on this opinion.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am much obliged to you for the patient hearing which you have given me and for the support which you have extended to me in the discharge of my duties as President of this Federation and I shall ever cherish my stay here, especially for the opportunities that have been given to me to understand the sentiments and the views of the people of the United Provinces.

There is one other matter which I ought to have referred to earlier for the omission of which I beg the forgiveness of those concerned. It was my duty to convey to the volunteers my thanks for the considerable help which they have rendered to us. I am sure that but for their great assistance we would have found ourselves very much in difficulties. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

The Federation is now dissolved.

The Federation then dissolved with three cheers to the President.

In the evening the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Minister of Education and Industries, was "at Home" to meet the President. Several prominent ladies and gentlemen, European and Indian, were present.

APPENDIX I.

List of Delegates.

BENGAL.

1. Sir Krishna Govind Gupta, Calcutta.
2. Mr. N. N. Sirkar, M. A., B. L., Barrister-at-law, ³⁶/₁, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
3. Dr. Dwarkanath Mitter, M. A., D. L. Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.
4. Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, 65, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
5. Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, 6, College Square, Calcutta.

BOMBAY.

1. Mr. B. S. Kamat, M. L. A., Ganesh Khind Road, Poona.
2. Mr. D. G. Dalvi, M. A., LL. B., Girgaon, Bombay.
3. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, M. L. A., Jaydwar, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay.
4. Mr. G. K. Gadgill, B. A., Barrister-at-Law, Poona City.
5. Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, M. A., M. L. C., Chartered Bank Buildings, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
6. Mr. Cooverji Hormusji Plumber, ⁴³/₄₅, Dhobi Talao, Bombay.
7. Miss Aloo Cooverji Plumber, Dhobi Talao, Bombay.
8. Mr. M. D. Altekar, M. A., Hajee Cassum's Blocks, French Bridge, Bombay.
9. Dr. Jacob E. Solomon, L. M. S., Raikhad, Ahmedabad.
10. Mrs. Sarah J. Solomon, Raikhad, Ahmedabad.
11. Mr. K. G. Wagle, Merchant, Bombay.
12. Mr. Phirozeshah R. Green, Princess Building, Princess Street, Bombay.
13. Mr. Ratansi D. Morarji, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
14. Mrs. Tarabai Patwardhan, 383, Narayanpatti, Poona City.
15. Mr. Ramchandra Gopal Tilak, 340, Sadasiv Peth, Poona City.
16. Mr. N. Sri Ram, B. A., Khetwadi Main Road, Girgaon, Bombay.
17. Mr. Vaikunt R. Bhende, Hajee Cassum's Blocks, New French Road, Bombay.
18. Mr. K. G. Limaye, M. A., LL. B., Servants of India Society's Home, Poona.
19. Mr. A. V. Thakkar, L. C. E., Member, Servants of India Society, Poona City.
20. Mr. S. G. Vaze, B. A., Editor, "Servant of India", Poona City.
21. Prof. K. K. Joshi, M. A., Ph. D., Fergusson College, Poona.
22. Prof. V. K. Joag, M. A., 191, Shuksawar, Poona City.
23. Mr. B. Shiva Rao, M. A., Chartered Bank Buildings, Bombay.
24. Mr. J. H. Bilimoria, Bombay.
25. Mr. M. J. Bilimoria, Bombay.
26. Nandram Panjuml, Sivaram Building, Garikhata, Karachi.
27. Mr. B. J. Vaswani, M. A., "Luxmi Lodge", Karachi.
28. Mr. Ameerbux K. Bawa, B. A., Zohra Lodge, Marzbomabad Road, Andheri, Bombay.
29. Mr. A. R. Parasram, Bharatwasi Press, Hyderabad (Sind).
30. Mr. Khemchand Naomal, Akalbhangs Lane, Hyderabad (Sind).
31. Pt. Parmanand M. Advani, M. A., B. Sc., F. C. S., Sind National College, Hyderabad (Sind).
32. Mr. K. D. Sahni, B. A., Hyderabad (Sind).

33. Mr. Hiranand Santokram Advani, B. A., LL.B., Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind).
34. Mr. Jethmal Parasram, "Editor", Bharatwasi, Hyderabad (Sind).
35. Mr. D. Jagannath Rao, "Sewashram", Hyderabad.
36. Mr. H. K. Patwardhan, B. A., LL.B., High Court, Pleader, Ahmadnagar.
37. Mr. Udham Kewalram, Bharat Stores, Hyderabad (Sind).

MADRAS

1. Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, B. A., B.L., M. L. C., Mylapore, Madras.
2. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., Mylapore, Madras.
3. Mrs. Annie Besant, Adyar, Madras.
4. Mr. G. A. Natesan, B. A., George Town, Madras.
5. Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, M. A., Adyar, Madras.
6. Mr. G. S. Arundale, M. A., LL. B., Adyar, Madras.
7. Mrs. D. Jinarajadasa, Adyar, Madras.
8. Mrs. Rukmini Arundale, Adyar, Madras.
9. Mr. T. A. Gopaldaswami Naidu, Adyar, Madras.
10. Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, M. A., Servants of India Society, Madras.
11. Mr. K. S. Subramanya Aiyar, M. A., Mylapur, Madras.
12. Miss S. H. Burdett, Adyar, Madras.
13. Mr. D. K. Telang, M. A. (Oxon.), "New India", Madras.
14. Mr. Yadunandan Prasad, National University, Madras.
15. Mr. A. Ranganatham, B. A., B. L., M. L. C., Y. M. I. A., Madras.
16. Mr. J. R. Aria, G. B. V. C., Adyar, Madras.
17. Miss Annie J. Wilson, Theosophical Society, Madras.
18. Mr. C. S. Trilokekar, M. A., Adyar, Madras.
19. Mr. N. M. Rama Ayyar, S. P. N. E. Office, Adyar, Madras.
20. Mr. K. Narahari Sastri, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.
21. Mr. T. Ramachandra Row, B. A., LL.B., Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.
22. Mr. C. Subbaramayya, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.
23. Mr. C. Ramaiya, B. A., L. T., Adyar, Madras.
24. Mr. J. N. Dandekar, Adyar, Madras.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

1. Rao Bahadar Ramchandra Ganesh Mundle, B. A., LL. B., High Court Pleader, Yeotmal.
2. Mr. S. N. Balchandra, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Yeotmal.
3. Mr. R. K. Jayavant, B. A., LL. B., M. B. E., Member, C. P. Legislative Council, Nagpur.
4. Mr. M. D. Deshmukh, Yeotmal.
5. Mr. V. T. Deshpande, Yeotmal.
6. Mr. B. A. Khandekar, Servants of India Society, Nagpur.

THE UNITED PROVINCES.

1. Rai Anand Swarup Bahadur, M. L. C., Cawnpore.
2. Mr. Durga Charan Banerji, M. L. C., Advocate, Allahabad.
3. Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru, M. L. C., Cutcherry Road, Allahabad.
4. Dr. S. N. Sen, M. A., LL. D., Advocate, Allahabad.
5. Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthaua, M. A., LL. B., M. L. C., Advocate, Allahabad.

6. Major D. R. Ranjit Singh, O. B. E., M. L. C., Chairman, Improvement Trust, Allahabad.
7. Mr. A. P. Sen, Barrister-at-law, Bank Road, Lucknow.
8. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, M. A., LL. B., M. L. C., Lucknow.
9. Mehta Krishna Ram, B. A., LL. B., Editor, The "Leader", Allahabad.
10. Babu Ajodhya Das, Barrister-at-law, Gorakhpur.
11. Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava, Advocate, Lucknow.
12. Mr. Girdhari Lal Agarwala, M. L. C., Allahabad.
13. Pt. Braj Narain Chakbast, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, Lucknow.
14. Pt. Krishna Prasad Kaul, Aminabad, Lucknow.
15. Dr. R. K. Tandan, M. B., C. B., (Edinbug), Kaiser Manzil, Lucknow.
16. Rai Braj Narain Gurtu, M. A., Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
17. Rai Bahadur Lala Bishambar Nath, M. L. A., Cawnpore.
18. Rai Bahadur Pt. Badri Dut Joshi, Nainital.
19. Rao Vajjnath Das Shapuri, Banker, Kotwalpura, Benares.
20. Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Barristar-at-law, Allahabad.
21. Munshi Mahadeo Prasad, M. A., LL. B., M. L. A., Benares
22. Munshi Gulzari Lal, Advocate, Allahabad.
23. Dr. Sobha Ram, B. A., M. B., D. P. H. (London), Benares.
24. Mr. N. K. Mukerji, B. A., Secretary, North India Christian Tract and Bible Society, Allahabad.
25. Mr. Nehal Chand, M. A., Barrister-at-law, 3, Edmonstone Road, Allahabad.
26. Lala Behari Lal, Rais and Banker, Allahabad.
27. Pt. Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, Pleader, Fyzabad.
28. Rai Saheb Munshi Janki Prasad, Vakil, Rai Bareli.
29. Rai Bahadur Lala Iswar Sahai, Zamindar, Fatehpur.
30. Rai Bahadur Munshi Ganga Prasad, Pleader, Mainpuri.
31. Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu, M. A., LL. B., M. L. C., "Shantikunj", Benares.
32. Mr. B. Sanjiva Rao, M. A., Principal, Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad.
33. Mr. Surendra Nath Varma, M. A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court, Allahabad.
34. Mr. P. K. Telang, M. A., LL. B., Theosophical Society, Benares.
35. Mr. Prakash Narayan Sapru, M. A., LL. B., Barrister-at-Law, Allahabad.
36. Pt. Gopi Nath Kunzru, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, Agra.
37. Rai Saheb Lala Sheo Charan Lal, B. A., LL. B., M. L. C., Allahabad.
38. Mr. Rameshwar Nath Zutshi, M. A., 14-A., South Road, Allahabad.
39. Mr. Habib Ali Khan, M. A., LL. B., Vakil, Lucknow.
40. Mr. Ramdas Krishna, Journalist, 10, Canning Road, Allahabad.
41. Mr. Harnandan Prasad, B. Sc., LL. B., Vakil, Allahabad.
42. Dr. Bhawanath Jha, M. B., B. S., 11, George Town, Allahabad.
43. Mr. Tikait Narain Sherry, B. A., LL. B., F. R. Hist. S., Vakil, Agra.
44. Mr. Mohan Singh Mehta, M. A., LL. B., Kutchery Road, Allahabad.
45. Mr. Indu Bhushan Banerji, B. Sc., LL. B., 13, Edmonstone Road, Allahabad.
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47. Mr. Asharfi Lal, Vakil, Civil Lines, Agra.
48. Dr. Anant Prasad, Medical Practitioner, 42, Jchnstonganj Allahabad
49. Mr. Jagjiwan Nath Takru, B. A., LL. B., 2, Bank Road, Allahabad.
50. B. Durga Charan Singh, B. A., LL. B., 38, George Town, Allahabad.
51. Dr. Jairaj Behari, B. Sc., M. B. B. S., 48, George Town, Allahabad.
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53. Mr. N. K. Kacker, Barrister-at-law, Civil Lines, Bareilly.
54. Mr. D. L. Dubey, B. A., Meerut.
55. Mr. B. N. Sen, Merchant, The Mall, Cawnpore.

56. Mr. Mahipat Ram, B.A., 14-A., South Road, Allahabad.
57. Babu Gauri Shankar Prasad, B. A., LL. B., Bulanala, Benares City.
58. Mr. Kismat Rai Jagdhari, B.A., LL. B., Vakil, Rai Bareli.
59. Mr. Raj Nath Kunzru, Zamindar, Chhili Int, Agra.
60. Mr. Kashi Nath Mathur, Manager, District Co-operative Bank, Allahabad.
61. Rai Tara Datt Gairola Bahadur, Pauri, Garhwal.
62. Mr. Narendra Nath Sapru, Zamindar, Fyzabad.
63. B. Lachhman Prasad Tandan, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, Orai.
64. Mr. Thakur Prasad Sharma, Proprietor, "Suresh Bhusan" Press, Sitapur.
65. Brij Nandan Lal, B. A., Zamindar, Fatehgarh.
66. Pt. Bishwa Nath Tholal, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, Parade Road, Cawnpore.
67. Rai Saheb B. Gopi Nath Mahretra, Chowk, Cawnpore.
68. Mr. Hira Lal Khanna, M. Sc., D. A.-V. College, Cawnpore.
69. Mr. Keshawa Chandra Singh Chaudhri, M. Sc., LL. B., Vakil, Banda.
70. Mr. Amir Chandra Mehra, M. A., G. N. Khattri School, Cawnpore.
71. Mr. Jnauendranath Basu, B. A., Zamindar, Benares.
72. Mr. Vishvanath Prasad, B. A., 14-A, South Road, Allahabad.
73. Mr. Sundram, 14-A, South Road, Allahabad.
74. Mr. Ganga Prasad Mehta, M. A., Hindu University, Benares.
75. Mr. Jiwan Shanker Yajniek, M. A., LL. B., Hindu University, Benares.
76. Pt. Tirbhuwan Nath Munshi, Zamindar, Farrukhabad.
77. Mr. Dhirendra Nath Sinha, M. Sc., Technical Chemist, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
78. Pt. Chandika Prasad Tiwari, Kydgunj, Allahabad.
79. Mr. Daulat Ram Manochs, Baghia Mani Ram, Cawnpore.
70. Mr. C. B. Mistry, Canning Road, Allahabad.
81. B. Narain Prasad, Hony. Magistrate, Barhaj Bazar, Gorakhpur.
82. Mr. V. K. Aiyar, B. A., LL. B., 63/64, Raja Harishchandra Road, Benares.
83. Mr. Ram Chandra Shukla, M. A., Theosophical National School, Cawnpore.
84. Mr. Baij Nath Singh, B. A., LL. B., 16/3, Civil Line, Cawnpore.
85. Mr. Vishun Narain Bhargawa, B. A., LL. B., Taksal, Jhansi.
86. Mr. P. M. Vessomemallu, Canning Road, Allahabad.
87. Pt. Surajnarain Bahadur, B. A., Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow.
88. Mr. A. Sharma, Asoka Swadeshi Stores, Ltd., Allahabad.
89. Mr. H. L. Chablani, Professor, Hindu University, Benares.
80. Mr. Dharma Narain, B. A., Vakil, Mainpuri.
91. Mr. Suryanarain Agarwala, B. A., Old City, Etawah.
92. Mr. K. N. Laghate, B. A., LL. B., George Town, Allahabad.
93. Mrs. Umabai Kolatkar, 90, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
94. Mr. N. G. Pranjape, B.Sc., Principal, Theosophical High School, Cawnpore.
95. Mrs. Ramabai N. Pranjape, 16/13, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
96. Mr. M. B. Kolatkar, 90, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
97. Mr. T. N. Chadda, Barrister-at-law, George Town, Allahabad.
98. Mr. H. P. N. Dar.
99. Mr. H. P. N. Saheb.
100. Mr. Hira Lal Varma.

U. P. KISAN DELEGATES.

101. Mr. Banwari Lal, Nowgawan, Farrukhabad.
102. Mr. Jokhuram Tiwari, Bhagawatpur, Allahabad.
103. Mr. Narsinha Narain Misra, Mahwai, Ghazipur.
104. Pandit Ram Newaz Shukla, Shergarh, Allahabad.
105. Pt. Prabhu Dayal Bhargava, Kamod, Gurgawan.

106. Pt. Kali Prasad, Teliapur, Allahabad.
107. Pt. Indra Pal Sinha, Ranipur, Allahabad.
108. Mr. Badri Narain Sinha, Nindanpur, Benares.
109. Pt. Chanchal Chal Sharma, Majhain, Basti.
110. Mr. Mehdi Hasan, Dayalpur, Azamgarh.
111. Pt. Shiva Balak Sinha, Bhandrai, Allahabad.
112. Mr. Ramjas Sinha, Ajrauli, Fatehpur.
113. Pt. Babu Nandan, Sondhi, Allahabad.
114. Pt. Chandidin Shukla, Bergawan, Allahabad.
115. Pt. Rama Nath Misra. " "
116. Pt. Man Bodh Misra. " "
117. Pt. Indra Narain Divedi. " "
118. Mr. Ram Lakshaman Rai. " "
119. Pt. Ram Surat Tiwari. " "
120. Pt. Guru Sahai Dikshit. " "
121. Pt. Radha Kishan. " "
122. Pt. Narsinha Das. " "
123. Pt. Shambhu Nath Pandey. " "
124. Pt. Puheep Dutt. " "
125. Babu Migam Ram Gupta. " "
126. B. Ram Sewak Kurmi. " "
127. B. Bhagwat Din Kurbi. " "
128. B. Jagannath Kurbi. " "
129. Ram Bharos Kurmi. " "
130. Pt. Chadra Bhusan Dutt. " "
131. Pt. Shiva Prasad. " "
132. Pt. Mahanand. " "
133. Pt. Bodh Narain Pandey. " "
134. Pt. Devij Bhusan Dutt. " "
135. Pt. Shiam Sunder. " "
136. Pt. Ramakant. " "
137. Pt. Chandra Dut Pandey. " "
138. B. Shiv Narain Varma. " "
139. Pt. Devi Dayal Misra. " "
140. Pt. Babu Lal Dvivedi. " "
141. Pt. Trijugi Narains Chaube. " "
142. Mr. Mahipat Sinha. " "
143. Pt. Saraswati Prasad. " "
144. Pt. Badri Narain. " "
145. Pt. Siddha Narain. " "
146. Mr. Rakhal Bose. " "
147. Pt. Mahadeo Prasad. " "
148. Pt. Ramraj. " "
179. Pt. Scitla Din. " "
150. Pt. Deoraj. " "
151. Pt. Rambehari Ojha. " "
152. Pt. Ram Adhar. " "
153. Pt. Shiva Saran Misra. " "
154. Pt. Bhokan Lal Misra. " "
155. Mr. Ram Bharose. " "
156. Mr. Ram Bharose Kurmi. " "
157. Mr. Shiva Patan Lohar. " "
158. Mr. Mai Khu Kurmi. " "

159. Mr. Bindu Kurmi, Allahabad.
160. Mr. Dev Saran. ”
161. Mr. Ram Adhin. ”
162. Pt. Ram Chandra. ”
163. Pt. Ramjas. ”
164. Pt. Ram Nathji. ”
165. Pt. Jagat Narain. ”
166. Rama Autar. ”
167. Ram Dhar. ”
168. Pt. Bias Deo. ”
169. B. Chandra Paratab Singh. ”
170. Dassu Ahir. ”
171. Ram Adhin. ”
172. Ram Swarup. ”
173. Ram Dayal. ”
174. Bhagal *alias* Jhubba. ”

Miscellaneous.

1. Mr. Fakir Chand, B. A., Vakil, High Court, Lahore (the Punjab).
2. Mr. Hardatt Sarma, B. A., Member, Servant of India Society, Kartarpur District Jullundar (the Punjab).
3. Lady Emily Lutyens, 13 Mansfield, St. London.
4. Mr. M. Subramania Iyer, Rangoon, (Burma).
5. Mr. C. R. Panthasarathy Ayyangar, B.A., LL. B., Chittor (Rajputana).

APPENDIX II.

Members of the Reception Committee.

1. Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru, Allahabad.
2. Babu Durga Charan Banerjee "
3. Major D. R. Ranjit Singh "
4. Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana "
5. Pandit Baldeva Ram Dave "
6. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen "
7. Babu Kamta Prasad Kacker "
8. Pandit Manohar Nath Sapru, "
9. Mr. N. K. Mukerjee "
10. Mehta Krishna Ram "
11. Babu Vishvanath Prasad "
12. Pandit Prakash Narayan Sapru "
13. Pandit Rameshwar Nath Zutshi "
14. Babu Girdhari Lal Agrawalla "
15. Babu Kaehinath Sahab "
16. Lala Behari Lal "
17. Munshi Gulzari Lal "
18. B. Surendranath Verma "
19. B. Kesar Prasad "
20. Lala Sheo Charan Lal "
21. Dr. Anant Prasad "
22. Munshi Harnandan Prasad "
23. Babu Mohan Singh Mehta "
24. Babu Durga Charan Singh "
25. Mr. Nihal Chand "
26. Mr. S. S. Sastri "
27. Pandit Mahipat Ram "
28. Mr. C. C. Das, Gorakhpur.
29. Mr. N. K. Kacker, Bareilly.
30. Pandit Brijnarayan Gurtu, Cawnpore.
31. Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh, Allahabad.
32. Babu Nandan Prasad, Cawnpore.
33. Rai Bahadur Babu Anand Swarop, Cawnpore.
34. Pandit Brijnarayan Chakbast, Lucknow.
35. Dr. R. K. Tandan, "
36. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra "
37. Mr. A. P. Sen "
38. Babu Hari Ram Sahab "

39. Babu Gouri Sankar Prasad, Benares.
40. Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerjee „
41. Pandit Purmeshwar Nath Sapru, Fyzabad.
42. Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava, Lucknow.
43. Pandit Gopinath Kunzru, Agra.
44. Munshi Mahadeva Prasad, Benares.
45. Pandit Rajnath Kunzru, Agra.
46. Mr. A. Hoon, Cawnpore.
47. Rai Sahab Gopinath, Cawnpore.
48. Mr. B. N. Sen „
49. Mr. B. N. Tholal „
50. Rai Bahadur Lala Bishambhar Nath, Cawnpore.
51. Babu Brijnandan Lal, Farrukhabad.
52. Pandit Badri Dutt Joshi, Almora.
53. Mr. J. N. Basu, Benares.

Executive Committee.

Chairman :—Pt. Hirday Nath Kunzru.

Vice-Chairmen :—Rai Krishnaji, Messrs. A. P. Sen, S. N. Sen, Durga Charan Bauerji, Gokaran Nath Misra, Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava, Lala Sheo Charan Lal, Rajas Amarpal Singh and Ram Pal Singh, Nawab Saif Ali Khan and Rai Bahadur Babu Anand Swaroop.

Secretaries :—Messrs. Mehta Krishna Ram, Narayan Prasad Asthana and Krishna Prasad Kaul.

Joint Secretaries :—Babu Har Nandan Prasad and Pandit Indra Narain Dvivedi.

Members :—Pandit Manoharnath Sapru, Mr. Mohan Singh Mehta, Babu Vishvanath Prasad, Mr. S. S. Sastri, Babu Gauri Shankar Prasad, Mr. Mahipat Ram, Rao Vaijnath Das Shapuri, Pandit Deo Datt Bajpai, Babu Tirloki Nath Bhargava, Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, and Pandit Gopinath Kunzru.